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The
Malayan Branch
of the
Royal Asiatic Society

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Governor-General, Malaya.

Council for 1946

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Editorial

The occupation of Malaya by the Japanese has resulted in the suspension of publication of this Journal for over five years, the last number (Vol. XIX, part 3) having appeared in December, 1941. Although the business of the Society was resumed early in 1946 and papers were available for publication, efforts to produce a number of the Journal during that year were unsuccessful and the projected number will instead form the first part of Vol. XX, 1947. Publication of the Annual Report for 1946 will, however, be deferred to avoid further delay.

The thanks of the Society are due to Mr. G. G. Thomson, Public Relations Officer, Singapore for his assistance in obtaining paper for this number of the Journal. It is also a pleasure to record the fact that the editors of periodicals on the Society's exchange list, whose publications continued uninterrupted throughout the war, have been unanimous in providing full sets of their journals in spite of the inability of the Society to reciprocate.

The stocks of back numbers of the Journal are fairly satisfactory, though depleted to some extent. For some unexplained reason the entire stock of Vol. V, Part 3, (the Jawi text of Trong Pipit) was removed. The Journals were kept in the Raffles Museum during the occupation and the thanks of the Society for their preservation are due to those members of the staff who continued work during that period, particularly to the Society's clerk, Mr. T. D. Rée. Credit is also due to the Japanese officers who were in charge of the Museum and Library for their success in preventing looting and pilfering.

Owing to tre great demand for back numbers of the Journal due to war losses, the Council has decided to restrict sale of them for the present to members and scientific societies.

Regrettably but inevitably a number of members lost their lives during the war. Foremost among them was Mr. F. N. Chasen, Director of the Raffles Museum and Library and for many years Honorary Secretary of the Society, who was killed at sea by enemy action shortly after the fall of Singapore. A list follows, which, it is feared, may even yet be incomplete, of members who have died since 1941 and who have held office or contributed articles to the Journal: Sir Hugh Clifford; Sir D. J. Galloway; Sir Ong Siang Song; Sir Alexander Small; Mr. R. J. Wilkinson; Captain N. M. Hashim; Mr. H. M. Pendlebury; Mr. V. B. C. Baker; Mr. T. D. Hughes; Mr. J. J. Sheehan; Mr. C. F. Symington; Mr. J. A. Baker; Mr. T. Kitching.

Most of the articles in this number of the Journal were submitted for publication before the fall of Singapore and preserved throughout the occupation in the Raffles Museum. Here again the thanks of the authors and of the Society, are due to Mr. Rée.

In this connection the Editor would be glad to know who is the author of a paper entitled "Two Brunei Charms", submitted for publication before the occupation. Correspondence with the writer of this paper, who is said to have written from Kuching, has been lost.

M. W. F. TWEEDIE.

Further Work on Indian sites in Malaya

By Dorothy C. and H. G. Quaritch Wales[1]

(Supplementary to *Archaeological Researches on Ancient Indian Colonization in Malaya,* J.R.A.S.M.B. Vol. XVIII, Pt. 1, 1940)

Plates I, II

Province Wellesley

The primary object of this further work in Malaya was to gain an idea as to the archaeological potentialities of Province Wellesley which had not as yet been investigated by us. A secondary object was to examine a few sites in Kedah that had previously been inaccessible or unknown.

Province Wellesley had long been known to Indologists as the provenance of the Vth century Raktamṛttikā inscription (now in the Calcutta Museum) of the sea captain Buddhagupta, and as the site of the rock inscriptions near Bukit Mertajam. This wealth of epigraphic material, for which we are indebted to Col. James Low's enthusiasm of a hundred years ago, was unaccompanied by any other class of archaeological evidence and the findspot of the first mentioned inscription was recorded merely as a "sandy site in the northern district of the Wellesley Province." Modern scholars were left guessing as to whether these inscriptions were the work of seafarers temporarily ashore or whether they indicated actual Indian settlement.

Certainly Province Wellesley does not look ideal from the point of view of early Indian colonization. It is a low lying swamp strip, which probably only became suitable for extensive padi cultivation centuries after the ancient Indians arrived, and has only in recent years been in places drained and made suitable for rubber growing. In the centre of the Province, Bukit Mertajam stands out as a landmark to voyagers and fifteen hundred years ago the sea must have come up very close to it. Inquiry and search for sites in the neighbourhood of the inscribed rock produced negative results and so in this case it may be that the inscriptions do not indicate settlement.

The southern half of the Province (fig.1) may, we think, be dismissed at once as it is particularly low and swampy, and its so-

1 Note by H.G.Q.W: These investigations were carried out by my wife in 1941, while I, though in Malaya, was otherwise occupied on military service. Opportunities, however, did occur for me to visit most of the sites and in the present joint paper some of my deductions have been incorporated.

called rivers are only tidal creeks. The padi growing area is confined to the northern half of the Province for it is here that the Muda river has deposited its rich alluvium. To this area the river certainly provided access but the question is as to whether the area or much of it was fit for padi cultivation as long ago as the early centuries of the Christian era. On page 5 of the *Archaeological Researches* the opinion was even expressed that the Muda "would never have attracted Indian colonists". Now, however, the discovery of an early Buddhist site, about to be described, on the Guak Kepah raised beach, beside an old estuary of the Muda, definitely indicates that Indian adventurers did arrive there. Nevertheless it would seem that a comparatively short-lived trading post was all that the place could support, even if its life was not ended by the Muda's change of course. The latter event, however, we have no means of dating, though we know that it must have been prior to the XVth century when Kota Aur was founded on the new channel.

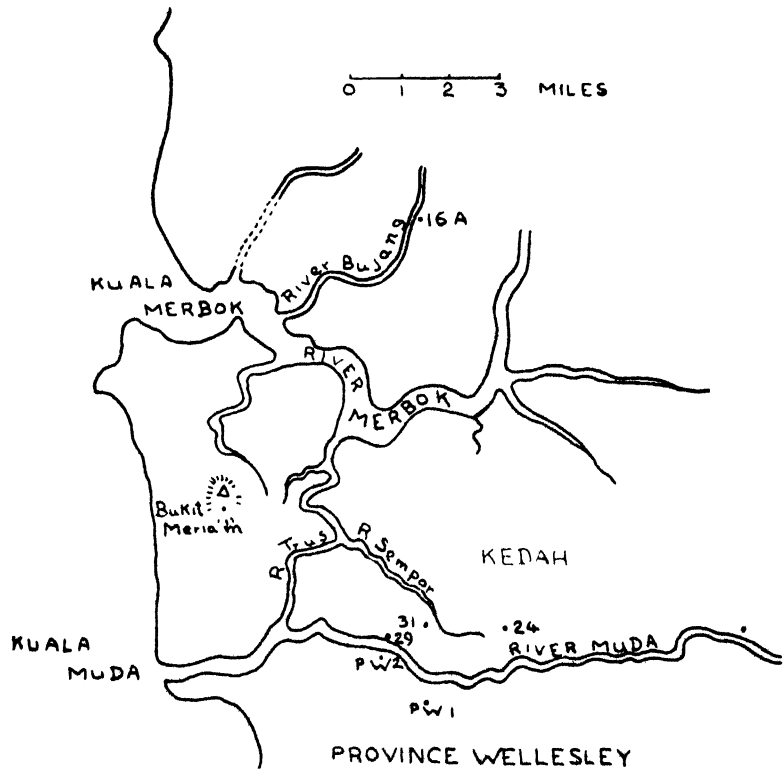


FIG. 1. MAP OF SOUTH KEDAH AND NORTH PROVINCE WELLESLEY, SHOWING EARLY HISTORICAL SITES

In Province Wellesley the only higher land within convenient distance of the river bank is formed by the narrow isolated raised beaches (*permatang*) on which the present day Malay cultivators have their dwellings. Guak Kepah, well known for its neolithic shell heaps, was one of the *permatangs* that was situated beside the old river channel, up which the Indian adventurers sailed fifteen hundred years ago. It was probably chosen as being at a safe distance from the coast and hence from the danger of surprise by pirates. But the restricted area of this little island among the swamps could only have provided a footing for a small trading station. This could not have survived through the ages and accommodated successive waves of colonists as did the banks of the Bujang in Kedah.

The finding of this Guak Kepah site, taken in conjunction with the other isolated early Buddhist sites that dot the neighbourhood of the old coast line of Kedah and Province Wellesley, enables us to visualise more clearly the somewhat haphazard way in which early Indian colonization, which may not have seriously begun much before the IVth century, developed on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula. Though no doubt many itinerant traders had preceded them, the would-be settlers probably set sail from the Coromandel coast with only a hazy idea of the geography of the fabulous Golden Land for which they were bound. They sought the mouth of a river, large or small, down which the natives of the country would bring their products for sale, and they also sought some higher land at a safe distance from the coast on which to set up a market and a temple. Thus we have the early sites at Sungai Sala, Sungai Bujang, Bukit Meriam, Guak Kepah all offering temporary possibilities to the early merchants. But of these only the banks of the Sungai Bujang offered the combination of excellent anchorage, sufficient rising ground for building, ample well watered land suitable for padi cultivation, which marked out this place to become by a process of natural selection, long after the other trading settlements had sunk into oblivion, one of the important seaports of South Eastern Asia.

Province Wellesley: Site 1 (Guak Kepah)

When the late Dr. P. f. van Stein Callenfels excavated the Guak Kepah shell heaps[1] aerial photographs were taken which clearly showed that the deposits were situated near the banks of an old course of the River Muda. Now it seems that sometime in 1940 the Irrigation Department constructed a new embankment for the purpose of retaining the Muda flood waters and this work

1 "An excavation of three kitchen middens at Guak Kepah, Province Wellesley, S.S." by P. V. van Stein Callenfels in *Bulletin of the Raffles Museum, Singapore*, Series B. No. 1 May 1938.

necessitated the mechanical excavation of a wide ditch. The latter was cut through the Guak Kepah *permatang*, and apparently it passed through shell heap B (Fig 2). A workman who had been engaged on the cutting of the ditch reported to us that a short distance to the west of the shell heap B some stone and laterite blocks were exposed, and on examining the site we decided to excavate it.

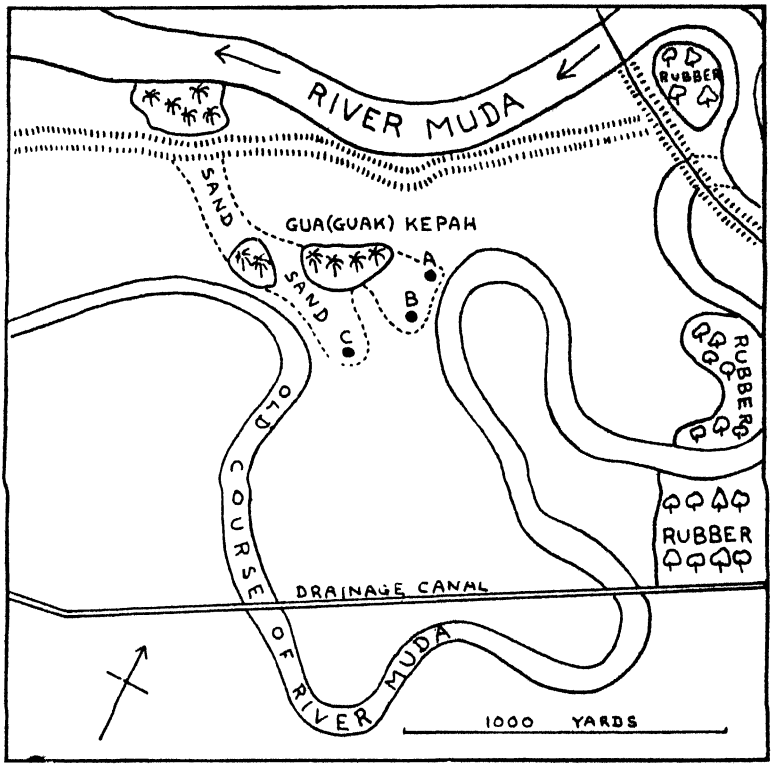


FIG. 2. TRACING FROM PART OF AN AIR PHOTOGRAPH OF THE REGION OF GUAK KEPAH, PROVINCE WELLESLEY. REDRAWN AFTER P. V. V. STEIN CALLENFELS

At a depth of about 5 feet 6 inches below the present surface of the *permatang* there was brought to light a small solid regularly oriented basement measuring about 13 feet 6 inches square, of which only the north-west corner had been damaged by the Irrigation Department. It was built on a foundation consisting of a layer about four inches deep of small rounded river pebbles among which, immediately beneath the laterite, were found three axe heads of a

type illustrated by van Stein Callenfels.[1] Probably the Indians did not distinguish between the axe heads and other similar but smaller unworked pebbles they collected in the vicinity. Beneath the foundation about six inches of brownish sand separated the pebbles from the white sand of the *permatang*.

In the pebble foundation, just beneath the basement, a number of small earthenware bowls, not more than five or six inches in diameter, had evidently been buried before the basement was laid down. They were situated at each corner, at the centre, and in one case at some distance from a corner, under the edge of the basement. All had been crushed into small fragments, and, with one exception, they were of plain almost black earthenware. The exception was at the southwestern corner, where the sherds were cordmarked. Among the fragments at the south-east corner were found two small translucent dark blue glass short beads (length 1/8 inch), and at the north west corner one larger barrel bead of similar material and colour (length ¼ inch) was found.

The basement, having a height of about three feet, was faced with laterite blocks, the core being formed of a mixture of laterite blocks and slabs of red slate, a stone readily obtainable from the range of low hills that runs between the Muda and the Merbok. Slabs of red slate of the same type had previously been found in association with Kedah Site 2, where the peasant occupier of the land had removed them to his house. We had then suggested that they had formed a circumambulatory path around a *stupa*, of which we believed the remains at Kedah Site 2 had formed the basement.

Clear evidence that a small *stupa* had stood on the basement at Guak Kepah was provided by a number of curved stone and laterite blocks which had evidently formed part of the founded drum. This material had all fallen to the north, apparently at a fairly early date. Amongst this fallen debris, in addition to some rough potsherds, a remarkable find was made. This was a piece of thick gold leaf, cut from a sheet and measuring 7/8 inch square, i.e. of almost exactly the same size as the gold square found with the inscribed tablet at Kedah Site 2. Unfortunately the inscribed tablet that in this case also must almost certainly have accompanied the gold was not recovered. The general resemblance, however, in construction and size, of this edifice to the remains, so far as they go, at Kedah Site 2, together with the presence of this similar gold object, not only confirm our conclusion that Kedah Site 2 was a *stupa*, but also enable us to deduce that the present structure probably dates from the Vth century A.D. A few scattered fragments of a hard stoneware with yellowish glaze, belonging to the T'ang period, which were found on the basement or in some cases slightly above it, merely suggest that the site retained its sanc-

1 loc. cit. Pls. XXXI, 5 and XXXII, 1 & 2.

tity and was visited by devotees as late as the VIIth or VIIIth century.

Finally it seems very likely that Guak Kepah was the "sandy site in the northern district of the Wellesley Province" where Col. James Low found Buddhagupta's inscribed pillar. In this connection it is interesting to recall that, in addition to being inscribed, the pillar was decorated with the representation of an umbrella-crowned *stupa*.

Province Wellesley: Site 2

In describing the remains at Kedah Site 29 (Kota Aur) it was mentioned that on the opposite bank of the Muda Col. Low had found what he called the "ruins of temples dedicated to the Buddhist and Hindu worship combined, although I suspect Siva was held the most honoured shrine." Examination of the river bank opposite Kota Aur now reveals that repeated flooding of the left bank, which is much lower than the right one, has in the last hundred years erased almost all trace of whatever Low left. A rectangular stone lying near the water edge with a small square mortise in the centre may have been the pedestal of an image. No bricks were seen *in situ* but the villagers were in possession of a few old bricks which they had recovered from the river or from the padi fields. There was nothing to suggest that excavation would be productive. The position of these remains just opposite Kota Aur, together with the nature of Low's remarks, suggests that here had once stood decadent shrines, probably largely of light construction, contemporary with Kota Aur, and thus belonging to the period immediately preceding the introduction of Islam.

About a quarter mile further up river on a *permatang* locally known as Kampong Setol is situated an extensive mound which on excavation revealed a solid laterite basement measuring about 20 feet square and 4 feet 4 inches high. The lowest course, which rested directly on the sand of the *permatang*, was about 2 feet below the present level of the *permatang*. There were no apparent mouldings and the laterite blocks used were of exceptionally small dimensions. Nothing of interest was found, except that on the same *permatang* there was lying on the surface a large cut stone measuring 3′ 0″ x 1′ 3″ x 1′ 5″, grooved, probably for the reception of a beam, along one of the longer edges. Towards one end of the groove was cut a small mortise, intended to rest on a pillar. A peasant stated that he remembered this stone being carried from the laterite structure to its present position a number of years ago. It was probably a lintel. Since stone lintels have only been found at the later sites in Kedah the presumption is that this building is not very much earlier than the remains at Kota Aur on the opposite bank of the Muda.

Kedah

Kedah: Site 16A

In a footnote to the description of the excavation of Site 16 in the previous publication the following remarks were appended: "Just on the border of the padi land, about 15 yards from Site 16, a trial trench revealed the presence of a brick wall (bricks of Class 2) apparently part of another temple, but further excavation was not carried out here, owing to the fact that the wall lay mainly under a peasant's house." On visiting the site in 1941 it was found that the peasant's house had disappeared and it was therefore possible to carry out excavations.

We have called it Site 16A because its existence was first placed on record in connection with Site 16, and because of its proximity to that site, but we wish to make it clear that this labelling is not intended to indicate that it necessarily was contemporary or in any other way related to Site 16, although it may have been.

The excavations revealed a ruined brick plinth, which showed signs of exterior mouldings, about 12′ 6″ square and with a core of rubble. The height of the plinth was about 3′ 6″, the ruined top being level with the ground, and the brick facings being 2′ 6″ thick. Around the building were scattered large numbers of bricks many of them curved on one side and shaped in such a way that they appeared to have been segments of a circular structure, though a few were triangular at one end. But whether a *stupa* or a small sanctuary tower stood on the pedestal is uncertain. The normal bricks were of class 2 and the following are typical measurements: 11″ x 6½″ x 2″; 10½″ x 6¾″ x 2″; but occasionally a breadth of just 7″ was reached.

While excavating around the base of the plinth, at the south-west corner, just at its base, there were discovered the fragments of a large earthenware jar of coarse reddish pottery. What appeared to have been the neck of it bore parallel rows of bold circular ribbing. This type of ornamentation is characteristic of a class of pottery decoration found in Malaya elsewhere only at Site 15, but in India in the Nilgiri Hills and at Rajgir (Bihar). A further similarity to the fragmentary jar found at Site 15 was provided by a small portion of the lip being characteristically pointed. No sign of any decoration with cockleshell impressions, however, was observable. Some fragments of a similar jar were found along the east side of the plinth.

It was amongst the fragments of the jar at the south-west corner that a most important find was made in the shape of a small

but fine bronze standing image of the Buddha (Plates I, II), which was sent to Raffles Museum, Singapore. Its height is 8½ inches. The bronze seems to contain a high percentage of copper and is patinated in places. Behind the right leg the surface has corroded but the image is in a good state of preservation, only the lobe of the right ear and part of the fingers of the right hand being missing. The *usnisa* is low, and the *urna* is indicated by an incomplete circle. The figure is free and shows a decided *hanchement*. The right hand is in *varada mudra*. The right shoulder is bare and one end of the robe is flung over the left shoulder, a corner being gathered up in the left hand. The most interesting feature is that the portion of the robe which falls below the left hip hangs in natural folds. This delineation of the folds of the garment, though limited in extend, is, as also is the low *usnisa*, a characteristic of the Amaravati school. Its presence here is in agreement with the theory that the Krishna-Godaveri region was the homeland of the earlier Indian colonists. As regards dating, however, this image is evidently a product of the Gupta age and may be attributed to the Vth century A.D. Stylistically it is the earliest Buddhist image as yet known from Malaya. It also enjoys the distinction of being the only image in the round at present known to have survived the iconoclasm of the Kedah converts to Islam.

The date attributable to the brick structure beside which this early image was found is uncertain. At the known early sites in Kedah and Province Wellesley, contemporaneous with the image found here, no brick is employed in construction, while at the present site the brick measurements do not suggest an early date. Furthermore the ribbed type of pottery, though no definite period can be ascribed to it, is found elsewhere in Kedah at Site 15 which is in style akin to Site 16, and the latter is situated only a few yards from Site 16A. But this is little enough to go upon and the question must be left open. At Kedah Site 14 an inscribed piece of silver of probably the VIIth century was found amongst the foundation deposits of a IXth century temple, and one could of course give innumerable examples in most countries of ancient images having been preserved in shrines of a later period. In Kedah, where Buddhism is known to have flourished, it is obvious that such cases must have occurred. and the nearest known early Buddhist site is but a short distance across the river Bujang from Site 16A. In any case it is not the dating of a brick basement devoid of architectural features that is of much moment, but the recovery of a fine example of early Indian Buddhist art in Malaya that is of primary import.

Kedah: Site 24

A superficial description of the remains of an apparently late Hindu site on top of a small hill on Tikam Batu Estate at mile 44

on the main road was given in the previous publication (p. 41). At that time the site was closely planted with rubber and circumstances did not allow excavation. Since then, however, the hill has been taken over by the P.W.D. and the greater part of it has been

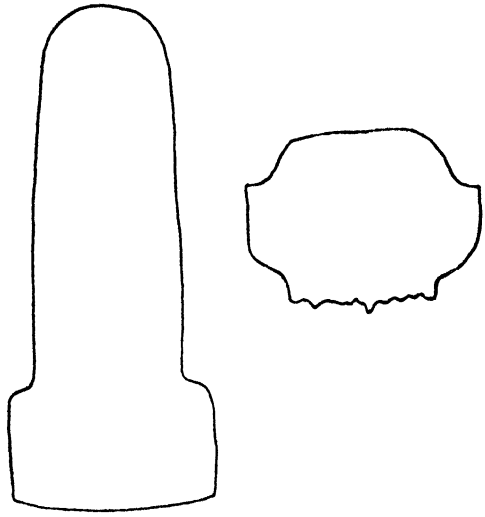


FIG. 3. OBJECTS FOUND AT KEDAH, SITE 24.

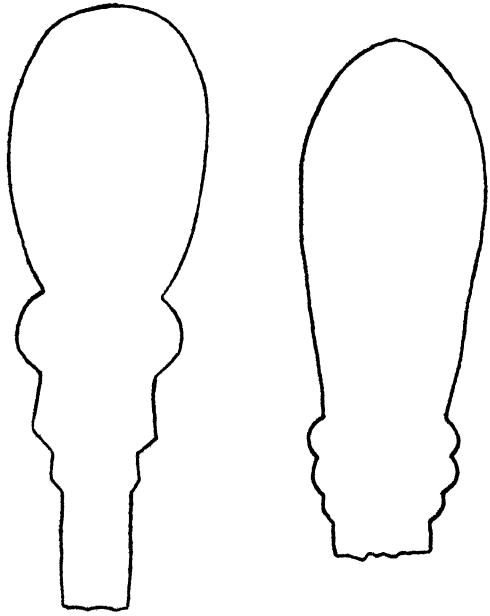


FIG. 4. OBJECTS FOUND AT KEDAH, SITE 24.

removed to supply road material for building the approach to the new Muda river bridge. A small area on which stands the large stone pedestal has been left undisturbed, and inspection of the exposed section showed the existence of brick material in the earth down to a depth of about one foot. Moreover, in the course of removing the hill, the workmen had brought to light four carved quartzite objects (diagramatically shown in Figs. 3 & 4) which they had deposited beside the pedestal. One of the objects is obviously a *linga* (height 2 feet), two others are apparently the broken off capitals of pillars (height 2′ and 2′ 6″), while the fourth object may be a *bali-pitha* (height 10 inches).

Kedah: Site 31

Near mile 45 on the road from Tikam Batu to Kota Kuala Muda the road crosses a tidal creek called the Sungai Sempor. This creek begins just south of Site 24 and turns northwards just before the point at which it is crossed by the Kota road, afterwards joining the Sungai Trus and flowing into the Merbok. On the left bank of the creek just before it reaches the road a small area of sandy *permatang* affords a little higher ground amongst the surrounding swamps and padi fields. On it some laterite and brick remains, forming a considerable mound much dug into in the centre, were reported. Though inspection showed that the site had been damaged by local Chinese digging for laterite it was decided to excavate.

A massive laterite plinth of what appeared to have been a porched building was revealed, the main structure of laterite measuring about 19 feet square. From it on the west side projected for ten feet the ruined lower courses of a brick and laterite porch. The height of the extant remains of the plinth was about two feet. It had traces of simple mouldings and it rested on a foundation of gravel and slatey rubble. Beside the plinth were found two roughly hewn red stone socles with small square mortises, suggesting that the superstructure was at least partially of light material.

Having evidently been dragged out of the sanctuary and overturned at some unknown time was a massive plainly cut laterite pedestal. The top was 2 feet 5 inches square, having a mortise 1 foot 1 inch square with a depth of 1 foot. It had presumably once supported a large icon. The presence of a porch in Kedah temples seems to be a late feature and that this building dates from circa XIIIth century is also suggested by the finding at the level of the base of the plinth of several fragments of an olive green glazed Sung type porcelain similar to that excavated in large quantities at Site 18. A fragment of white glazed ware was also attributable to the same period.





The most interesting point about the discovery of this site is the significance of its situation on apparently the only spot of high ground on the bank of the Sungai Sempor, a waterway which affords an almost complete channel of communication between the Merbok and the Muda (Fig. 1). It is well known that Malays preferred to travel from place to place down the coast by inland waterways wherever possible, thus avoiding the perils of the open sea and the strong currents of the larger rivers. It seems clear that the Sungai Sempor thus provided the route by which the Indianized Malay culture of the Sungai Bujang district was transferred early in the XIVth century to the Muda, and particularly to Srokam (Site 28), where about A.D. 1325 Raja Sri Mahawangsa seems to have established himself. There are also brick remains (as yet unexcavated) at a point midway between Site 24 and Srokam. Very likely the route was in use quite as early as the XIIIth century and Sites 24 and 31 were probably merely shrines set up a halting places by the way. It will also be recalled that it was lower down this river at Kampong Batu Lintang (Site 27) that the gold belt, ascribed in like manner to circa XIIIth century, was recovered.

Explanation of Plates

Plates I, II. A bronze image of the Buddha from Kedah, Site 16A. Height of image, 8½ inches.

The Origin of the Wayang Theatre (Shadow Play)

By ANKER RENTSE

In July, 1939, Dr. H. Meinhard communicates on the subject of *The Javanese Wayang and its Indian Prototype* in the issue of *Man* (Vol. XXXIX, page 94). It appears from this that the ancient Indian Shadow Theatre, the *Chayanataka* (Skr.), has been in existence at least since the thirteenth century A.D., and that there is reason to believe that it is alluded to in passages dating as early as the second century B.C. It is still to be found in some places in India, such as in Southern Deccan and Mysore. It appears, however, that some of these performances are of a rather low form, in some places so indecent that the Government have forbidden the performance in public places. Dr. Meinhard seems to have formed the opinion that the Shadow Play was introduced to Java from India, and that it did not originate in Java.

I think a few points may be raised against this opinion. There is evidence of the Javanese Wayang in records of 860 A.D. and 1157 A.D. There are also signs both in the Javanese and the Malayan Shadow-Play, which point back to Indonesian Animism of the time prior to the introduction of Indian (Hindu) influence on Javanese religion. Furthermore the Indian trade with the Malay Archipelago is known as far back as the 7th century B.C., so the discovery that the Shadow-Play may have been known in India in the second century B.C. does not give any evidence that it originated there, in fact Indian traders may just as well have brought it back from their voyages to Java and introduced it in India at an early period.

According to Dr. H. Meinhard they call the performer *Killekyata* in Mysore, a name derived "from one of the figures of their show box, called *Killekyata,* which is said to mean mischievous imp. It is described as being of fantastic appearance, jet-black in colour, with tilted nose, dishevelled hair, flowing beard, protruding lips, potbelly and crooked hands and legs. Dr. Spies remarks that it has a huge phallus. After an initial prayer to *Ganapati* and *Sarasvati Killekyata* is made to appear behind the lighted screen in the company of his equally hideous wife *Bangarakka,* to amuse the audience with obscene jokes."

Here we have got a most interesting picture, the origin of which points back to the ancient Indonesian divinity, *Semar* or *Semar Hitam* (the black *Semar*), of the Javanese *Wayang* and to his equal in the Kelantan (Malayan) Shadow-Play *Pak Dogah*.

The description of this South-Indian type called *Killekyata* shows a degenerated form of the original divinity, which in the

Javanese type has been kept up in a delightful form of patriarchal appearance. The Javanese *Semar* may at first sight appear a crude figure, but a closer study will reveal its beautiful lines, an old patriarch of the agricultural class, a village elder. He is jet-black, stumpy of figure and pot-bellied. In his face there is the wise and cute expression of an old and experienced man; he is almost toothless and his body is often slightly bent like that of an aged man; but he appears strong and powerful all the same and has a very determined look in his face. In some types he is shewn with a protruding navel. His legs are short and stumpy and he wears a loin cloth. The Kelantan (Malayan) *Pak Dogah* is a jet-black, forceful looking figure. There is not much which is patriarchal to be found in the appearance of *Pak Dogah*, he looks or rather acts more like the wellknown type of old Colonel, who stands very little nonsense, but who is a "rough-go-ahead" warrior and a gentleman always defending justice and attacking evil. *Pak Dogah's* figure is one of tall, erect stature, no hair on his head, a long protruding nose slightly bent upwards, and a determined facial expression. He is pot-bellied, the navel is strongly protruding and he wears trousers. In his right hand he carries a jungle knife (in the Malay language known as *golok* or *parang*). *Pak Dogah* is always attended by his follower, *Wah Long*, a half-sized almost true copy of his master, and like him a jester; but *Wah Long* is not very brave, although he is always in the front line close to the enemy, passing rude remarks which are followed by his hasty retreat, which does not, however, dishearten the spirit of this amusing little clown. *Pak Dogah* has a wife, but she is rarely shewn on the screen and is completely unimportant.

In neither *Pak Dogah* nor any other figure in the Kelantan (Malayan) Shadow-Play is a phallus represented, nor have I ever seen it in the Javanese Wayang as shewn in Malaya. There is no sign in the Malayan Shadow-Play of the *Killekyata* figure of Southern India with its phallus and obscene jokes. The jokes passed between *Pak Dogah* and *Wah Long* may on occasions be quite crude, but they never exceed the limit of ordinary decency, which would be regarded as a breach of custom in a Malay community.

The legend of the creation of *Pak Dogah* is as follows:—One day the supreme divinity went to the well to bathe. He scraped off the dirt (*daki*) from his body, rolled it into a small ball and buried it in the mud. Out of this *daki* arose *Pak Dogah*. *Wah Long* was created in the same way out of *daki* from *Pak Dogah*. It is rather important to notice the similarity of this process to the planting of the padi seed in a muddy rice-field. The supreme divinity creates the soul of life in the original substance, out of which develops something which becomes useful for the maintenance of mankind, a purely animistic idea.

In India the *Killekyata* is made to appear behind the lighted screen after an initial prayer. So in Malaya with *Pak Dogah*, but here a most elaborate ceremony is carried out with prayers and offerings (ref: J.R.A.S.M.B. Vol. XIV, pt. III, Anker Rentse, *The Kelantan Shadow-Play* (*Wayang kulit*)).

Dr. Meinhard writes: "Some points mentioned in the accounts of the *Killekyata* may be of some importance as to the comparison of the Indian with the Javanese play. Emphasis is laid upon the ancestor worship prevalent in this caste. The *Killekyata's* worship their leather figures on *Ganesha's* festival in August and September; according to another account they worship their box of pictures daily. A belief in an exorcising power imminent in the leather figures appears in their practice of making a person possessed by an evil spirit to sleep near the showbox for three or four nights, which is believed to scare the spirit away. There is a notion that it is auspicious for rains and crops to have the shows performed about harvest time, and in some places the *Killekyata's* are entitled to customary annual fees. The various agricultural implements are believed to be the limbs of the demon *Karebhanta*, or *Killekyata*, rude charcoal drawings of whom are made on each corner of a field under crop."

All these beliefs in the power of the *Killekyata* figure in South India are also found in the Malay villages in connection with *Semar* and *Pak Dogah*, in fact they are almost observed in everyday life in the more remote villages. *Pak Dogah* and *Semar* are regarded as being too important to be kept in the file with all the other figures (including the figures representing the highest Hindu divinities), and they are respectfully placed on the wall with offerings of Jasmine flowers and a white cord (*benang mentah*) round their neck.

Referring to the exorcising power imminent in the Indian Shadow-Play figures, one finds the same in Malaya in connection with figures from the Javanese and Malayan Shadow-Plays. The late Dr. John D. Gimlette, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P. has described in his book "Malay Poisons and Charm Cures", (Churchill, London, 1929) the *Main berbagih* performance displayed by the Malay medicineman with the object of curing sick people, discovering lost property, etc. He states here that the most important puppet brought out to assist is the *Sema* (*Semar*) or *Sang Tunggal* (supreme divinity). The others, the Hindu divinities, are only brought out on the last night's performance. I myself watched a similar performance some years ago (described in J.R.A.S.M.B. Vol. XIV, pt. III, "Majāpahit Amulets in Kelantan"). I have also personally witnessed a Malay Shadow-Play performer in the act of invoking the power of *Pak Dogah* with the object of

obtaining power over a certain young lady whose charms had aroused an earnest desire in him.

Turning over to study the influence of the hidden powers believed to guide and guard the agricultural world, one will find that the agricultural people of any community of any part of the world are the most conservative of all. They stick more than anybody else to ideas inherited from their forefathers. They toil hard, and when their work succeeds in a good harvest they bow down in thankfulness to the powers their ancestors prayed to. The South-Indian agriculturist honours the *Killekyata*, and so too in Malaya offerings are brought to *Semar* the power who gave life to the seed of the padi. The Kelantan agriculturist calls his young nursery rice plants *Semar* or *Sumar* (in other parts of Malaya *Semai*). This surely points towards the ancient Indonesian beliefs in a Animism. Various incantations in connection with the rice rituals support the idea of a supreme power creating life in the seed. It should be mentioned that *Semar, Pak Dogah* and *Sangyang Tunggal* (the supreme divinity) are referred to as the same divinity (*dia juga*).

I have found that there appears to be a very definite connection between the *Semar* and *Pak Dogah* figures and the animistic idea of the power creating life in the seed, assisted by its four *hulubalang*, fire, water, air and soil (the red, white, yellow and black *Semar*). It is also noteworthy that *Semar* and *Pak Dogah* are treated with a good deal more respect than any of the figures representing the highest Hindu divinities. It would therefore appear that the *Semar* and *Pak Dogah* figures are of an older date amongst the Javanese and the Malays than the figures of Hindu origin. *Semar* and *Pak Dogah* were probably degraded to ordinary clowns when Hinduism came into force in the Malay Archipelago; but the people, being secretly frightened of their power, have up to the present time allowed *Semar* and *Pak Dogah* in disguise very important roles. Their fine spirit, screened by the rough jokes of a clown, always shows towards the end of the play, when they save the good powers from being destroyed by the evil ones. I find it hard to believe that these two fine figures of *Semar* and *Pak Dogah* should originate from what appears to be a low or degenerate form in a South-Indian cult.

The Shadow-Play Theatre is found in many places in Asia from China to Turkey, but nowhere has it been found developed to such a high cultural standard as in the Malay Archipelago. Perhaps it did not originate in Java, in which case we shall probably have to follow the traces of Animism and Shamanism back into Central Asia to find the place where the Shadow-play originated.

Some further Notes on Coins from the Northeastern Malay States

By ANKER RENTSE

PLATES III—VII

With reference to former publications on Malayan numismatics in this Journal the gold coinage of the Northeastern Malay States, namely Kelantan and Patani, appear in such varying types as to indicate that these states were important trade centres in the past. Recent widely distributed archaeological discoveries in Kelantan support the view that a civilisation of high order existed in Kelantan long before gold coins were minted. As I have said in another paper in this Journal gold mining in Kelantan appears to have been carried out on an extensive scale. Mostly alluvial gold was found, which was to be obtained in "dust" or small grains by washing methods. No doubt most of this gold was smelted into ingots for export and then disposed of in the coastal districts; but local trade would require smaller pieces of gold. It is probable that foreign traders introduced the first gold coins; this suggestion was made in a former publication on coins (J.R.A.S.M.B. Vol. XVII, pt. I). As the inscriptions on all gold coins discovered so far are in Arabic, it seems clear that the gold coinage was introduced by Muslims. There is no evidence yet of a gold coinage before 1500 A.D., but on the other hand only one of the gold coins found bears an inscription giving a date.

Some recently discovered coins are described below.

I. Gold Coins

Plate III. (fig. 1).

A circular coin found in Kelantan; weight 18 grains.

Inscription:

obverse:—*Al-hukumah Kelantan* (Arabic);
translation:—The Government of Kelantan
The word Kelantan may be doubtful as it is not very clear.
It is thought that the inscription as it stands on this coin may also be read
Kanzurul-hukumah (Arabic);
translation:—The Treasury of the Government.
However, this coin should be compared with the illustration, plate XVIII, fig 1 and 2, J.R.A.S.M.B.

Vol. XIV, pt. III, of the *Aljulus Kelantan* coin. The two coins appear to be of the same type (on the obverse only); the inscription *Kelantan* on the present specimen is of a poor type, whereas it is extremely clear on the two illustrations formerly published. I am of the opinion that the inscription above should be read as *Al-hukumah Kelantan.*

reverse:—*Kaliphalul-rahman* (Arabic);
translation:—the compassionate Ruler.

It is remarkable that this coin is twice the size of other various types of gold coins found in the Northeastern Malay States from Kelantan northwards.

Plate III. (fig. 2).

A circular coin found at Tabal fishing village (Kuala Golok) on the border of Kelantan and Thailand. Tradition has it that there used to be a fort (*kubu*) here a long time ago, from which various minor chiefs ruled.

Weight:—10 grains

Inscription:—

obverse:—This inscription is not very clear; it is believed that it may be
(a) *Sultan Abdul Jalil,* or
(b) *Man-ul jalil-ulsultan,* (Arabic).
If (a) is accepted as correct it seems to be a Johore coin. The appearance of this coin is much the same as No. 4, page 172, J.R.A.S.M.B. Vol. XI, pt. II, described by Mr. G. B. Gardner and which he ascribes to Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah II of Johore (1580—1597 A.D.). I am of the opinion that both these coins were struck in the reign of Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah III of Johore (1623—1677 A.D.) as there was a close relation between Johore and Patani during his reign. Sir Richard Winstedt writes that Sultan Abdul Jalil Shah III paid a visit to Patani and also "In December 1641 the King of Patani had arrived at Johore for a years visit which led in 1644 to a marriage between the queen of Patani and the youngest brother of Sultan Abdul Jalil." (J.R.A.S.M.B. Vol. X, pt. III, page 37).
The present coin was used as an amulet by the fishing folk in one of their larger fishing boats (*Kolek*) as a charm bringing good luck for the fishing. The reason for using a *masdinar* coin was just being explained thus, *"ini-lah barang zaman dahulu yang boleh menjadi azimat"* (this a relic of olden times which may act as an amulet).

reverse:—*Khaliphat-al-muminin* (Arabic),
translation:—Lord of the Faithful.

Plate III (fig. 3).

A circular coin found at Kedai Lalat, Kelantan. Dato' Seri Setia Raja (Nik Ahmad Kamil) communicated this find to me. He also made arrangements with the owner so that I was allowed to borrow the coin, and assisted in deciphering this coin as well as the others dealt with in this paper. The coin was found about three feet below the surface.
Weight, 10 grains.
Inscription:—
obverse:—*Alsultanah al-mua'dzamah* (Arabic),
translation:—The great Sultanah;
reverse:—*Khalada mulkaha* (Arabic),
translation:—(May God) preserve Her Government.

This appears a very interesting coin. The inscription indicates that the coin was minted by a female ruler. I have been able to trace four female rulers, perhaps there are others. One was a ruler of a Sumatran State, probably Acheh, in the 17th century; another is mentioned as a ruler of Kedah, though in Sir Richard Winstedt's genealogical tree of Kedah rulers no female is mentioned. The third and the fourth were queens of Patani and Kelantan, who reigned in the 16th and 17th centuries. It will now be necessary to consult the historical notes on these queens. Dr. W. Linehan writes (J.R.A.S.M.B. Vol. XIV, pt. II, History of Pahang), "According to Floris, the Dutch voyager (quoted by Purchas), in 1612, the Queen of Patani, who had not seen her sister, the wife of the Sultan of Pahang for twenty-eight years, collected a fleet of seventy sail, and sent it to Pahang to bring the sister by force or friendship to Patani," and "On 1 August (1613) the King of Pahang departed (from Patani) having been made a mocking stocke of the Patanees; but the Queens sister would not leave him but returned back with him; in lieu of getting great presents, having spent almost all she had." Further, "In 1638-9, Sultan Iskandar Thani of Acheh sent gravestones to commemorate his deceased relatives (to Pahang)" and "The tomb-stones thus brought to Pahang were of the "Chinese-lantern" type of which specimens exist at Kota Raja, Acheh." Sultan Iskandar Thani was a nephew of Sultan Abdul-Ghafur of Pahang, who had married a sister of the Queen of Patani. We also find tomb-stones in Johore of the same type with inscriptions *la-ilaha-il'llah, Mohamad rasul Allah*. At Kampong Rawa in Kelantan, only a couple of miles away from the place at Kedai Lalat, where the present gold coin was discovered, I was shewn a grave said to be Nang Chayam's, the Queen of Patani. It is several years since I was told about this grave, but I only visited it recently. It is situated about

half a mile away from Sungei Pengkalan Dato', which shows signs of having been the estuary of the Kelantan River in ancient times, and it was from here that the so-called Jimbal-Rajas ruled Kelantan. Their descendants are still living there, and they claim to descend from Nang Chayam. There are two graves close together and signs of a third one. The place was covered in jungle until recently. One grave has two ordinary granite boulders as tomb stones, of a type often seen on old royal graves in Kelantan; this grave is called *Kubor To' Langgar* and is said to contain the remains of Nang Chayam's husband. The other grave, pointed out as Nang Chayam's grave, has two tomb-stones of the "Chinese-lantern" type. They appear to be made of sand-stone. The inscription is the same on both, it reads on the inner side *la-ilaha-il'llah* and on the reverse *Mohamad rasul Allah* (see plate VII). My guide, an old Malay of about 80 years of age, To' Mudin, who was born there, gave me the following information, which he said his old people told him, "Nang Chayam was a Queen, who came from Tanjong Patani, she settled down and died in Kelantan; To' Langgar, who is buried next to her, was her husband." This is the only place in Kelantan where I have seen tomb-stones of that type. I feel inclined to think that this is the tomb of one of the Patani queens, but it is still uncertain whether it is the one who reigned before 1600 A.D. or the one who was married to the youngest brother of Sultan Abdul Jalil of Johore in 1644 A.D.; both are referred to as Nang Chayam. Newbold mentions the early one as Kuning ('ku Neng (?)) or Perachu (Phra Chu (?)) and the later as Dawi Perachu (Dewi Phra Chu (?)). However this may be I think the present coin may be ascribed to the Queen of Patani's issue. Perhaps it is worth mention here that in 1663 the Dutch Patrol, the *Ganges*, arrived in Perak with a cargo seized from two Moor ships from Kedah; part of this cargo consisted of 563 Patani *mas* and 269 Johore *mas* (gold coins) (Sir Richard Winstedt, History of Kedah, J.R.A.S.M.B. Vol. XIV. pt. III), which indicates the importance of a gold currency at that time.

Plate III (fig. 4).

An octagonal coin, found in Kuala Trengganu.
Weight:—7 grains.
Inscription:—
obverse:—*Sultan Zainal-Abidin Shah.*
reverse:—*Khaliphat al-muminin* 1120 (Arabic).

Here we have for the first time a Malay gold coin with a date. It gives some valuable information and also helps to define the period when these gold coins were in use as a currency. According to Sir Richard Winstedt's History of Johore (J.R.A.S.M.B. Vol. X, pt. III), Sultan Zainal-Abidin ruled in Trengganu from 1725—1733 A.D. The inscription of this coin seems to bring the commence-

ment of his reign back to 1708—9 A.D. Although the coin is of the Johore Type, it is made in a different way; it is almost as thin as paper, whereas the Johore coins I have seen have been of a rather more solid make. Gold coins found in Trengganu are generally very thin and contain only a small amount of gold.

In J.R.A.S.M.B. Vol. XVII, pt. I. "Gold Coins of the North-eastern Malay States" I mentioned a gold coin of the "bull" type, locally known as the *"kijang"* (Plate XIII, fig. 4) discovered by Mr. Ivor H. N. Evans at Sungei Batu Estate, Kedah, and described by him (J.F.M.S. Museums. Vol. XII, pt. 3). This coin is remarkable from the point of view that the bull pictured faces the right side of the coin, whereas other "bull" coins known shows the animal facing the left side of the coin. As Mr. Ivor H. N. Evans' coin was found in Kedah and it differs so much from the "bull" coins found on the east coast, I have been of the opinion that it may have been minted in Kedah. However, recently I have discovered three more specimens of the same coin at Lambat in Kelantan. They were found in a field about one chain away from an old burial place covered in jungle and surrounded by padi fields. It is a sacred grave known as *Kubor Mong* (*Embong*). Recent offerings in the form of a *balai* (platform of bamboo with offerings) and several *sakoh* (a coconut shell with offerings, placed on top of a split bamboo stick) indicate the importance with which it is regarded by the local peasant. I was told that quite a number of gold coins have been found in the same field. This place is situated about half a mile from the bank of Sungei Pengkalan Dato'. A certain amount of folklore is related about this *kubor*.

II. Pewter Coins

Plate IV (fig. 1).
A circular coin with a large central hole; found in the Kelantan River.
Inscription:—

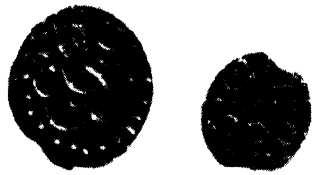
obverse:—*Kaliphatul-karam al-sultan almuadzam* (Arabic), denoting the honorific title of the ruler;

reverse:—*Malikul-bilad al-fatani alawal* (arabic),
translation:—Ruler of the country Patani the first.
The inscription on the reverse is not very well done and there is some doubt about it; it is also suggested that it may be read
Malikul bilad aladzimul-imam (Arabic),
the translation of this does not seem very intelligible:—
Ruler of the country the great sovereign.

The appearance of the coin is much like a Patani pewter coin described by Sir J. A. S. Bucknill (J.R.A.S.M.B. Vol. 1, 1923)



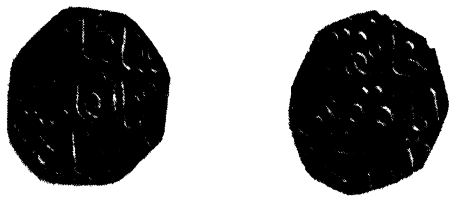
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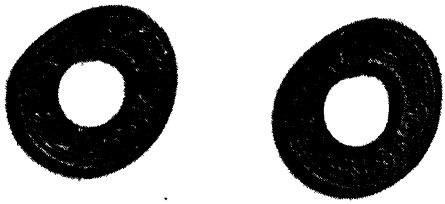
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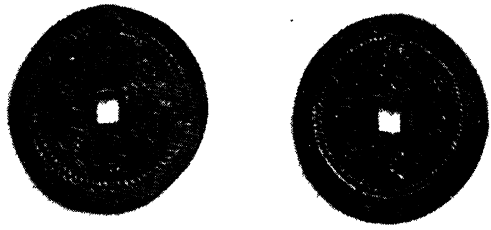
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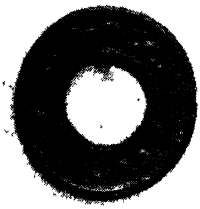
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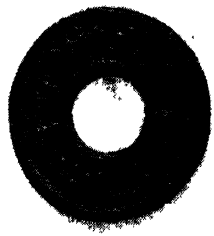
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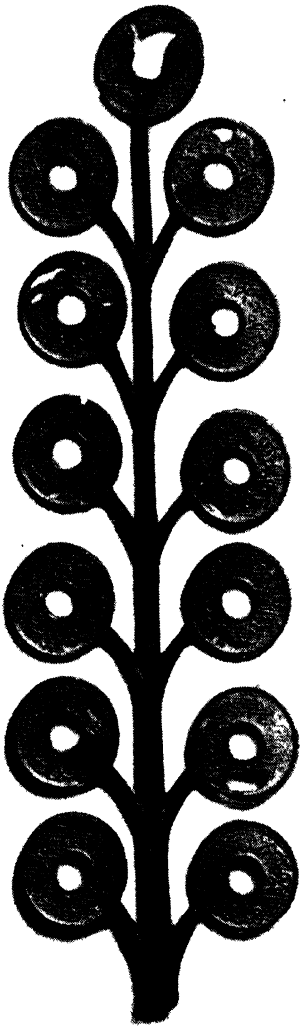
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3



4



and illustrated on plate IV, fig. 21. Five Patani coins are mentioned here, all dated (1845—6, 1880—1, 1883—4, 1887—8 and 1891—2 A.D.).

Plate IV (fig. 2).

A circular pewter coin with a square hole in the centre.
The coin was obtained in Kuala Trengganu.
Inscription :—

obverse :—*Sin Hi* (in Arabic writing) guarded by two lions.
reverse :—*Teck Soon Kongsi* and *Konggu* (in Chinese characters) ; along the rim in romanised letters *Wee Sin Hee* 1907.

Wee Sin Hee was a Chinese trader in Kuala Trengganu. His descendants are still living there. I was told that Wee Sin Hee obtained the Sultan's *kuasa* (authority) to mint these coins, which were probably used for gambling and also as local currency to a certain extent. It is stated that their value was 40 to one Straits Dollar.

Plate IV (fig. 3 and 4).

Pewter coins of Kelantan have been described by Sir J. A. S. Bucknill (J.R.A.S.M.B. Vol. I, 1923) and by Dr. W. Linehan (J.R.A.S.M.B. Vol. XII, pt. II, 1934).

Dr. Linehan's fig. 2, plate XI, represents the earliest type of pewter coin known in Kelantan. Stone moulds for this type of coin were also described in the same paper. Recently some workmen, taking sand up from the Kelantan River bed, found a number of coins of this type and brought them to me. They show clearly that two types were in existence. The larger one (Pl. IV, fig. 4) is the same kind as the one illustrated by Dr. Linehan; the smaller one (fig. 3) looks much like the kind of coin which was made from the stone moulds, and may represent the earliest issue. The dates of these two coins are uncertain. It may, however, be stated that they date from either Sultan Long Yunos (circa 1775—1794 A.D.) or from his son Sultan Mohamad I (1800—1835 A.D.).

Plates V, VI.

A *pohon pitis* (tree of coins).
This coin represent a third issue of pewter coins in 1321 A.H. (1903).
The present coin is about twice the size of the one illustrated by Dr. Linehan (plate XI, fig. 6) and about the same size as the 1300 A.H. coin (fig. 3). It has a hole in the centre.
Inscription :—

obverse :—*Belanja'an negri Kelantan adama mulkahu* (Arabic),

translation:—Currency of the country of Kelantan (may God) perpetuate its Government;
reverse:—*Sunia'a fi jamadil-ula sanat* 1321 (Arabic),
translation:—Struck in the month of Jamadil in the year 1321 (1903 A.D.).

As regards Sir J. A. S. Bucknill's two coins described under 'A" and "B" (page 211) I find that the inscription on my specimens of "A", which has also been described by Dr. W. Linehan (plate XI, fig. 3), is exactly the same as the one on Bucknill's "B". It is not clear why Sir J. A. S. Bucknill came to the conclusion that سنة should read *sanat* 1313; The illustration in his paper shows no sign of the last two figures 1 and 3. One often finds that letters and dots are missing in inscriptions on old coins, and I think that the two " . . " representing the 00 in 1300 were omitted by mistake, or perhaps more likely just lost in the minting process. I have got three specimens in my possession where the 00 is difficult to see; there is just a slight trace of it. It appears to me, that until a specimen is found showing clearly *sanat* 1313, it may be assumed that Bucknill's "A" and "B" represent the same issue.

Explanation of Plates

Plate III. Gold coins from Kelantan and Trengganu.

Plate IV. Pewter coins from Kelantan and Trengganu.

Plates V, VI. A *pohon pitis* (tree of coins) from Kelantan.

Plate VII. A grave at Kampong Rawa, Kelantan.

A Historical Note on the Northeastern Malay States

By ANKER RENTSE

PLATES VIII—X

In connection with a collection of Archaeological Implements presented by me to Raffles Museum in Singapore, I have made an attempt to record finds of historical interest in Kelantan as known to me. These discoveries cover a wide historical field from the early mesolithic period up to our present era, and they confirm my former assumption (History of Kelantan, J.R.A.S.M.B. Vol. XII, pt. II, 1934) that Kelantan is a country with a very old history, which has yet to be discovered in detail. An attempt has also been made to collect data from the various sources available on the history of the Northeastern Malay States, which include the Malay countries on the east coast from Kelantan to Ligor. It is impossible to confine oneself to the history of Kelantan without dealing with that of the Malay States on the east coast north of Kelantan as well, as they passed through history together, now and again divided up into smaller states, sometimes united in an independent kingdom and sometimes under the yoke of the Mon-Khmer's or the Thai's, their neighbours to the north. As the history of this part of the Peninsula is so obscure, the historical data so scanty, I feel that a record like this, meagre and incomplete as it is, may be of some use.

Historical research in the Malay Peninsula in the past has been confined largely to Malacca and its dependencies. Very little light was cast upon the history of the Northeastern Malay States. The Malays here represent a people different in many respects from the Malays in the west and the south; they are isolated from the rest of the Peninsula by high mountain ranges, and although there were trade connections with the west coast they passed through a historical phase of their own. The Malays of Perak, Pahang, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Johore have Sumatran affinities, whereas the Malays of Kelantan, Patani and Ligor had intercourse with the people from the north and the east; they represent in physical type and dialect as well as in customs two different people. Dato' Braddell asked in 1935 (J.R.A.S.M.B. Vol. XIII, pt. II, page 86), "But what was the 'Malay proper'? Is this origin of Malay culture in Trengganu and Kelantan really the same as that of the Malay culture on the west and south of the main mountain range of the Peninsula? and did the Malays of these two states really acquire that culture at the same time as the Western and Southern Malays?" These two cultures were influenced from dif-

ferent sources and therefore became different to a degree. Trengganu was, however, later on in close connection with Pahang and Johore, and this connection has left its trace. Trengganu Malays are different in custom from Kelantan Malays, except in the Besut valley on the Kelantan border, the population of which is of Kelantan origin; the customs of the Kelantanese are greatly influenced by Brahmanism and Hinduism through connection with the north, and with Majapahit; in Trengganu this is not the case. The Malay culture in the Northeastern Malay States is probably of a much earlier date than the culture on the west coast, which spread out from Malacca.

It seems strange that so little was known about the east coast of the Peninsula, but there appears to be an explanation for this. The ancient trade routes from Europe went from India across the Bay of Bengal to the west coast of the Malay Peninsula. It seems likely that piracy prevented traders from following an established trading route further east. Therefore we get very scanty information about the east coast Malays from the ancient records put up by traders from the west. It is probable that in the earliest times of western trade barter took place on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, in Kedah and Perak, where it appears that important settlements of Indian traders were to be found from about the 1st to 10th century A.D. (Dr. H. G. Quaritch Wales, J.R.A.S.M.B. Vol. XVIII, pt. I) and that goods were carried overland from the east coast. After 1511 A.D. when the first European power, the Portuguese, settled at Malacca we find detailed historical accounts concerning the west coast, but still very little about the east coast countries. Recent investigations into the works of Chinese Chroniclers are now beginning, however, together with western travellers' records and archaeological research, to form a picture of early culture in the Malay Peninsula, and there are signs which indicate that future research work may find a key in the Northeastern Malay States as well as in Kedah and Perak to establish the data about the Malay culture before 1500 A.D.

The earliest date relating to the history of the Kingdom of Patani is mentioned by Eredia (J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. VIII, pt. 1, 1930; J. V. Mills, Eredia's Description of Malacca, Meridional India and Cathay), who writes about 1600 A.D. that "The Empire of the Malaios was founded in Pattane by Tuan Malaio, the first Emperor, who was chosen in the third year before the birth of Christ, during the time when Herod of Ascalon, the pagan, was on the throne; the seat of the empire passed to Pan then to Malacca, and is now established at Batusauar." It was the Thai's from the north who pressed the Malay rulers further south when they settled in Pahang (Pan). Dr. W. Linehan states (J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. XIV, pt. II, 1936) that the Thai overlords (the Thai's, Sukhotai) obtained supremacy over Ligor about 1280 A.D., and

afterwards suzerainty over Sai and Pahang during the 14th century; apparently they did not interfere with the Ligor dynasty in Pahang. They merely exacted tribute, and established settlements. In the 15th century Malacca was in power and later, about 1600 A.D., Johore became an important trade centre.

Eredia, describing Marco Polo's voyage in 1292, states "So it may be concluded that in those times there were no civilised people in Samatra and Ujontana, except on the other or western coast of Ujontana, where there was intercourse with Attay or Cathay." This affords evidence of a relationship with countries east of Malaya. It may be noted here that Malay families in Cambodia, who do not talk the Malay language, but who have maintained their Muslim faith, are even now sending their children to religious schools in Kelantan.

And further Eredia writes, "Patane was the first seat of the Empire of the Malaios; its site lies on the eastern coast of the Peninsula in seven degrees of North latitude; it is one of the famous Oriental ports with an extensive trade and commerce. It contains even at the present day large gold mines which have been discovered in the mountains and the ranges and in other parts of the territory along the course of river Cea, where one finds large quantities of gold in the form of dust and small grains, which is taken for sale to the port of Malacca, and is well known to the captains and merchants of the latter place, who always buy it for the trade with Choromandel.

"I remember seeing a piece of gold from the river of Cea; it was a gold nugget shaped like a small onion, with roots like a plant; it was in the house of Ninaborneo Chelim, a very large trader and merchant.

"Pan was the second seat of the Empire of the Malaios; its site lies on the Eastern coast of the Peninsula, in three degrees of North latitude; the port is just as much frequented by merchants, because of the gold from its auriferous mines; it contains the best and largest gold mines in the whole Peninsula; it was from here, one presumes, that there came the gold which formed the subject of the ancient trade with Alexandria and Grand Cairo, which passed by the Way of the port of Calan, or the port of Tanasorin or Tana Sophir (which is nowadays called Tanasorin) through the Red Sea or Arabian Gulf in the following manner."

The river Cea mentioned above refers to the Sai River, nowadays known as Sungei Telubin. At one time the country around this river formed a kingdom called Sai.

The recent publications by Dato' Roland Braddell, Mr. J. L. Moens and Dr. Quaritch Wales in this Journal have cast a new light into the darkness of ancient Malayan history. Mr. Moens notes are based on the ancient Chinese and Arabian travellers' records (J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. XVII, pt. II, 1940), and he has suggested that the ancient kingdom of Srivijaya (about 670 A.D.) was centred in the part of Malaya known to us as Kelantan, which he considers to be the Ho-lo-tan of Chinese chroniclers. He also records that in 430/452 A.D. envoys were sent from Ho-lo-tan (= Kelantan) to China, which indicates an important trade centre in Kelantan during that period. Mr. Moens writes (page 17), "Is there any indication supported by historical or topographic causes, for the rise of Kelantan or Kalatan (as the natives of this place call it)—which subjugated Malayu and eventually monopolised the trade route from China to India during two centuries?"

Mr. W. A. Graham writes ("Siam", Alexander Moring, London, W.1. 1924) "The principal of those lesser states which for a long period alternately admitted and denounced the suzerainty of Sukhothai-Sawankalok, was Sri Wijaya, also called Sumarāttha and later Supan, the first capital of which was built, probably about 150 A.D., on a site at that time close to the sea at the head of the Gulf of Siam, though it is now twenty-five miles inland. As Sri Wijaya the state flourished for some 800 years, successive kings adding to the buildings and fortifications of the capital and embellishing the magnificent pagoda, the graceful spire of which, often restored and more than once practically rebuilt during successive ages, still dominates the district long known as Nakon Chai Si (Nagara Jaya Sri) and now called Nakon Pathom."

And further "Yet another southern state was the kingdom of Nakon Sri Tammarat or Lakon, corrupted by the Malays to Ligor, situated on the east coast of the Siamo-Malay Peninsula, about latitude 8° 25' N. The date of the first appearance of a consolidated kingdom in this neighbourhood is uncertain, but there is evidence that travellers from both India and China knew of a capital city on the northeast coast of the Peninsula at a very early period, while the "Annals of the North" describe Lakon as waging a temporarily successful war against Lopburi in the ninth century A.D. In very early times the kings of Lakon were the overlords of the entire Siamo-Malay Peninsula, and though the advent of the Malays and the establishment of the Malacca Power destroyed their rule in the southern parts, they continued until comparatively recently (when the sub-kingdom became a mere province of Siam), to be the acknowledged masters of all the central northern districts. Lakon was always subject to much foreign influence. Indian and European traders made it a centre for the collection of merchandise, and in the wars between Siam and Pegu its situation contiguous to the frontier caused it to be frequently occupied by the Peguan

forces. The cult of Brahmanism flourished greatly there in the middle ages and it remains at the present day the last stronghold of popular Brahmanism in Siam."

Comparing the notes of Mr. Moens and Mr. Graham it looks as if Sri Wijaya's boundaries extended from the head of the Gulf of Siam down South into the Malay Peninsula somewhere about Kelantan, or, with Dr. W. Linehan's discoveries in view, including Pahang. Mr. Moens thinks that Kelantan was the centre of the empire, but Mr. Graham seems to think that this was to be found further north amongst the Khmer tribes. Probably both are correct as it may be suggested, that the ruling power at times was in the hands of the Malays and sometimes with the Khmers.

Further Mr. Moens writes, "The present capital of the State of Kelantan is Kota Bharu, 10 klm inland on the river estuary. The previous capital Kota Lama is farther upstream than Kota Bharu, from which one may conclude that this sandy un-wooded coast is increasing so that old Kelantan of the 7th century must be looked for much farther upstream. This was very likely the case, because it lay on 5° 50′ northern latitude, whilst the present Kuala Kelantan lies on 6° 15′ N. latitude, or 45 klm more to the north. There is the possibility that sundial measurements cannot always be relied on, on account of their comparative inaccuracy (Gerini was not too particular about arriving at the result of 5° 50′ N. latitude for old Srivijaya). Though the northeast monsoon in the China Sea makes navigation difficult from November until February, the sea is calm all the rest of the year. The Kelantan River is open to Malay shipping for 300 klm upstream, and sailing boats with a draft of 8′ can reach Kota Bharu, where the river has a breadth of 350 meters. Kelantan is well known for its gold, which next to that from Pahang is preferred by Malays. During the reign of Sultan Mahmud II of Malacca (end of 15th century) Kelantan was a more powerful State than Patani, with which its history was closely associated through centuries.

"Both cities were frequented by traders between China and India, because from there the Gulf of Siam was crossed to Camboja. This was indeed the shortest route, and favoured especially Kelantan. During the northeast monsoon Patani was, however, preferable owing to its well protected harbour. In both these cities all merchandise could be found from the East Indian Archipelago, China, Indo-China and India. Only occasionally stops were made at Ho-ling or Po-ling on the southern part of Malayu's east coast (according to Yi-tsing). I believe that it is more than a mere coincidence that the empire Ho-lo-tan or Ko-lo-tan is identical with the empire on the Kelantan River; Pelliot believes that Ko-lo-tan, on the island of Cho-p'o, is identical with Kelantan. The annals of the first Sung dynasty (240—478 A.D.) mention

emissaries from there to China with crystal rings, parrots, Indian and native textiles, etc. Further geographical proof is substantiated by the Sui annals (589—618 A.D.) which mention that Ho-lo-tan lies to the south of the empire of Teh'e-t'ou, where a Chinese mission arrived in 607 A.D. and which in response sent a mission to China in 616 A.D. To the north this country bordered the sea (see map No. 11). The name Teh'e-t'ou seems to be a translation of a name signifying "red earth", perhaps Raktamrttika, which appeared on an old inscription found in Province Wellesley (5th century).

"It is surely more than a coincidence that north of Kelantan (and Patani) in the old Patalung (now situated near the swampy lake Tale Sap—with the capital of Singgora founded by Siam near a splendid new harbour) the soil is pronouncedly red and the harbour entrance marked by the red sandstone hills of Kao Deng (Kao = hills; deng = reddish). Patalung, now merely a well-to-do village, was a large city near a deep waterway, according to local tradition. But even if the above identifications of Ho-lo-tan with Kelantan and Teh'-t'ou with Patalung should be erroneous, the fact remains that according to geographical information the city must have been somewhere near 5° 50′ N. latitude on the east coast of Malaya; thus Srivijaya must have existed on the Kelantan River before its transfer to Malayu. This becomes the more likely if Kelantan is identical with Ho-lo-tan of the 5th century. Kelantan must have adopted the famous name of Srivijaya before the first visit of Yi-tsing, else he would not have mentioned it. Also the fact that the T'ang annals mention emissaries from Cheli-fo-che (670—673 A.D.) is in favour of this view. The adoption of the name may have been prompted by the intention to impress Cho-p'o and other states with its might and power (670—1 A.D.). It is noteworthy that nothing was heard in China of Cho-p'o during a whole century (666—767 A.D.) and the conclusion is that Cheli-fo-che (Kelantan) was already during 666—670 A.D. a power which exerted a supreme influence in Malaya."

I do not think Mr. Moens' suggestion that the old capital of Kelantan in the 7th century was situated at a place close to the seashore (on 5° 50′ N. latitude) will prove to be correct. I have collected a stone implement (an adze) of the neolithic type only 4 miles from the present seashore, 2 feet below the surface, which may indicate that the formation of the Kelantan plain is of a much earlier date. Curiously enough a similar implement was discovered in the soil near the bank of the Kelantan River at 5° 50′ N. latitude. Also Kota Lama is, according to local tradition, of a comparatively recent date. So far no traces have been found of an ancient capital; the Kelantan River overflows its banks at every monsoon flood and deposits a certain amount of silt on the plain, and it is quite possible that the remains of an ancient capital have been buried under such silt deposits from heavy floods.

Dato' Roland Braddell writes to me that he does not think that Ho-lo-tan was Kelantan, but it appears that the Chinese chroniclers have also mentioned Ho-lo-tan as Kou-lo-tan, and mentioned it as lying south of Ch'iht'u (Sukhothai, Siam) in the seventh century. Gerini remarks that it appears to be doubtful whether this refers to Kelantan or not, but he adds later on that the sea is lying to the north of the country; this applies very well to Kelantan.

Dr. H. G. Quaritch Wales writes (J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. XVIII, pt. I, 1940) page 68, describing the second main wave of Indian Cultural Expansion to Malaya (circa 300 to circa 550 A.D.), "As to the political status of Kedah during this early period, as we have no certain evidence of its independent intercourse with China, it seems reasonable to suppose that it was controlled by some more powerful neighbouring state. Unless we accept Moens' views that Kedah (as Cho-p'o) was under the rule of Kelantan (identified by him with Ho-lo-tan of the First Sung Annals), we may suppose that it was part of the powerful kingdom of Lang-ya-hsiu which is generally agreed to have been situated at Ligor and which in turn was almost certainly under the suzerainty of the Funan Empire. Not only would such an early Kedah-Ligor combination have been in accordance with the state of affairs we find repeated in later centuries, but the overland route from Kedah (now followed by the railway) formed a natural and easy link, intercourse across which at an early date is suggested by the existence not only at Kedah but also Ligor of very early inscriptions." And further Dr. Quaritch Wales writes, page 74, "Perhaps most decisive of all the emphatic negative evidence that *nowhere in Kedah, among remains of any period, have any sculptural, architectural or decorative remains been recovered that are essentially Javanese or Sumatran in character.* The same statement seems to hold good throughout Malaya. In Kelantan of course there is plenty of evidence of Javanese influence in the living culture of the people, but it is late in character and may be attributed to the contacts in the Majapahit period."

Even if Ho-lo-tan does not refer to Kelantan, although there seems reason to believe that it probably does, the Lang-ya-hsiu (Lang-kasuka) was no doubt an empire of some great extent, and it seems most likely that all the smaller states along the Pahang, Kelantan, Sai and Patani Rivers were included in this empire, though probably ruled by vassal kings, who recognised the Ligor ruler as their overlord. At times, it may be assumed, the rulers of Patani or Kelantan were regarded as overlords, gaining supreme power through local feuds. It also seems probable that the earlier Indian settlements in Kedah formed a coalition with the east coast empire, and that the later power in the Kinta valley in Perak (mentioned by Dr. Quaritch Wales) was connected in the same way,

communication taking place up the Perak River. This will be dealt with further on.

The name Langkasuka suggests some connection with the Ramayana tales, the plays of which up to the present time form a source of great entertainment in the villages of Kelantan and Patani. They are performed on the stage of the Kelantan *Wayang-kulit* (shadowplay), locally referred to as *Wayang-Siam* so as to distinguish it from the *Wayang-Java,* which is of a recent date in Kelantan.

It may also be worth recording that an old Malay, who was my informant on the Kelantan Shadowplay about 10 years ago, told me that the city of Lanka (Lankapuri) mentioned in the Ramayana tales was really not situated in Ceylon as commonly believed, but in Ligor, somewhere near Singgora, he said, and that the temples referred to in the ritual of the shadowplay (J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. XIV, pt. III, 1936, page 292), which reads:—

"Puak-puak dewa rosak, ya'itu Maharaja Rawana dan nenek Maharaja Seri Rama, yang dudok bertapa di pantai Bali didalam negri Lakarkatyin, siapa yang empunya ending, ending suak, ending jahrum, siapa yang menjadi nenek, ya'itu To' Maha Risi Kala yang bermatakan api, yang dudok bertapa didalam wat tujoh kedi Berhama, bersama dengan berhala ampat-puloh hulubalang-nya, bernama Ratu Pangnira," (translation:—Troops of godlings, who are the great kings Rawana and Seri Rama, who practise penance in ascetic devotion on the Bali coast in the land of Lakarkatyin, whoever are accompanied by servants, whoever are ancestral deities, namely Kala, the great wizard with the red eyes, who practises asceticism in the seven temples, that are monuments to Brahma, together with his captains, the forty idols, having the Javanese titles Ratu Pangnira), were situated in the same place. Although this old ritual is showing a strong Javanese influence, probably originating from the later Majapahit rule on the east coast, it refers to a country, written down by me as Lakarkatyin, an expression conveyed to me verbally by an illiterate Malay peasant, and therefore most likely corrupt, it suggests Langka in the first syllable. At the time when Majapahit culture influenced the east coast Malays the rule of Langkasuka had already then become a tale.

The discoveries in Kelantan of stone and bronze implements as well as ancient Chinese porcelain and pottery right from the coastal areas up into the centre of the Peninsula near the Perak-Kelantan and Pahang-Kelantan borders indicate that human activities took place on a considerable scale in ancient times. It would therefore appear that some kind of trade must have attracted the foreign traders to the country. What then would Kelantan be able to produce in return for the goods brought to its shores by these

foreign travellers? We know that gold, spices, merchandise and various agricultural products were exported from the Malay Peninsula in general; but apart from this we have now a few other points to guide us.

Kelantan was no doubt very rich in gold, and also in tin to some extent, and the same applies to the countries of Patani, Rahman, Jaring and Sai. If we draw a line from the present Raub Gold Mines in Pahang up north through Ulu Galas and Sungei Nenggiri (S. Jenera and S. Wias) in Kelantan, then bending towards the northeast, Sungei Setong and Sungei Mempelam, and from there north through the area east of Sungei Pergau (Sungei Jentiang and Sungei Sokor), next further on towards the northwest through the Tadoh River areas towards Tomoh in South-Thailand, the source of Sungei Telubin (Sai, Cea), and finally westwards through the upper parts of the Patani River, touching the Ulu Belom in Perak, we find traces of ancient mining everywhere in the jungle in the form of old water-supply canals along the slopes of the hills. Alluvial gold will be found in the streams almost anywhere in this extensive area; but nowadays it appears in such small quantities that only small scale *dulang* work (panning) is profitable, an indication that the great bulk of surface deposits have been removed by the ancient miners. It must be assumed, however, that those miners used primitive implements and that they worked the surface only, wherefore rich ore deposits may still be expected to be present underground. The stone and bronze implements described in connection with the present notes have nearly all been discovered in or along these ancient sites for gold and tin workings. Some of the discoveries were made twenty feet below the surface. It is now tolerably evident that an extensive trade in gold (and in tin to some extent) took place in Kelantan in ancient times, and I have no doubt that further investigations would yield the same results in the jungle along the upper reaches of the Patani and the Sai Rivers. This trade in gold continued on a decreasing scale to the present time. We find Sung Celadon porcelain buried in the soil of the Kelantan plain and large Ming pottery jars regarded as sacred old relics in villages from the coast to the interior. A small Ming jar I found in a village on the Thailand border (Sungei Golok) was described to me as a *guri mas* (gold jar), and I was told that it contained gold dust when found buried in the ground. Extensive mining activities would require a trade in food supplies, and this probably developed the agriculture on the Kelantan plain, which in padi areas alone covers more than 200 square miles today. About 1500 A.D. locally minted gold coins were in use as currency. Recent discoveries (J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. XVII, pt. 1, 1939) have proved that gold coins were minted in the Northeastern Malay States to an extent unknown in the rest of the Peninsula. It is probable that a gold currency was in force before 1500 A.D. The gold coins discovered so far all

bear inscriptions in Arabic, which indicate that they were minted by rulers subject to Muslim faith. Tradition in Kelantan claims that the Northeastern Malay States embraced Islam at a period much earlier than the west coast states, and that it was introduced from Yunan. Eredia writes (J. V. Mills; J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. VIII, pt. I, 1930), "the faith of Maumeth was accepted in Patane and Pam on the eastern coast of Ujontana, and in certain islands of the Aromatic Archipelago, especially at the port of Bantan in Java Major. Later it was accepted and encouraged by Permicuri at Malaca in the year 1411."

We are now able to establish the facts about a chain of ancient settlements along the Kelantan River and its main tributaries right up to the Perak and Pahang borders. Similarly there have been early settlements along the Pahang River, the upper reaches of which also contain gold and show traces of ancient mining. It is therefore quite probable that there was a close connection between the settlers in the upper reaches of the two main rivers, as the gold workings continue in an almost unbroken chain across the divides, some of which are less than one thousand feet above sea level. This would indicate an unbroken route from Kuala Kelantan up through the Lebir, Galas and Nenggiri Rivers, crossing the Kelantan-Pahang border into the Tembeling and the Jelai Rivers down to Kuala Pahang. These routes are not known to the younger generation of Malays, but I have met many old Malays who used them before roads and railways were developed in this country.

With reference to the old maps of the Peninsula Dato' Roland Braddell writes (J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol., XVII, pt. I, page 149), "The Attabas seems clearly to have been Pahang. Like Johore it fits exactly Ptolemy's positions and archaeology corrobates both as the scenes of ancient settlement." And further, "In connection with Ptolemy's names Dr. Linehan has directed our attention to this Society's map of the Peninsula in 1887 which shows a spur of Gunong Tahan as being named Bukit Batu Atap; and he says that as a consequence he is now inclined to give some credence to Gerini's derivation of Attabas from atap which Dr. Linehan had previously rejected." In 1934 (J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. XII, pt. II, page 46) I made the suggestion that Ptolemy's Attaba may be the Lebir River (one of the main tributaries to the Kelantan River, the source of which is Gunong Tahan). Mr. C. N. Maxwell made the following notes (J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. XIV, pt. III; Roland Braddell, Study of Ancient Times in the Malay Peninsula), "We find Palandas (p. 17) as the mouth of a river and Palanda (p. 18) as an inland town. I gather that Ptolemy plotted his maps from information obtained from sailing masters and travellers who came to the Malay Peninsula for gold (and tin). *Landa* (*melanda*) means to pan for ore. *Melanda mas,* to pan for gold, *dulang*

pelanda, the wooden pan used by gold and tin washers to this day; also *pendulang.* Pelanda or Pelandas may therefore have been accepted as being the name of a river or town whereas it simply referred to the places where people washed for gold i.e. the gold fields." And further, p. 18, "the remainder becomes the Palandas, for which unfortunately he gives no further positions." This may be accounted for by the fact that the gold fields were extensive. Further Mr. Maxwell writes, "It looks as though the true name of the river was overlooked in favour of the object of the voyage that the river was called Palandas because it was the gold seekers' first port of call and the river which either contained gold or led to the gold fields."

It may be suggested that the former views regarding the position of Ptolemy's Attaba River, that it refers to the Pahang River and that the Palandas was the Johore River, may be revised. On Gerini's map the mountain called M. Batu Atap is shewn at the source of the Attaba River, which is to the *south* of this river. The position of Gunong Tahan is south of the Kelantan River. Against the Palanda being the Johore River, was there ever any gold mining of any importance carried out on the Johore River? I think it likely to be considered that the Attaba River refers to the Kelantan River and that the Palandas was the name for the Pahang River.

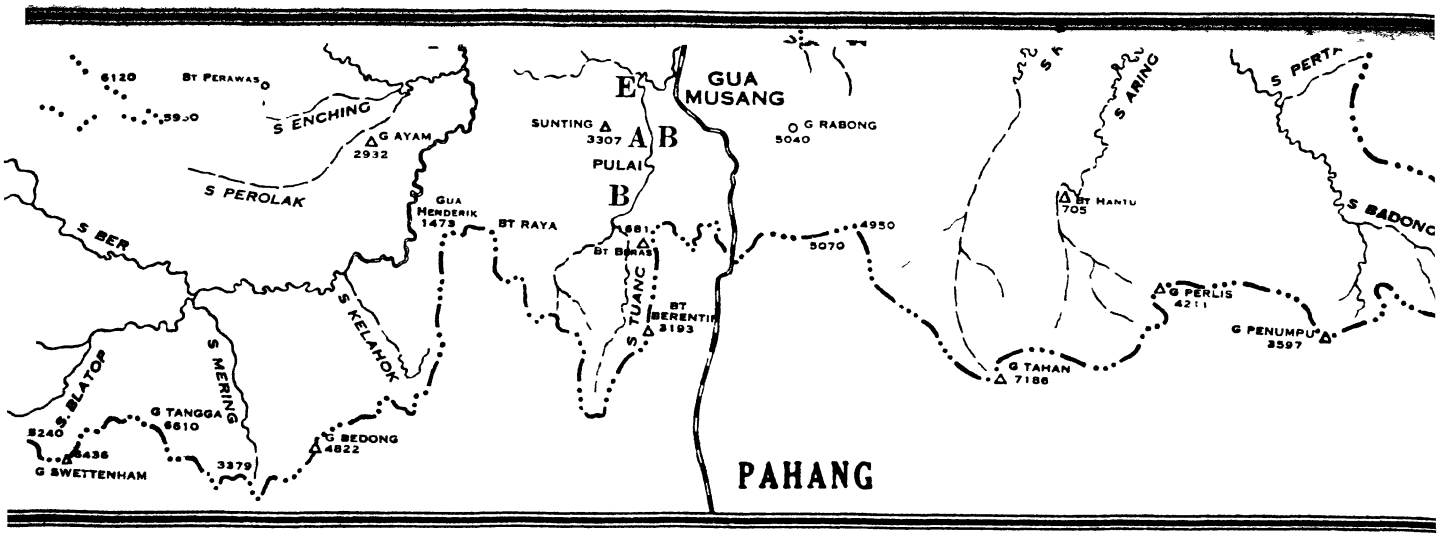
I do not think there can be any doubt about an ancient inland trade route from our Kuala Kelantan to Kuala Pahang; a main route like this would naturally be wellknown in those days to all traders, wherefore casual visitors like Ptolemy's informants, who being overseas traders probably paid calls only in the coastal ports and therefore only heard about the sources of the main rivers from the native traders. They would, however, be certain to take notice of such information as these upper reaches contained the gold they were purchasing; but mistakes in such secondhand information may easily occur.

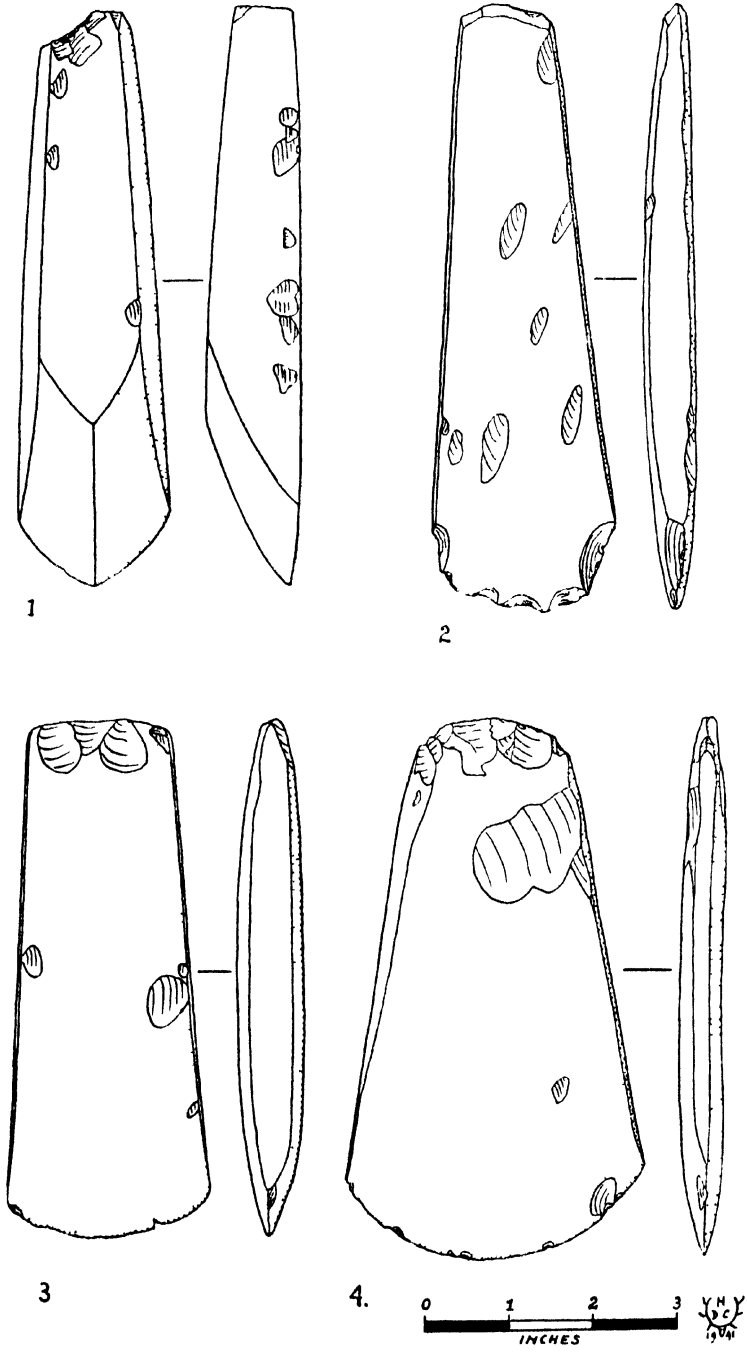
In connection with the Kelantan-Pahang inland trade route attention should be drawn to the aboriginal tribes in the mountains on the Perak-Kelantan border, the *Temiar.* Recent years' investigations by Mr. H. D. Noone have proved that these Temiar contain a stock of a highly intelligent tribe of agricultural minded people. We find here types so refined that one cannot but conjecture that these types are the relics of a former civilisation yet unknown to us. It may be suggested that some of these Temiar descend from the ancient people who populated the country along the Kelantan-Pahang trade route. Furthermore it is interesting to note that the Temiar dialect is closely related to the Mon-Khmer language. According to Mr. W. A. Graham the Khmers were at one time the overlords of the various kingdoms in the Malay Peninsula. There is also the legendary tale in Kelantan about the queen who

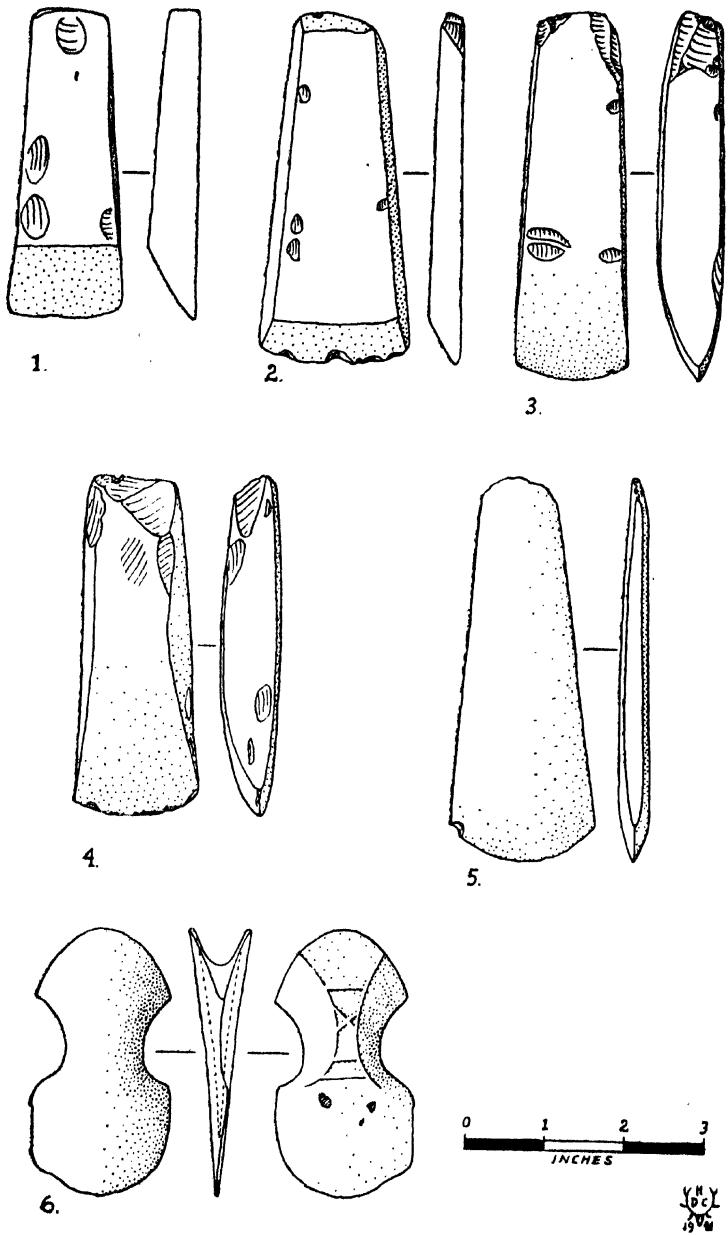
ruled Kelantan from Gunong Chintawasa (on the map wrongly called Noring East) in the Temiar country and whose adopted daughter was a descendant of Tok Raja Besiong (or Bersiwang).

Apart from the Kedah-Ligor route, mentioned by Dr. Quaritch Wales, there is another land route which may also be considered. It is wellknown that there was communication between Patani and Upper Perak for hundreds of years back. A considerable part of the Malay population in Upper Perak claims descent from Patani. Gold was found in the upper reaches of the Patani and Sai Rivers, as well as in the Belom valley down to Tapong, and it seems likely that future investigations will make discoveries of historical interest along these sites of ancient gold workings, the same as in Kelantan. Gold and other products from the east coast were probably carried across country to Kedah for the overseas export to the western countries, India, Persia, Egypt and Europe. It strikes me as curious that there is a place in Kedah called Sungei Patani. I venture to suggest that this name may refer to an ancient trade route from Patani on the east coast, up along the Patani River through its gold bearing areas, and down through Kedah somewhere along the Ketil River towards Kuala Merbok. This line would pass the present Sungei Patani in Kedah. It seems probable that this Kedah Sungei Patani derived its name from the river through which the Patani traders from the east coast appeared to the eyes of the Kedah folk, when they arrived with their products. Gold, spices and merchandise would be easy to carry across on elephants, which are commonly used for transport up to the present day in South-Thailand and Upper Perak.

This route would be of very great importance for the trade between the east coast states and Kedah as a distributing centre for the overseas trade on the west coast, as will be seen from the following. The upper reaches of the Patani River, the Telubin (Sai) River and the Pergau River (a tributary to the Kelantan River) are situated in the neighbourhood of each other. Connecting passages take place through the upper part of the Belum valley in Perak where traces are also found of old gold workings. There is still a wellknown path from Batu Melintang in Ulu Pergau up the Tadoh River (a tributary to the Pergau in Kelantan) across the Thailand border and further on into the Belum valley. I have met Kelantan Malays on this path walking along towards Belum to visit their relatives living there. The map of Malaya (1933) shows a path from the Belum valley to Betong in the Ulu of the Patani River, from where there is now road connection into Kedah. It seems evident that this route must be considered in connection with the ancient history of the northern Malay States. The route would probably be found convenient for a future road connection between Penang and Kelantan-Trengganu; it need not cross the


6120
BT PERAWAS
5900
S ENCHING
G AYAM
2932
S PEROLAK
S BER
GUA MENDERIK
1473
BT RAYA
E
SUNTING
3307
A
B
PULAI
B
GUA MUSANG
G RABONG
5040
681
BT BERAS
S TUANG
BT BERENTI
2193
4950
5070
S K
S ARING
BT HANTU
705
G PERLIS
4211
G PENUMPU
3597
S PERTA
S BADONG
G TAHAN
7186
S KELAHOK
S MERING
S. BLATOP
G TANGGA
6610
5240
5436
G SWETTENHAM
3379
G BEDONG
4822
PAHANG


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0 1 2 3
INCHES
1941


1.
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INCHES

Thailand territory, but could be directed through the pass at Ulu Bintang on the Perak-Kelantan border.

Mr. V. B. C. Baker writes (J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. XV, pt. I, page 27; Roland Braddell, Further Notes upon the study of Ancient Times in the Malay Peninsula), "The men of Sai who colonised Pahang were miners, not seafarers—probably of stock other than Malay. They followed gold and tin up the Telubin (Sai) and crossed over into the Pergau and thence up the Lebir and over, *via* the Sat, into the Tembeling valley. Linehan (J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. XIV, pt. II, page 10) mentions "the river Tembeling, a highway of communication between Pahang and the North," and on page 9, "the river Tembeling which the discovery of numerous neolithic and early iron age implements there indicates was at one time a thickly populated district." Some of them would take the alternative route up the Galas and over *via* Pulai into Jelai—the route followed by the railway today. Hence the importance of Sai, which as related by Eredia tapped so many gold fields."

Mr. V. B. C. Baker also writes (referring to J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. XIV, pt. II, W. Linehan, History of Pahang) "About 1500 A.D. the King of Ligor, on instructions from the King of Siam, invaded Pahang *via* the land route *down the Tembeling.*" It seems likely that the Tembeling River received its present name from the ancient miners of pre-Thai stock who once settled here, the people from Ligor (Tambralinga).

Furthermore Mr. Baker writes, "It is abundantly clear that our early records are the work of mariners, or historians taking down the stories of seamen, and that they are influenced by the seamen's mentality. These men were chiefly interested in ports. But the miners and other inhabitants inland who brought the gold and other commodities to port were landsmen—they followed valleys, not necessarily travelling on the rivers. Judging by the places they worked, they generally travelled overland, like the still existing hill-men in the Peninsula, as opposed to the seafaring and riverine Malays. They probably used elephants, in preference to boats. Hence many of the apparent difficulties of the old records. The seafarers and river-folk in their accounts assumed continuous water transport in the interior, whereas often it did not exist, and was not needed."

As to the route along which the gold was brought from the Jelai area in Pahang to Malacca it is worth while looking at the map. A tributary of the Muar, called the Jelai River, indicates a probable direction of that route by its name, called so by the Malacca people, because the Jalai (Pahang) traders appeared in Malacca through here when they had crossed the *penarikan*, in other words the river which led from Malacca to the route to Jelai in Ulu Pahang.

The present notes have been made with the intention to indicate possible lines for future field investigations. It seems clear that a net of inland routes of great importance existed in the Malay Peninsula, and that these routes formed a link between the various states, which were at one time or other united by intercourse. That some of these states have been mentioned under one and the same name by the ancient chroniclers is not surprising; e.g. Ligor and Kedah are both mentioned as Lankasuka; this merely indicates that they were at one time united in one empire. Likewise it seems quite probable that the Sailendra empire (suggested by Dr. Quaritch Wales in the Kinta valley) extended its power across to the west coast by connection through inland routes. Kelantan conquered Kedah between 666—670 A.D.; there was no doubt a very old connection between these two countries through the land route across the upper reaches of the Pergau, Sai, Belom and Patani Rivers. Jealousy amongst neighbours probably yielded to open fights on occasions over disputes as to the ownership of the gold areas or other matters of local interest, which would result in a transfer of the overlordship to the one or the other for certain periods. It therefore happens that we at different times hear about envoys being sent to China, sometimes from Ligor, at other times from Kelantan or Kedah. Envoys to China were sent from Ligor (Lankasuka) 515—531, 568 and 616—664 A.D.; from Kelantan (Ho-lo-tan or Kou-lo-tan) 430—452 and 616 A.D.; and from Kedah (Ho-ling) 640—666 A.D. After Kelantan's victory over Kedah a coalition took place between the predecessors of Sanjaya at Kedah (Ho-ling) with the exiled Fou-nan dynasty at Ligor against Camboja (Tchen-la) and Kelantan (Che-li-foche; Srivijaya) 670—671 A.D.

Sites of discoveries in Kelantan

(See map plate VIII)

Mesolithic

S. Nenggiri (just above Kuala Perias); for details see J.F.M.S. Mus., Vol. XV, pt. 4; H. D. Noone, M.A., Report on a new Neolithic Site in Ulu Kelantan.

S. Galas (Gua Madu below Pulai); for details see J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. XVIII, pt. II, M. W. F. Tweedie, M.A., Report on Excavations in Kelantan.

Neolithic

S. Nenggiri

Gua Mentri (just above Kuala Perias); for details see J.F.M.S. Mus., Vol. XV, pt. 4, H. D. Noone, M.A., Report on a new Neolithic Site in Ulu Kelantan.

Bt. Suang at S. Yai, a tributary to S. Perias. Collected by the writer, an adze head, 15 cm long; well made and polished. A slight curve has been ground so as to allow for a handle to be fixed; has probably been used like the present day *beliong* used by the natives

in the interior. Mr. Tweedie thought that this kind of stone may not be Malayan, probably it was imported by foreign miners.

Bt. Suang — Adze head, 10 cm long, white stone. Collected by the writer.

S. Jenera — Stone bark-pounders. Collected by the writer.

Ulu Sungei Galas (close to the Pahang border.

Gua Madu and Gua Musang below Pulai; for details see J.R.A.S.M.B, Vol. XVIII, pt. II, M. W. F. Tweedie, Report on Excavations in Kelantan.

Pulai — Adze head, 11½ cm long, black stone; collected in a gold mine by the writer.

„ — Chisel, 18¼ cm long, light grey stone; collected by the writer.

„ — Chisel, 21 cm long, grey stone, waterworn; collected in a gold mine by the writer.

„ — Chisel, 15¾ cm long, yellow stone, a well made specimen; collected in a gold mine by the writer.

„ — Adze head, 13¾ cm long, black stone; collected in a gold mine by the writer.

Kuala Sungei (Junction of S. Galas and S. Nenggiri).

Kg. Kuala Sungei; Chisel, 10 cm long, grey stone; found in a clearing, collected by the writer.

Sungei Setong valley, below Gunong Setong.

These implements have been found for the most part in old anthills, when these were opened up to find baits (larvae) for fishing; collected by the writer.

Adze head, 15¼ cm long, grey stone.
Adze head, 13 cm long, black stone; early type, unfinished.
Adze head, 11 cm long, black stone.
Adze head, 9¾ cm long, black stone.
Adze head, 7 cm long, grey stone.
Adze head, 9 cm long, white stone.
Adze head, 4¼ cm long, black stone, surface weathered white.
Adze head, 10½ cm long, brown stone.
Adze head, 9 cm long, black stone.
Adze head, 7 cm long, black stone.
Adze head, 21 cm long, probably early type; I am doubtful about the genuineness of this implement, it may represent an early type which has been worn in a riverbed.
Chisel or adze head of an early type, 39 cm long, black stone.

Kuala Pergau (Junction of the Galas and the Pergau Rivers).

These implements were found in a clearing close to old gold workings; collected by the writer.

Adze head, 10 cm long, black stone.

Adze head, 9 cm long, brown stone.

Sungei Pergau (a main tributary to S. Galas).

These implements were found in clearings close to old gold workings; collected by the writer.

Kuala Balah, Chisel, 14 cm long, black stone; a very well made specimen.

Kg. Bunga Tanjong, Adze head, 14½ cm long, grey stone.

Kg. Bunga Tanjong, Chisel, 17 cm long, dark grey stone.

Lower S. Galas, Kg. Teku (Kuala Gris Estate).

Stone spear head, a very rare specimen; collected by Mr. R. H. Ehlers. For details see J.F.M.S. Mus., Vol. XV, pt. 1, I. H. N. Evans. *Dulang* workings for gold take place now occasionally on the river bank in the neighbourhood. Other stone implements, adze heads, chisels and a bark pounder were also found here.

Sungei Lebir, (a main tributary to the Kelantan River).

There are traces of gold workings on this river.

Kg. Temiang, Adze head, 17 cm long, black stone; collected by the writer.

Kuala Sokor (Sungei Sokor is a tributary to the Kelantan River, and is wellknown for its gold workings).

A number of stone implements, collected by Mr. Young, and now in Raffles Museum.

Pulai Chondong (19th mile Kota Bharu—Krai road).

Adze head, 8½ cm long, black stone, found in a padi field; collected by the writer.

The Kelantan Plain.

Bukit Jawa, Kg Banir Belikong, appr. 9 miles from the present coast line, Chisel, 37 cm long, black stone, surface grey weather worn; found in an anthill, collected by the writer.

Gong Kedak, below Bukit Petri on the Kelantan-Trengganu border, appr. 4 miles from the present coast line, Adze head, 8½ cm long, black stone, surface grey weatherworn, collected by the writer.

Kota Bharu, Kg. Puteh, appr. 7 miles from the present coast line, a broken Adze head, black stone, collected by Mr. H. K. Ashby.

Bronze Age.

Sungei Nenggiri.

Sungei Jenera, Socketed bronze celt, 8 cm long; found in a gold mine; collected by the writer. This place is two days journey from the nearest Malay village on the Lower Nenggiri. The country is covered in virgin jungle and is only inhabited by the Temiar.

The place is just below Gunong Chintawasa (on map wrongly called Noring East). Traditional tales in Kelantan state that this place was once thickly populated and ruled by a queen, who ruled the whole of Kelantan from here.

Sung Celadon Porcelain, etc.

Pendek, at the bank of Sungei Mulong, about 2 feet below surface was found the following, afterwards collected by the writer.

A green glazed Sung Celadon plate, appr. 40 cm in diameter and 1 cm thick.

A dark glazed Sung Celadon bowl, appr. 10 cm in diameter.

A Sawankalok vase, similar to one in British Museum, appr. 10 cm high.

S. Mulong forms an old delta arm of the Kelantan River, continuing towards the sea through Sungei Pengkalan Dato' There are many signs that this area was populated in ancient times.

Chinese Pottery (Ming Period)

Ulu S. Galas, above Kuala Kundor. A large brown glazed jar with incised dragon design and five moulded lion heads near the top, appr. 50 cm high. Similar to the one illustrated in "Pottery and Porcelain, II. The Far East" by Emil Hannover (Ernest Benn Limited, London, 1925), page 104, fig. 157.

Kg Temangan Lama, (below Kuala Sokor on the Kelantan River). A similar jar to the above mentioned, 57 cm high.

S. Golok, Kg. Pengkalan Kubor, close to the seashore. A similar jar to the above mentioned, 55 cm high.

S. Golok, Kg Lubok Gong. A small jar, called *guri mas* by the Malays, it was said to contain gold dust when found buried in the ground.

Malay Gold Coins

These have been unearthed in various places on the Kelantan plain, but especially in places marked on the map (Plate VIII). Some of them date as far back as the 16th century, some are probably a couple of hundred years older. For details see J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. XII, pt. II, W. Linehan, Coins of Kelantan; J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. XIV, pt. III, Anker Rentse, A Note on Kelantan Gold Coins, and J.R.A.S.M.B.. Vol. XVII, pt. I. Anker Rentse. Gold Coins of the Northeastern Malay States. In addition some further notes on recent discoveries of gold coins will be found in the present issue of this Journal.

EXPLANATION OF PLATES

Plate VIII. Map of the State of Kelantan, showing archaeological sites.

Plate IX. Neolithic implements from Kelantan.

Plate X. Neolithic implements and (6) a bronze celt from Kelantan.

I am much indebted to Mr. H. D. Collings of the Raffles Museum for making the drawing for plates IX and X.

Postscript.

Great credit and my most sincere thanks are due to the staff of Raffles Museum, who managed to safeguard my MSS published in this volume from destruction by the enemy. The MSS with plates were handed to me intact on my return to Singapore in September 1945.

Prehistoric Objects from the Tui Gold Mine near Padang Tengku, Pahang

by M. W. F. Tweedie

Plates XI, XII

In September, 1941 Mr. F. A. Williams, manager of the Tui gold mine, visited the Raffles Museum and showed me a number of objects found in the mine, from which gold was being obtained from alluvial deposits. The objects themselves and the circumstances under which they were found were so interesting that I gladly accepted an invitation to visit the mine and examine the deposits that were being worked.

The section (Fig. 1) is based on a drawing made by Mr. Williams, who is an experienced geologist. It represents in diagrammatic form the bed-rock and succession of alluvial deposits exposed in the mine. The prehistoric objects discovered fall into two classes, bearing quite distinct relations to the stratigraphical succession.

Neolithic artefacts.

A number of these was found in the course of mining. They included ordinary quadrangular adzes (Tweedie, 1942, p. 5; Noone, 1941 etc.) and stone knives of the type that has come to be associated with the river Tembeling in Pahang (Tweedie, 1942, p. 7, pl. iii, 4). In addition one of the most remarkable neolithic artefacts ever recorded in Malaya was obtained.

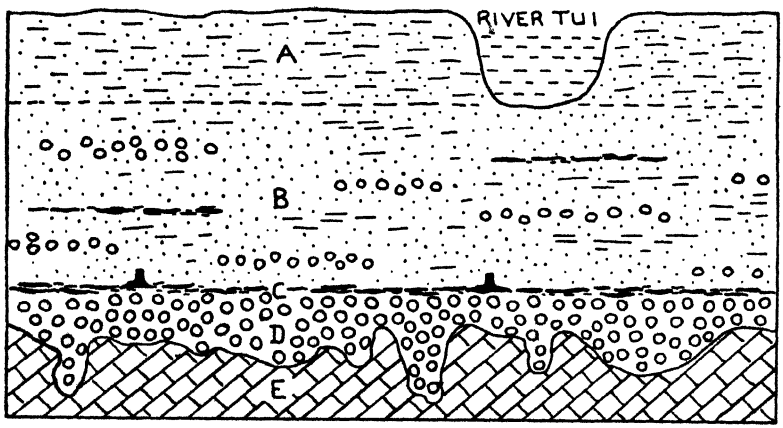
This specimen, which is figured on pl. XI. 1, 2, is clearly a stone quoit in the process of manufacture. These quoits are familiar, if rather uncommon, neolithic objects, and finished specimens have been figured by Linehan (1928, pl. 38 and 43), Tweedie (1942, pl. iii, 5) and elsewhere. It has always been assumed that they were made by drilling out a disc of stone, probably with the aid of a piece of bamboo and sand. The central cores resulting from this process have been found (Evans, 1931 p. 54.), and have been named *disques d'évidemment* by the French prehistorian, Mlle. Colani. The process of manufacture is made even clearer by the Tui specimen.

It appears that a lenticular disc of stone was prepared by flaking and ground smooth on one side. It was then fixed, probably by embedding in clay or resin, with the smooth side upwards, for drilling. The circular groove in the specimen is of precisely the

kind that might be expected from drilling with bamboo, and is so very eccentrically placed as to suggest that embedding was deep enough to obscure the edge of the disc. It is obvious, too, that this eccentricity led to its being abandoned in an unfinished condition and the exasperation of the neolithic craftsman, when he discovered too late that he had positioned his drill inaccurately, can be vividly pictured by the imaginative prehistorian.

Unfortunately Mr. Williams was not prepared to part with this specimen and it is probably lost. It is represented, however, by casts in the Raffles Museum and by the photographs reproduced on pl. XI.

The mode of occurrence of these objects in the mine is of interest, and I cannot do better than quote Mr. Williams' own observations on the section he drew (Fig. 1): "No stone implements recovered while mining A & B. Large yield of neolithic implements, including two *in situ* while mining at layer C. Only occasional implements found in mining D, probably carried down by mining operations."



LEGEND.

A. RED CLAYS AND SANDY CLAYS; ABOUT 5 FEET.

B. LOOSE SANDS WITH LAYERS OF GRAVEL AND CLAY AND LEAF-BEDS; ABOUT 10 FEET.

C. OLD LAND SURFACE; SOFT CLAYS, LEAF-BEDS AND TREE-STUMPS IN SITU.

D. COARSE BLUE-GRAY RIVER GRAVELS.

E. LIMESTONE WITH VERY IRREGULAR SURFACE.

A & B = YOUNGER ALLUVIAL; D = OLDER ALLUVIAL.

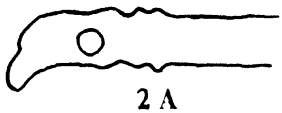
FIG. 1. GEOLOGICAL SECTION IN THE TUI GOLD MINE, DROWN FROM A SKETCH BY PART F. A. WILLIAMS.



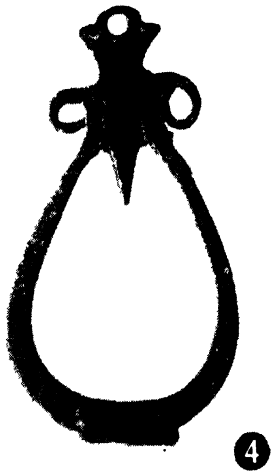
TWEEDIE : *Prehistoric Objects from Pahang.*











TWEEDIE: *Prehistoric Objects from Pahang.*

Layer C, fifteen feet below the present surface of the ground, clearly represents an ancient land surface, at or near a neolithic habitation site. Neolithic artefacts have been recovered frequently during alluvial mining from considerable depths, but I am not aware that any exact geological observation of their occurrence has been recorded before.

Bronze objects possibly associated with ancient gold mining.

The Tui gold mine is situated on padi land in a district which has been inhabited or frequented for a very long period. Scrivenor (1928, p. 14) speaks of mining by Asiatics in the neighbourhood, and Mr. Williams spoke of having encountered the timbers of old mining pits, wooden washing pans (*dulang*) and a wooden wheel. It may well be that these are, wholly or partly, relics of the early gold mining activities referred to by Mr. A. Rentse in his paper in this journal (.), and it is suggested that the same may be true of certain small bronze objects which were found in the course of mining, though no definite evidence of their age is forthcoming.

A short disgression on the method of mining will explain how these came to be recovered. The alluvium, together withe the overburden of soil, is washed down into the bottom of the mine by hydraulic jets. The water, with sand and gravel in suspension, is then pumped up a vertical pipe from the top of which it is allowed to run down an inclined trough with transverse "riffles" designed to arrest the particles of gold and allow other material to pass on and contribute to the mass of "tailings" at the foot of the trough. The selective action of this apparatus is such that any small object of fairly high specific gravity will be arrested and will turn up in the final concentrate.

A curious variety of objects is recovered in this way. At Tui fish-hooks and sinkers and snipe-shot were frequent, together with abundant strips of solder from tins, the rest of whose substance had rusted away. A careful watch resulted in a number of small bronze ornaments and other artefacts being found, four of the most interesting of which are described and figured. They are:

(1) A signet ring bearing what appear to be Chinese characters. The legend is worn, but may be clear enough for expert interpretation (pl. XII, 1). This ring was retained by the finder, Mr. McKenzie, assistant manager of the mine.

(2) An ornament, apparently a clasp or brooch (pl. XII, 3).

(3) The beam of a tiny balance (pl. XII, 2, 2a). In its present condition (it is broken at one end across the per-

foration intended for suspending the pan) it is 56 mm long. Measurement from the fulcrum to the undamaged end shows that its original length was 59 mm. Its diminutive size and careful workmanship clearly show that it was designed to weigh small quantities of some precious substance, in this instance presumably gold. This specimen is preserved in the Raffles Museum.

(4) A symmetrical object of curious design, possibly also part of a balance (pl. XII, 4).

Nothing can be said about the level at which these objects occurred. Apart from the fact that they were found in an area rich in indications of ancient mining, their typology alone must serve as a guide to their origin, and they are figured here in the hope that some reader with expert knowledge will recognise their affinities and communicate his opinion to the Society.

Explanation of Plates

Plate XI. Neolithic stone quoit, abandoned during the process of manufacture.

Plate XII. Bronze objects from the Tui Gold Mine, Pahang.

1. A signet ring
2. A small balance; 2a, detail of unbroken end.
3. A clasp or brooch
4. An indeterminate object, perhaps part of a balance. All enlarged, 1 to a greater extent than 2, 3 and 4.

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Some Notes on Kĕris-measurements

By

The late G. M. LAIDLAW (March, 1905).

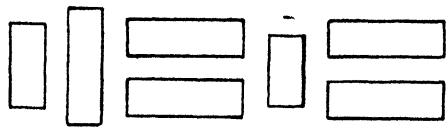
The blade is measured off with the usual leaf-strip and then the middle point of the blade is found by tearing the strip in two (across), after folding it and measuring up from one of the ends. This (half) strip is then measured off in breadths of the kĕris-blade (as taken at the middle point).

As each breadth is measured, the formula (given on p. 655 of Skeat's *Malay Magic*) is repeated, viz.

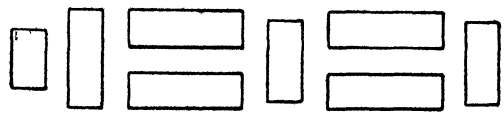
GUNONG: RUNTOH: MADU: SEGARA.

(pronounced broadly, as usual in Perak and North Selangor, SEGURO). *Gunong* and *Madu* are the lucky words, *Gunong* being the luckier of the two. The same formula is used at the quarter, half, and three-quarter length points of the blade.

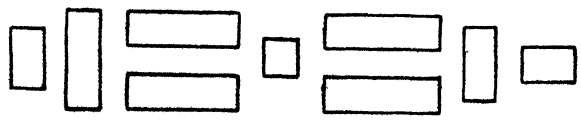
If the word *Gunong* is found to occur thrice (i.e. at each of the three measuring-points) the blade is an exceptionally lucky one



GAGAL LAPAR



PENCHEBAK



DAUN SA-PUCHOK

for use by a trader as he will be able to get good credit with it, or use it as a "security"! But such a kĕris is valueless to anyone who aspires to be a warrior (*hulubalang*).

Another system of measurement is

GAGAL LAPAR, PENCHEBAK and DAUN SA-PUCHOK,

The usual leaf-strip being taken and "halved" and the half-strip measured off into blade-breadths at the middle point, and the pieces arranged as follows, the small end one being the piece, if any, left over at the last measurement. It is called the *puting*.

The forms are shown diagramatically on p. 45.

The first and third forms, *Gagal Lapar*, and *Daun Sa-Puchok*, are good for a fighting man, but the second is called contemptuously *penchĕbak* ('long shovel'). *Gagal Lapar* has the beak wide open. The third is clearly some kind of long-shaped frond—possibly that of the banana.

The soul or vital principle of Malay kĕris, sword or spear is not called *sĕmangat*, but *maya bĕsi*.

From a Kelantan blacksmith I learnt that nobody may show disrespect to the blacksmith's tools (e.g. by stepping over them) or "sparks will fly from the fire into the blacksmith's eyes, and blind him". The right moment for beginning the manufacture of a kĕris is when the breath issues strongly through the right nostril. It is unlucky to forge either an axe (*kapak*) or hoe (*changkol*) by using a "foreign" (Chinese or other) design. When a man is at the wars, a wife must, if possible, lay a weapon of her husband's by her side at night; not beside her head, however, for that is tabu, and only at night, for then her husband's soul (*sĕmangat*) will come to her. Strictly, too, she should only sleep from twelve to two a.m. nor must she cut her own hair, or use oil, or (if her husband is hunting) scrape the rice off the spoon with which she stirs the rice-pot.

Notes on Tan-Tan

By Hsu Yun-Ts'iao

[N.B.—The Chinese manuscript of this article has been published in Vol. I Part I of the *Journal of the South Seas Society*, Singapore, of which the author is the Editor.]

Isolated by mountains and seas the State of Kelantan has for ages been a lonely country whose ancient history has thus been clouded in haze. Despite the efforts of scholars to connect it with the ancient Chinese records and their constructions of various hypotheses (one of which suggested it to be the State of Ho-lo-tan (呵羅單) as mentioned in the *Sung Shu*, another of which took it to be Tan-tan (丹丹) first recorded in the *Liang Shu*, and still another identified it with Ko-lo Fu-sha-lo (哥羅富沙羅) described in Ma Tuan-lin's *Wên Hsien T'ung K'ao*) no definite conclusion has yet been reached.

Schlegel was the first to identify Ho-lo-tan with Kelantan, and to the support of this theory many scholars rallied in those days. In Vol. XCVII of the *Sung Shu* it is said that "the State of Ho-lo-tan rules over the Island of Shê-p'o," and in Vol. V that "the State of K'ou-lo-tan in the Island of Shê-p'o pays tribute in the form of local products;" in the *Sui Shu*, Vol. LXXXII, the Account of Ch'ih-T'u mentions that at its south lies the State of K'ou-lo-tan; and in Tu You's *T'ung Tien*, Vol. CLXXXVIII, the Account of Ch'ih-t'u says that at its south is situated the State of K'ou-lo-ch'ieh.

All these different terms, viz. 呵羅單 (Ho-lo-tan), 訶羅單 (K'ou-lo-tan), 訶羅旦 (K'ou-lo-tan), and 訶羅且 (K'ou-lo-ch'ieh), should be considered to be the same, and the word "且" (*ch'ieh*) in the *T'ung Tien* is in all probability a miscopying of the original "旦" (*tan*).

Pelliot placed Ho-lo-tan in Java and would ignore entirely the suggestion of Kelantan as its original location (*Deux itineraires de Chine en Inde à la fin du VIIIe siècle*); while Ferrand and others reinforced his position. Takakuwa Komakichi, the Japanese writer in Shigaku Zasshi, Vol. XXXII, indentified it with Kaliatana, the northern part of the Preanger District in Java. A recent Chinese authority Mr. Fêng Ch'êng Chün suggests that a place named Karitan in Sumatra might also be identified with the ancient Ho-lo-tan, but the word "羅" (*lo*) could not be considered sonantly identical with *"ri"*; and for this reason I prefer Takakuwa's opinion. Although the real location of Ho-lo-tan has not yet been

identified, efforts to refer it to Kelantan have in many cases been given up.

Gerini suggested that Ko-lo Fu-sha-lo represents Kelantan, making some of his boldest etymological surmises in his *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia,* Vol. I, Pp. 105-6, where he writes:—

"Koli, a town, is Kelantan, more correctly spelled Kalantan. Its probable ancient name, Koli, appears to have been introduced from Northern India, where a city called Koli (from the *Kolī* or jujube tree, it is said) is known to have existed near Kapilavastu, and reputed to have been the birthplace of Maya, the mother of Buddha. The present name (Kalantan) of both the district and its chief city presumably was informed by affixing to the word *Kolī,* or to some one of its dialectical forms *Kolom, Kolam* either the term *thāna* (or *tānah* in Malay) meaning 'place', 'country', or the particles *anta, antam* (limit, boundary), thus obtaining the compounds *Kolamtanah, Kolantam,* etc., which by vulgar parlance soon became modified into Kelantan and Kalantan. The district so named is, no doubt, the country of *Ko-lo* or *Ko-lo Fu-sha-lo,* described in the Annals of the T'ang Dynasty (A.D. 618—907) and in Ma Tuan-lin as lying to the south-east of both *P'an-P'an* (S. W. Siam) and *Wan-tan* (Bāndōn). The words *Ko-lo Fu-sha-lo* may represent either *Koli-badara, Koli-bhadra,* or *Kola-bazar.* In the first reading *Koli* and *badara* are respectively the Pāli and Sanskrit designations for the jujube-tree, the Siamese name of which is, however, *P'husa* (=Budrā), evidently from a Prākrit or other Indian vernacular from *Budara* or *Busar,* plainly represented in the Chinese transcript Fu-sha-lo."

The above names presented by him only add to our scepticism and his suggestions are well nigh impossible. The name Ko-lo Fu-sha-lo does not appear in Ma Tuan-lin's *Wên Hsien T'ung K'ao* for the first time. Accounts of it are to be found in Tu You's *T'ung Tien* of the T'ang Dynasty as well as in the *Hsin T'ang Shu* of the Early Sung Dynasty. These were the authorities from which Ma Tuan-lin copied his text more or less *verbatim.*

The account of Ko-lo in the *T'ung Tien* Vol. CLXXXVIII mentions that Ko-lo or Ko-lo Fu-sha-lo has been heard of since the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.—220 A.D.) as having been situated south-east of P'an-P'an. And the account of P'an-P'an in the *Hsin T'ang Shu* Vol. CCXXIIb states that at its southeast there is found Ko-lo or Ko-lo Fu-sha-lo. In Chêng Ts'iao's *T'ung Chih,* Vol. CXCVIII, we find the account of Ko-lo copied from *T'ung Tien.* Another account of Ko-lo in the T'ang Dynasty appears in Chia Tan's *Sze I Lu Ch'êng,* which runs, "And another five days being one to the strait called *"chêh"* (貨) by the barbarians,

one hundred *li* in breadth, with the State of Lo-yüeh on the north shore and Fo-shih on the south shore.....Sailing out from the west.....one sees the State of Ko-lo on its north shore and the west of Ko-lo is Ko-ku-lo. "The word *"chêh,"* Fujita Toyohachi reads as *Selat*[1]; and the State of Lo-yüeh Pelliot has identified with Johore in his *Deux Itinèraires.* Ferrand in his fine research, *L' Empire Sumatranais de Crivijaya,* identifies Fu-Shih with Crivijaya. Pelliot reads Ko-lo as Kalah in the Arabian accounts of the ninth century A.D. and identifies it with Kedah, but Ferrand disputes this and identifies it with the Isthmus of Kra (*Le K' ouen-Louen et Les Anciennes Navigations etc.*). Pelliot takes Ko-ku-lo to be the Qaola of the Arabian accounts and places it in an island north-west or south-west of Kedah. If Ko-lo was on the west coast of Malay Peninsula then obviously it could not have been Kelantan. According to the *T'ung Tien,* Ko-lo was south-east of P'an-P'an. Groeneveldt identified P'an-P'an as Punpin of Bandon (*Notes on the Malay Archipelago*), and Fujita supported his suggestion (*Notes on Lang-ya-siu*). This is quite plausible. If P'an-P'an represents Punpin, then Ko-lo cannot represent either Kra or Kedah, since Kra lies to its north-west and Kedah to its south-west. One thing which we should note is that Groeneveldt often gave the directions quite contrary to those actually given in the Chinese Chronicles.

In the opinion of the present writer, P'an-P'an should be identified with Pran-puri (Pranpun), as the *Sui Shu* says that T'u-ho-lo was bounded by P'an-P'an at the south. T'u-ho-lo has been identified with Dvaravati which represents the present Nakhon Prathom. Though Ko-lo is said to be at its south, that might be south-east since one would start sailing towards the east first, before turning down to the south on account of the shoals along the coast. With regard to Ptolemy's Koli, the present writer identifies it with Chü-li or Chiü-li in the *T'ung Tien* and the *T'ai Ping Yu Lan,* which in ancient pronunciation were Kao-li though wrongly written in the *Liang Shu* as Chiu-chih.

Variations in the characters for Tan-tan also occur. The "丹丹" (Tan-tan) in the *Liang Shu,* Vol. LIV, "單單" or "丹丹" (Tan-tan) in the *Hsin T'ang Shu,* Vol. CCXXIIb, "旦旦" in the *T'ai Ping Huan Yü Chi* Vol. CLXXVII and "哩哩洲" (Tan-tan Island) in I-Ching's Voyage should all be considered as the same.

The account of Tan-tan in the *Hsin T'ang Shu* Vol. CCXXII, Part II, says that it is southeast of Chêng Chou and west of To-lo-mo. Now Chêng Chou represents Hainan Island, but the location of To-lo-mo has not been discovered yet.

[1] Malay for 'Strait'.

The *Sui Shu,* Vol. LXXXII, says that "P'oli State is to be reached by travelling from Chiao Chê through Ch'ih-t'u and Tan-tan. And in the *Chiu-T'ang Shu* Vol. CXCVII, the account of P'o-li State says that "From the south of Chiao Chou one may cross the sea through Lin-i, Fu-nan, Ch'ih-t'u, Tan-tan, etc. to reach here."

Bretschneider identified P'oli with Borneo on account of its great breadth as mentioned in the *Liang Shu* (*The Knowledge Possessed by Ancient Chinese or Arabs,* etc., p. 19). Chiao-chou or Chiao-chê represents North Indo-China and Lin-i is an alias of Campa.

As to the name Fu-nan, the present writer prefers Parker's suggestion that it is derived from the word *"Phnam (-penh)"*. Pelliot placed it in the lower valley of the Mekong River (*Le Founan*).

Ch'ih-t'u, the present writer identifies with old Singora whose seat of government was on Pulo Tantalam (*Notes on Ch'ih-t'u Kuo*).

The identification of Tan-tan is not yet settled. Bretschneider thought that it was Natuna Island; Hirth and Rockhill in the map in their edition of *"Chao-ju-kua"* placed it on that island too. One scholar has identified it with the Dondin Island mentioned by Odoric (A. J. H. Charignon's *Le Livre de Marco Polo,* Chap. 165, note 10). So far, however no definite evidence has been available.

Gerini, though he identifies Tan-tan with Pulo Tantalam which Komayi Gimei identifies with the Tan-lan-chou of the 3rd century A.D. (*History and Geography,* Vol. 25, No. 6), refers to three other similarly named places as follows:—

(1) Tālang River (=Musi (?), east coast Sumatra).
(2) Ta-tan River below Brunei, north-west coast of Borneo.
(3) Hamilton's "Pullo Tetang" (=Pulo Tenggal, near Pulau Berhāla, off the Tringano coast, west part of the Gulf of Siam).

In another place in the same book, Gerini writes, "Tan-tan (more correctly T'a-t'a) = either Pulo Terutau or Trotto, Langkawi group; or Datu Point, entrance of Panei, east coast of Sumatra; or Datu Point, or Baru, on the equator, east coast of Sumatra." (*Researches,* p. 585, note 5). As Gerini is not sure of the case himself, how we can follow his opinion?

The Chinese dictionary "事源" identifies Tan-tan with the Dindings on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula, but from both the name and the position that is impossible.

Again, Wei Yuen's *Hai Kuo T'u Chê*, Vol. IX (Ching Dynasty says, "Such states as Pahang, Johore, etc., had not appeared in the chronicles before the Ming Dynasty, because such places were in the region of Tan-tan mentioned in the *Liang Shu*, and both the *Sui Shu* and the *T'ang Shu* have mentioned that travelling to P'o-li Island one had to pass through Ch'ih-t'u and Tan-tan to reach there. As Ch'ih-t'u was Fu-nan itself, so Tan-tan should be connected with the island at its south-east. There Chinese graves with tombstones of the Liang or Sung Dynasty have been found." But this identification appears to be erroneous when we refer to Chao Yen-wei's *Yün Luh Man Ts'ao*, published in 1206 A.D., which records the name of "P'êng Fêng (彭豐) in Vol. V of the said book, to Chao Ju-kua's *Chu Fan Chih*, published in 1225, A.D. which mentions the "P'ong Fêng" (蓬豐), and to Wang Ta-yüen's *Tao Yi Chih Lüeh* which describes a state named "P'êng K'ang" (彭坑). All these names represent Pahang. Moreover Ch'ih-t'u could not have been Funan.

With regard to the Chinese tombstones inscribed with the names of the reigning emperors in the Liang as well as in the Sung Dynasty, the mention of these first appeared in *"Nan Yang Li Ts'êh"* compiled by Yen Szê-tsung, which gives the account as follows:

"In the South Seas there lies the so-called Ten Thousand Li Stone Bank (Macclesfield Bank 萬里石塘) or Ten Thousand Li Long Sand (萬里長沙). The people there had no chieftain. Beyond the south of the Bank there is the Outer Ocean, and beyond the east, Fukien Ocean.. Beyond the north of the Bank there run the Paracel Islands (七州洋).....Beyond the west of the Bank there is found Pedra Branca (白石口), with a town situated near by, surrounded by the hills, and led into the interior by a channel. There extends a vast valley peopled by numerous natives without a chieftain. The products are pepper and rattan. There are some Chinese graves with the inscriptions of the Liang Dynasty and in the reign of Hsien Ch'êng (A.D. 1265—69) in the Sung Dynasty as well. One says that it was the most easterly border of Siam, but the English occupied the island which they named Hsin Chi Li Poh (新忌利坡), and where they gathered people to cultivate. Now there dwell Chinese and foreigners there about several ten thousands in total."

The so-called Hsin-chi-li-poh apparently represents Singapore. When Sir Stamford Raffles acquired it on February the sixth 1819, the population of Singapore was two hundred and ten only; but after ten years it was raised to twenty thousand, which figure is in concurrence with the above quotation. The Chinese graves which bear the inscriptions of Liang or Sung Dynasty have

never appeared, but Mr. Tan Yeok Seong[1] suggests that there might have been a confusion with the ancient Chinese coins of the reigns of Chien-têh (963—964 A.D. Chih-ping (1064—65 A.D.) and Yüen-fêng (1078—1085 A.D.) that were found in Singapore (The Nanyang Weekly, No. 3).

But if Tan-tan is placed in the region of Pahang, Johore, or Singapore, then there is no room for Lo-yüeh which following Pelliot, is generally identified with Johore.

Some scholars, still hold to the identification of Tan-tan with Kelantan but without sufficient or authentic data. Mr. Fêng Ch'êng Chün suggests that it might be in the Malay Peninsula, but it is still difficult to locate its exact position.

Thus, the above three identifications with Kelantan have all been disapproved.

If Ho-lo-tan does represent Kaliatana in Java and Ko-lo Fu-sha-lo the isthmus of Kra, then we must make further search for Kelantan.

The name of Tan-tan first appears in the *Liang-Shu*. The account as given in Volume LIV runs:

> "In the second year in the reign of Chung Ta Tung (530 A.D.) the king sent an envoy who presented the Chinese emperor with a memorial saying that your Majesty is identified with supreme virtue, your government is steered on kindness, your faith in the three treasures (Buddha, Tenet, Monk) proves intense, and your Buddhistic teachings are growing manifest. This explains the fact that vast numbers of monks rally around you, Buddhistic sacraments multiply with time, all pay homage to your court, whose paternal sympathy extends to all human beings so that subjects from all quarters (literally, eight directions, i.e. world) and the six cardinal points (universe) are all assimilated. Your conversion of all the neighbouring states can hardly be expressed in language. Should you not decline to consider me and should my envoy be granted an interview with Your Majesty, I beseech that you will not refuse to accept my humble presents consisting of two ivory images, two pagodas, some fire pearls (Sanskrit *Agnimani* 火齊珠), some *Karpasi* (吉貝), and some perfumes. In the first year during the reign of Ta T'ung 535 A.D.) the king sent another mission presenting gold, silver, glass, various treasures, perfumes and drugs.

[1] A contributor to the Journal of the South Seas Society printed in Chinese in Singapore.

From the memorial we can see that this was a Buddhist state; the sanskrit term *karpasi* means cotton; and as to perfumes and drugs, they have been the products of the Malay Peninsula, but the location of the state is still in a haze.

In the *Sui Shu*, edited by Wei Chêng and others, no account of Tan-tan has been given, but in Volume LXXXII in the account of P'oli we read the following:

> "The State of P'oli is to be reached by travelling from North Indo-China (Chiao-che) through Ch'ih-t'u and Tan-tan. From east to west it takes four months to travel across the country, and from south to north it takes forty-five days ...The customs of the country resemble those of Kamboja and the products are similar to those of Campa. In the twelfth year of Ta Yih 616 A.D.) the country sent an embassy to China to offer tribute but it was never continued. Meanwhile from the South two states called Tan-tan and P'an-p'an also presented their local produce as tribute. Their customs and products are generally similar."

There are several identifications of P'oli, but not even one of them has been confirmed.

From the *Liang Shu* in Vol. LIV, in the account of P'oli State we read, "P'oli State lies in an island south-east of Canton, from which the long journey lasts two months. From east to west it takes fifty days to travel across the country, and from south to north it takes twenty days. There are one hundred and thirty six centres (聚) in the country."

In the *Chiu T'ang Shu*, Vol. CXCVII, the account of P'oli State says that "The State of P'oli is on an island in the sea, south-east of Campa, with an expanse of several thousand *li*, and is to be reached by travelling from Annam across the sea through Campa, Funan, Ch'ih-t'u, Tan-tan, etc."

In the Hsin T'ang Shu in Vol. CCXXII, Part II, the account of Huan-wang (i.e. Campa) says that "P'oli is in the south-east of Huan-wang, to be reached by journeying from Cochin-China to the sea through Ch'ih-t'u State and Tan-tan State. The territory of the state is about several thousand *li* in width and length. It abounds in horses, and is called Mali also. In its east, lies the state of Lo-sha."

On account of its wide territory, Bretschneider identified Poli with Borneo (*The Knowledge Possessed by Ancient Chinese of Arabs* etc., P. 19). But it is doubtful, from the facts which the chronicles give, whether the territory of P'oli, of which the dis-

tance from east to west is two and a half times that from south to north, really resembles that of Borneo. In Pelliot's opinion, we should not be swayed by the size of P'oli's territory. He noted the position given in the *Chiu T'ang Shu* Vol. CXCVII as well as in the *Hsin T'ang Shu* Vol. CCXXII, Part II, which mentioned that it was in the east of K'ou-ling (Kalinga) which he considered to be Java and he took Mali to be Bali Island (*Deux itinèraires*). In fact, the situation of Bali is too far, for if Po'li is really east of K'ou-ling or Kalinga (Java), then the accounts given in the chronicles should mention the State of Kalinga or Java after the states of Ch'ih-t'u and Tan-tan in the journey to P'oli, but they do not.

Groeneveldt who translated the account of K'ou-ling in the *T'ang Shu* identified P'oli with Sumatra and To-p'o-teng with Bali, but unfortunately he mistranslated the sentence "Its east is connected with P'oli and its west with To-p'o-teng" in the *Chiu T'ang Shu* into "it lies on the eastern side of Sumatra (P'oli), on the west side of Bali (To-p'o-teng)," and the sentence "In its east it is P'oli and west To-p'o-teng," in the *Hsin T'ang Shu* into "to the east of Sumatra (P'oli) and to the west of Mali (To-p'o-teng)," thus giving senses quite contrary to the original texts.

Gerini basing himself upon Groeneveldt's mistranslations wrote as follows:—

"It will readily be seen, from *P'o-li's* topographical location to the east, (or, more correctly, south-east) of *Ho-ling*[1], that it must have been on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula from, say, the 6th or 5th degree of north latitude downwards. Such being the case, it must be identified either with Perak or the district on the banks of the Prai River (abreast of Pinang Island), or, again, the territory round about the Pulai stream and Gunong Pulai, at the very south-eastern extremity of the Malay Peninsula, and at the western entrance to the Old Singapore Straits" (*Researches on Ptolemy's Geography*, p. 494).

By Lo-sha, Gerini suggested that the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, from Johore, or even the Rochor River on Singapore Island, up to Pahang and even further to the north, is meant. Also he added, "*Lo-ch'a* (*Lo-sha*) stands for *Rāksas* or *Rāksasa*, it is undoubtedly intended for the *Jakuns* جاكون of the more southern parts of the Peninsula, and perhaps also for the wilder tribes of Negrito-Sakai stock populating its eastern coast. The term may, however, be merely a toponymic travestied, in Chinese spelling, so as to assume that meaning which it may not at all have had in its original local form. We have already pointed out

1 K'ou-ling or Kalinga.

Rochor as a possible equivalent. But there is a more approximate one yet, namely, *Latcha,* a small stream debouching a little above the river of Chana (*Chānah*) in the district of this name, in about 7° 4′ N. lat. Another not very dissimilar name is that of *Legeh,* or *Lagëh,* also called *Rangëh* (but usually spelled *Ranga*), not far below (6° 15′ N. lat)" *Researches,* pp. 496—7).

Now, if P'oli and Lo-sha are both placed in the Peninsula, that would contradict the Chronicles which mention that they are on an island in the sea. Moreover, Ho-ling (Kalinga) was not east of P'o-li but vice versa in the journey given in the chronicles, nor is P'oli ever given as being after Lo-sha. Again, Gerini's suggestions are uncertain, as he identified Lo-sha with the region in the south (Rochor) first, and then mentioned that it might be in the north (Chana). His faults are due to his immoderate reliance on similar names. Schnitger, after his excavations in Sumatra, identified P'oli with Panei in Sumatra (*Forgotten Kingdoms in Sumatra,* p. 85). The present writer prefers this last identification to others. Granting his theory to be correct, then Tan-tan on the north of P'oli and south of Ch'ih-t'u should be placed on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula.

In Volume LXXVIII of the *Nan Shih* compiled by Li Yen-shou there appears this account, "The State of Tan-tan: In the second year in the reign of Chung Ta T'ung (530 A.D.) the king sent an envoy who presented to the Emperor a Memorial, two ivory images, two splendid pagodas, some fire pearls, *Karpasi,* various perfumes and drugs. In the first year in the reign of Ta T'ung (535 A.D.) the king sent another mission presenting gold, silver, glass, various treasures and drugs." This account was copied from the *Liang Shu,* but the account of Tan-tan in Volume CLXXXVIII of Tu You's *T'ung Tien* appears quite concrete and definite:—

"The state of Tan-tan was known to us in the Sui Dynasty, as being situated to the north-west of To-lo-mo and south-east of Chen-chow. The king was surnamed Sha-li and named Shih-lng-chia. The seat of government (captain) accommodated about more than 20,000 families. There were also established districts and counties to facilitate administration and guidance. The king presented himself in court two hours in the morning as well as in the evening. His chief ministers numbered eight, called "eight seats", (八座) all being Brahmans. The king often adorned (besmeared) himself with perfumed powder, wore an uncovered crown, hung from his body precious tassels, clad himself in morning clouds colours, and put on leather sandals; and when he set out, he rode in a sedan-chair for short distances but on elephant for long distances. In battle the conch was blown and the drum was beaten with banners raised. In criminal law theft regardless of quantity was always punished with death. The products were gold, silver, white sandal-

wood, sapan-wood and betel. The only cereal was rice. Of the animals there were cattle, black sheep, hog, fowl, goose, duck, roebuck and deer. Of birds there were the Cochin bird and the peacock. Of fruits and melons there were grape, pomegranate, gourd, *Lagenaria vulgaris*, water caltrop, and lotus seeds. Of vegetables there were onion, garlic, and beet."

Chên-chow represents Hainan Island. To-lo-mo, though it does not appear in other books, is very important; for, if its location can be settled, then Tan-tan will be easily identified.

Gerini identified To-lo-mo with Têng-liu-mei; but as he doubted this opinion, he made the following statement:—

"I have identified *Têng-liu-mei* or *Tan-liu-mei* with *Taluma* (多羅磨), an ancient State on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula. It is mentioned, along with those of *Bhukam* (Pagān = Upper Burma), Rāmañña (= Pegu), etc., in the Memoirs of Lady Rēvati Nobamās, one of the oldest Siamese literary works (part 1, ch. 1), dating from the end of the thirteenth century, or the early part of the fourteenth. I am still doubtful as to whether to connect it with *Ta-lung* or *Talum* (P'hut-talung), or with the territory watered by the *Telūbin* River further down the coast (below Patānı); or else with the *Talum-p'huk* land spit (incorrectly marked *Lèm Kolam-puk* in the maps), in the Ligor roadstead. But its position assuredly lay within these limits, i.e. between 6° 50′ (mouth of the Telūbin River) and 8° 28′ (northern extremity of the *Talum-p'huk* promontory) N. latitude. This position, it will be noticed, bears S.S.W. from Chanthabūn; that is, approximately as indicated in the Chinese account. *Têng-liu-mei* or *Tan-liu-mei* (*Taluma*) should not therefore be confounded with *Chou-mei-liu* or *Tan-mei-liu* (Ch'ī-mī-hla, *Tamāla*, or *Timira*). *Tan-liu-mei* or *Taluma* may be Edrisi's Island of تنومه , *Tanūmah*, located by him at five days' sailing from *Kmār*, i.e. South Kamboja." (Researches p. 524, n).

Gerini's opinion should not be followed, since we must not confine ourselves to similar names too much; otherwise the name Ta-lu-man (荅魯蠻), actually a village on the coast of Sumatra to be reached by sailing five days from Malacca and mentioned by Ma Huan in his *YingYai Shêng Lan*, might also represent Taluban or Telubin on the northeast coast of Malay Peninsula. But the name Taluban is very similar to To-lo-mo, as its ancient pronunciation was Ta-la-ma, with the only difference of the final "n"; and, as it is also situated in the Malay Peninsula, it is possible to identify To-lo-mo as Taluban.

If we identify To-lo-mo with Taluban or Telubin, Tan-tan would then have to be placed in the region of Pattani or on the island of Tantalam as it is north-west of Taluban; but the present author is inclined to identify Ch'ih-t'u, which was north of Tan-tan, with Singora and its Capital, the City of the Lion, on the southern part of Tantalam island (see Journal of the South Seas Society, Vol. II Part III, *Notes on the Kingdom of the Red Earth,* by Hsü Yün-ts'iao). If Fujita Toyohachi correctly identified the kingdom of Lang-ya-siu first described in *Liang Shu* with Pattani, then Tan-tan could not also represent Pattani.

With regard to the location of Lang-ya-siu, though Fujita placed it in Pattani, there is no evidence except the name Lang-hsi-chia given in the Chart of the maritime voyages of Chêng Ho in Volume CCXL of the *Wu Pei Chih.* This, he suggested, is a different translation of the same name Lang-ya-siu or Lengkasuka which appears in the Nagararetagama. In fact, the Kingdom of Lang-ya-siu, though described in the *Liang Shu,* is not located. Missions from the kingdom were never continued to China after the Liang Dynasty; and no further accounts were recorded in the Chronicles, although its name still often continued to appear, instances of which I have collected as follows:

(1) Account of Ch'ih-t'u in the *Sui Shu* says, "Sailing two or three days more, one would witness the mountains in the kingdom of Lang-ya-siu in the west, and then reach Chi-lung-tao close to the boundary of Ch'ih-t'u."

(2) Account of Lang-ya-siu in the *T'ung Tien* is similar to that given in the *Liang Shu* and its account of Ch'ih-t'u is the same as that given in the *Sui Shu,* the only difference being the character *"siu"* which appeared as" 脩 " instead of " 修 " in the *Liang Shu.*

(3) Account of P'an-p'an in the *Chiu T'ang Shu* mentions that P'an-p'an was the neighbouring state of Lang-ya-siu.

(4) Account of P'an-p'an in the *Hsin T'ang Shu* says, "P'an-p'an is situated in the gulf of the South Sea, separated by the lake from Campa in the north, connected with Lang-ya-siu, and is to be reached by travelling forty days in the sea from Chiao-chou."

(5) *Ta T'ang Hsi Yueh Chi* by Yuan Chwang mentions that in the south-east near the ocean there was Kamalanga to the east of which was Dvaravati to whose east was Isanapura with Maha Campa called Lin-i by Chinese in those days, further east. Fujita confirmed Kamalanga as being the same as Lang-ya-siu and has been supported by most scholars on this point.

(6) I-ching's *Nan Hai Chi Kuei Nei Fa Chuan* Volume I, mentions that in the south near the sea there was Criksetra, and further east was Lang-chia-shu (or Langkasu, then Dyaravati, and then Lin-i Campa) on its furthest east. The name Lang-chia-shu Fujita identified with Lang-ya-siu.

(7) In I-ching's *Ta T'ang Hsi Yüeh Chiu Fa Kao Seng Chuan* pt. i, the account of I-lang Lü-shih records that I-lang sailed through Fu-nan and his ship anchored in the harbour of Lang-chia-shu, when the King of Lang-chia-shu entertained him as a guest of honor. Again, in Part II of the said book, the Account of Tao-lin Fa-shih, mentioned that Tao-lin had travelled through tre Brass Column (銅柱 i.e. Cochin-China) to reach Lang-chia and passed Kou-ling as well as the Naked People Country (裸國 i.e. Nicobar Islands).

(8) Tao-hsuan's *Shü Kao Seng Chuan* mentions that Kunarada wished to sail to the country of Leng-chia-siu.

(9) Chau-ju-kua's *Chu Fan Chih* records, "Ling-ya-ssi can be reached from Tan-ma-ling by sailing six days and nights; there is also an overland road (between the two countries)." But the name Ling-ya-ssi also appeared in the same book as Ling-ya-ssi-kia.

(10) Wang-ta-yuen's *Tao Yi Chih Lüeh* records a place without the azimuth named Lung-ya-hsü-chio.

From the above quotations (1) and (2) we learn that Lang-ya-siu was north of Ch'ih-t'u (i.e. Singora) and from (3) and (4) we know that the boundary of Lang-ya-siu was connected with P'an-p'an (i.e. Pranpuri) in the north. Therefore it should be situated between Ch'ih-t'u and P'an-p'an, that is to say, it lay in the present Nakhon Sithamarat (Nagara Cri Dharmaraja). This also agrees with (5) and (6) which mention that it was south of Dvaravati (i.e. present Nakhon Prathom). From (7) and (8) we may infer that it was a Buddhist kingdom with an important harbour in those days.

The names in the first four of the above quotations are written as Lang-ya-siu; but in (9) the state appears as Ling-ya-ssu-chia, and in (10) as Lung-ya-hsü-chio, with the difference of the sound *"Lang"* and the increase of the sound *"Ka"* in the terminal. This is an important point which we should not overlook. Pelliot identified Ling-ya-ssu-chia or Lung-ya-hsü-chio with Lengkasuka in the *Nagarakretagama* (*Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient*, t. iv, 328, 345, etc.), and Fujita has supported his theory. We

should follow now neither the identification with Tennasserim by Hirth and Rockhill in *Chau Ju-kua* nor the equation with Lang-ya-siu proposed by Fujita, since Lang-ya-siu appears in the Chinese Chronicles as a country situated on the east coast of the Peninsula between P'an-p'an and Ch'ih-t'u, whereas Lengkasuka was located on the west coast of the Peninsula, the present Kedah. Even if the name Lang-hsi-chia, now Pattani, might be identified with it, that would not be until the fifteenth century. Therefore we might follow Coedès' opinion that Lengkasuka extended its power to the Pattani Valley on the east coast of the Peninsula in late periods (*le Royaume de Crivijaya*, BEFEO. 1918.

The present writer would identify Lang-ya-siu in the Liang Dynasty as a Mon-Khmer country at Ligor that occupied Ch'ih-t'u as well as the present Kedah, till Malays occupied Kedah when the new name Lengkasuka became known to us and the country became very strong and invaded Pattani as the legends in Pattani and the *Kedah Annals* have given us the story that the Malay State in Pattani was founded by a Princess of Kedah. Though the present writer does not believe that the founder of Pattani was a Princess, we may well believe in a political connection between Pattani and Kedah. From all these things we may conclude that Pattani could not have been a tributary state of Lang-ya-siu before the Sung Dynasty; but Tan-tan might have been placed in Pattani before the Sung Dynasty. However, if Tan-tan is placed in Pattani that would make it too near to Ch'ih-t'u (Singora) and the account of Ch'ih-t'u in the *Sui Shu* did not mention Tan-tan as being in its east either. It placed Po-Lo-La in the east which might be a small country of little or no importance. For these reasons the present writer would not place Tan-tan in Pattani as the latter should be in the territory of Ch'ih-t'u. Consequently Tan-tan and To-lo-mo must represent other places.

Those ancient countries on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula known to us from the Sui and Tang Dynasties were P'an-P'an (now Pranpuri i.e. Hua-hin) in the north, Ko-lo at the Isthmus of Kra, Lang-ya-siu in Ligor, Ch'ih-t'u in Singora, and Lo-yueh in Johore as identified by Pelliot; but the location of Tan-tan is still in a haze. In the region on the east coast from Kelantan to Pahang there was no country recorded in Chinese history before the thirteenth century. In Volume V of the *Yun Luh Man Ts'ao* compiled by Chao Yen-wei there was first mentioned the name P'êng-fêng which represents Pahang. In 1225 A.D. Chao Ju-kua mentioned P'ong-fêng (蓬豐), Têng-ya-nung (登牙儂), and Kelantan, as dependencies of Crivijaya. After the T'ang Dynasty Tan-tan never appears again in history, and we can safely place it on the East Coast of the Peninsula.

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Tan-ma-ling (單馬令 丹馬令), a country mentioned in the *Chu Fan Chih* and the *Tao Yi Chih Lüeh,* may be identified with *T'an-Ling* (墨陵), the dependent state of Dvaravati, which appears in the account of K'ou-ling in the *Hsin T'ang Shu.* Coedès identified Tan-ma-ling with Tambralinga in the inscription discovered at Jaiya, and located it in the present Ligor (BEFEO., XVIII, 6), but Mr. W. Linehan identified it with Tanjong Tambeling in Kuantan and Pahang. If so, then there were two states situated in Pahang during the Sung and Yuan Dynasties. Now, if T'an-ling in the *Hsin T'ang Shu* should be identified with Tan-ma-ling and P'o-hwang (婆皇) in the *Sung Shu* with Pahang as suggested by Gerini (*Researches,* p. 541), then Pahang could not also be Tan-tan. Now suppose that in the fifth century there was the Kingdom of P'o-hwang which did not come into prominence again until the thirteenth century, and that T'an-ling founded rather later had become famous in the thirteenth century, then Tan-tan could be placed only in Kelantan or Trengganu.

In the Volume CCXXII of the *Hsin T'ang Shu* compiled by Ou Yang-hsiu an account of Tan-tan is given as follows:

"Tan-tan lies southeast of Chên-chow and west of To-lo-mo, with districts and counties. The country abounds in sandal-wood. The king was surnamed Sha-li and named Shih-ling-chia who attended his duty every day. There was eight high-ministers called Eight Seats. The king besmeared himself with perfume, and crowned himself with precious tassels of various kinds; his travel for short distance was made in carriage, but for greater distance on elephant. In battle conch shell was blown and drum was beaten. Slight or serious theft was sentenced by capital punishment. During the reigns of Chien Fêng (666-667 A.D.) and Tsung Chang (668-669 A.D.) the country paid tributes in local products. The State of Lo-yüeh was 5000 *li* away from the sea in the north and bounded by Ko-ku-lo in the southwest, being the centre for merchants and caravans; the customs thereof resemble those of Dvaravati. Every year a sea vessel arrives from this place at Canton where the prefect reported the message to the court."

This 單單 we may identify with 丹丹 (Tan-tan). Lo-yüeh mentioned in this account should be considered the neighbouring country which Mr. Pelliot identified with Johore. Ko-ku-lo represents the Kakula often mentioned in Arabian accounts. As Chia Tan recorded that Ko-ku-lo was in the west of Kra, it should be an island along the west coast of the Peninsula. The name and surname of the king are the same as those given in the *T'ung Tien;* Sha-li or Sha-ti-li represents Ksatriya which means the king; the

modern Siamese called it Kasat, and Shih-ling-chia may be identified with Cri Lingga, the alias of Civa.

In Volume I of I-ching's *Nan Hai Chi Kuei Nei Fa Chuan* it is recorded:

> "Counting from the west we find the island of P'o-lu-ssu (i.e Baros), the island of Mo-lo-you (i.e. Malayu, now Jambi) now Cri Vijaya, the island of Mo-k'ou-sin (i.e. Mehasin in Nagarakretagama), the island of K'ou-ling (i.e. Java), the island of Tan-tan (呾呾), the island of P'en-p'en, the island of P'o-li (i.e. Bali), the island of Chüeh-lun (i.e. Gurun in the *Nagarakretagama,* which Rouffaer identified with Goron Island), the island of Fu-shih-po-lo, the island of A-shan, the island of Mo-chia-man (i.e. Markkaman in the *Nagarakretagama,* which Krom put in the south of Pasuruan), and many small islands which could not be recorded at all."

The islands Tan-tan and P'en-pen have been identified with Tan-tan and P'an-p'an, but Ferrand said:

> "According to Hsüan Chuan's transliteration, the ancient pronunciation of the word "呾" (Tan) should be read as tar or tal in "呾羅" (taro, tala, tra), tat in "三摩呾吒" (Sumatata), tam in "呾摩栗底" (or 軋摩栗底 Tamralipti), and tak in "呾迦" Lohitaka) and in "剌呾" (Taksacila)."

For a time all the scholars thereafter read it as Ta-ta, but we have to note that final *r, l* and *m* in the eastern languages are always confounded with final *"n"*, as there are the popular examples for the first two in Siamese, and the last one in Chinese, and the final *"t"* is the fourth tone of a character finaled *"n"*. So it may easily be confused too. As the transliteration with the character "呾" is so irregular, we therefore cannot assert that "呾呾" should be pronounced differently from "旦旦" or "丹丹".

The Account of Tan-tan in Volume CXCVIII of the *T'ung Chih* compiled by Chêng Ts'iao was simply copied from the *T'ung Tien,* but in it To-lo-mo appears as Lo-mo-lo. Volume CLXXVII of Yoh Shih's *Tai Ping Huan Yü Chi* also records Tan-tan (旦旦) In Volume CCCXXXII of Ma Tuan-lin's *Wên Haian T'ung K'ao,* which copied the account from the *T'ung Tien,* the *Liang Shu* and the Sung Dynasty all copied *verbatim* the old events in the last is recorded as To-lo-mo-lo (多羅磨羅). As the books compiled in the Sung Dynasty all copied *verbatim* the old events in the last Dynasty, there is no account of Tan-tan in the *Sung Shu* and afterwards it never appears again in the chronicles.

Down to the Ch'ing Dynasty, in Volume CCXCVII of the *Hwang Ching Wên Hsian T'ung K'ao,* the account of Johore mentioned three dependencies of Johore as "丁機奴" (Trengganu), "單呾" (Tan-tan), and "彭亨" (Pahang). Similarly in Volume XCVIII of the *Hwang Ching T'ung Tien,* it mentions that Tan-tan was in the sea far away south-west from Amoy about 130 watches (更) in the voyage; and its customs, dresses, meals and products all resemble those of Johore. In the Chinese ancient voyages every watch represented about 60 *li.* The said book records that the voyages from Amoy to Johore number 180 watches, and to Singora and Pattani (大呢) 150 watches. Even if the number of watches cannot be relied upon, we may learn from this that Tan-tan was nearer to Amoy than either Johore or Singora and Pattani. Thus no place could be identified with Tan-tan except the State of Kelantan.

The term Kelantan first appeared in Chau Ju-kua's *Chu Fan Chih.* The names "急蘭亦帶" (Chih-lan-i-tai) and "急蘭亦鼈 (Chih-lan-i-tê̌h) which appear in the *Yüan Shih* might also agree with Kelantan, which was also recorded in the *Tao Yi Chih Lüeh.* In Cheng Ho's Chart of the early Ming Dynasty, it appears as "古蘭丹" (Ko-lan-tan) Harbour but the character "古" should be considered a mistake for "吉".

Chang Hsi's *T'ung Hsi Yang K'ao* records Kelantan in Volume III as follows:

> "Kelantan is the harbour of Pattani (渤泥) and the customs thereof resemble those of Pattani. During the last part of the reign of Chia Ching (1522-1566 A.D.), the followers of the pirates escaped to this place more than 2000 persons plundering in the sea. The trading vessels were thrown in great misery."

In Volume CCCXXVI of the *Ming Shih* there is an account of Kelantan too. This country had been known to the Chinese for a long time already, but it is quite a surprise that the name Kelantan does not appear in the *Hwang Ching T'ung Tien* nor in the *Hwang Ching Wên Hsian T'ung K'ao.* However, it is clear that the Tan-tan mentioned in these said books represents Kelantan. The only explanation for the change of the spelling from Kelantan into Tan-tan is that the syllable "Ke" is not an accent and "lan-tan" is very similar to Tan-tan and can easily be confused with it.

Was the name Tan-tan in the Ch'ing Dynasty the same as that in the Liang Dynasty? According to the *Liang Shu* Tan-tan was north-west of To-lo-mo; Kelantan now appears as north-west

of Trengganu. The ancient history of Trengganu is in a haze, but we can see a river named Sungei Telemong with a village at its mouth, which might refer to To-lo-mo.

If we are not mistaken, the name Tan-tan most probably represents Tendong, a village lying ten miles from the mouth of the Kelantan River and about five or six miles from Kota Bahru, quite a suitable seat for a capital in ancient eras.

With regard to the founding of Kelantan, Mr. A. S. Haynes' *Annual Report of 1931* mentions that it derives its name from the Malay words *Gelam Hutan*. *Gelam* is the *Melaleuca leucadendrom* along the coast. Mr. A. Rentse has told us a Kelantan legend to show that the name came from the Malay word *Kilat-Kilatan*, (splashing of lightning). Even if the name Kelantan is not the alternative of Tan-tan, we still think that Tan-tan was in the region of Kelantan from the Liang Dynasty up to the T'ang Dynasty.

During the T'ang Dynasty Tan-tan and P'an-pan were the two most influential powers among the countries on the east coast of the Peninsula and were mentioned frequently in the chronicles. In the meantime Ch'ih-t'u was declining and Lang-ya-siu had not yet expanded to the south. In the Sung Dynasty it was overthrown by Lengkasuka. From the Liang up to the T'ang Dynasty (530-669), Tan-tan communicated with China for more than a century, longer than either Ch'ih-t'u or Lang-ya-siu. But it is necessary to conduct researches further, since the process of identification should rely on convincing evidence only. If excavations could be carried on in every part of the Peninsula, then we might obtain sufficient good data to identify those ancient countries without having to hazard guesses. Therefore this article is not a conclusion of research on Tan-tan, but a mere commencement of it.

Historical Sketch of Chinese Labour in Malaya

By W. L. BLYTHE., M.C.S.

(NOTE. This article was written and submitted for publication in 1941. The manuscript survived the Japanese occupation, and is now published as originally submitted.)

This sketch does not claim to be an exhaustive survey of the history of Chinese labour in Malaya. It is an outline of the principal developments which have taken place in the systems of recruitment and employment of Chinese labour, in particular of Chinese labour on mines and estates, from the beginnings to the present day, illustrated by quotations from contemporaneous documents. In the absence of any more detailed and comprehensive account of the whole subject it is hoped that this will serve as an introduction to the history of Chinese labour in Malaya for those who are concerned with or interested in Chinese labour matters, more especially for those who are fresh to this country.

The beginnings of Chinese labour on a large scale in Malaya rest upon two interconnected foundations; first, the occupation by the British of the islands and coastal areas of Penang, Singapore and Malacca, and the subsequent expansion of British protection to the Malay States; second, the development of tin mining in the Malay States.

It is known that for centuries tin has been mined in and exported from Malaya. In 1408, Admiral Cheng Ho, an envoy from China, visited Malacca which was then a Malay Kingdom. One of his secretaries, Ma Huan, in his account of this visit, noted, as products of the country, ebony, resin and tin, while another of his secretaries, Fei Sin, writing in 1436 reported that tin was the only product which Malacca exported. He also remarked that at Malacca there were some fair people of Chinese descent.

It is possible that there may have been a few Chinese miners in those early days, but it is known that a great deal of mining for tin was carried on by the Malays.

Penang was ceded to the British by the Sultan of Kedah in 1786, Province Wellesley in 1800; Singapore was founded in 1819; Malacca, a Malay kingdom captured by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century, then held successively by the Dutch, the British and the Dutch again, finally became British territory in 1824. The immediate result of the establishment of British rule at these three places was a tremendous influx of Chinese settlers,

and these three ports formed the jumping-off points for those in search of wealth from the tin which was known to be within the Malay States.

It is true that there were probably Chinese tin miners in the Malay Peninsula before 1786, for Captain Light; the founder of Penang, in a despatch dated 1787, gives a description of the system of smelting tin ore followed by the Chinese at Junk Ceylon, (=Ujong Salang=Tongkah). But this was on the coast of Siam, and, as will be seen later, there was no considerable penetration of the Native States by Chinese miners until well after this date. It may be noted, too, that the old form of Chinese mining by shafting was known as "lombong Siam" which may indicate that Chinese miners started mining in Siam before coming to the Native States of the Peninsula.

Expansion Mining

In 1824 there were 200 Chinese miners at Lukut, which was then in Selangor, but has since been incorporated in Negri Sembilan. This was the earliest important Chinese mining centre in the State. In 1834 there were said to be 300 Chinese miners there. In this year, they rose and massacred the Malay owner of the mines, who was heir to the throne. Later, mines at Kanching, (Selangor), were opened by Ka Yin Chiu Hakkas. In 1857, Raja Jemahat of Lukut took two Chinese towkays to Kuala Lumpur to work for tin. They opened mines at Ampang, and in 1859 tin was exported from Kuala Lumpur for the first time. This group of miners was composed of Fui Chiu Hakkas. About ten years later, faction fights broke out between the Fui Chius and the Ka Yin Chius. Bloody warfare ensued. The Fui Chius were eventually victorious, capturing Kanching, Ampang and Ulu Selangor, and their headman, Yap Ah Loi, became the virtual ruler of the Kuala Lumpur area. By 1871 there were said to be some twelve thousand Chinese miners in Selangor.

In Perak, there were, in 1824, "upwards of 400 Chinese residents engaged in working the Tin mines and as traders". Chinese miners were introduced into the Larut district, around Taiping, before 1850, by a Malay named Long Ja'far, who, in that year, obtained from the Sultan a title of this area in which he had already opened up tin mines. It is reported that when he first went there, there were only three Chinese in the whole of Larut. The development, however, was extremely rapid. By 1862, there were 20,000 to 25,000 Chinese miners in Larut, and by 1872 the number had reached 40,000. The majority of these were Cantonese, but there were some thousands of Hakkas. In 1862 large-scale rioting broke out between two rival factions, each backed by a powerful Triad society. Again, in 1872, similar faction fights

broke out, which developed into fierce warfare in which huge gangs of miners plundered and burned each other's property. Piracy was rife, and Penang, where the Triad societies had their headquarters, was seething with unrest. It was as a result of this that the British intervened in Perak in 1874.

In Negri Sembilan, in 1828, there was a settlement of almost a thousand Chinese miners at Sungei Ujong, with headquarters at Rasah. They considered that they were subjected to great injustices by the local Malay chief and rose against him. The revolt was crushed, and those Chinese who were not massacred fled, many of them to Selangor. In 1830 the mines were again worked by about 400 Chinese who went there from Malacca. By 1874 there were said to be 15,000 Chinese in Sungei Ujong, and in 1890 there were also, 1,800 at Jelebu.

In Trengganu, in 1828, it was estimated that the population of the town, (Kuala Trengganu), comprised 600 Chinese and 15,000 to 20,000 Malays.

We may, then, place the date of the development of large scale immigration of Chinese to the mainland of Malaya at about 1850, or rather less than 100 years ago. In Europe and in North America the introduction of the steam engine, the application of power to industrial machinery, and the rapid development of railways engendered an increasing demand for tin. In the 1880's there was a considerable expansion of tin mining in Larut, Kinta, and Selangor. In 1898, a boom in tin began, resulting in rapid increases in wage rates from about 30 cents a day in 1896 to 45 cents in 1898, and to 70 and 80 cents in 1899. (The dollar was then worth 1s. 11d. to 2 shillings). These abnormally high wages immensely stimulated the flow of Chinese immigration, and it was estimated that, in the two years 1899 and 1900, no fewer than 100,000 adult Chinese arrived in the Federated Malay States. As a result of this rapid increase, we find that in 1901 the Chinese formed 65% of the total population of Selangor, and were more than twice as numerous as the Malays. In Perak they formed nearly 46% of the total population, and were about equal in numbers with the Malays.

It is not proposed here to follow in any detail the fluctuations in the numbers of labourers employed in the mining industry in the Federated Malay States. The largest number was about 225,000 in 1913; the number at the end of 1939 was about 73,000. It is worth while noting that the production of tin in these two years was almost identical,—50,126 tons in 1913, and 51,090 ton in 1939.

The application of machinery to tin mining, and, in particular, the introduction of dredges in 1912, has, it will be seen, greatly reduced the amount of human labour required. From the figures above quoted it would appear that one man can now produce as much ore as three men produced in 1913. The difference is, in fact, greater than this, because in 1939 the machinery was not at full production. The figures for 1940, when production was greater, show that the proportion is almost exactly as one is to four.

Agriculture

Although the rapid expansion of tin mining accounted for the bulk of the large influx of Chinese labourers, there were also agricultural enterprises which absorbed a proportion, small at first but later increasing, of the immigrants. The cultivation of spices, pepper and gambier, (used in tanning and dyeing), began at Penang, Province Wellesley and Singapore soon after the occupation of these places by the British. Pepper was the most important crop in Singapore and South Johore until the 1850's, while in the north, nutmegs and cloves remained important until shortly after 1860, when the plants were destroyed by disease. The incursion of Chinese to Johore began between 1835 and 1840, when the spice plantations of Singapore failed. The growing of sugar cane on plantations is said to have begun in Province Wellesley before the colonization of Penang. It was cultivated by Chinese, mainly Teochews. The principal areas under cultivation were in Province Wellesley and Krian. It became an important industry about 1860, and remained so for about 40 years. The last sugar factory closed down in 1913. When land became difficult to obtain in the restricted areas of Penang, Province Wellesley, Singapore, and Malacca, there was a natural in-thrust of the F.M.S. Coffee was introduced in 1875, but large-scale planting made little progress until the 1890's. Weld's Hill Estate in Selangor, planted with Liberian coffee, pepper, tea and other tropical trees in 1891 was, two years later, almost entirely under coffee. During the next few years coffee-growing flourished on a considerable scale in Perak and Selangor. But the labour employed by European-owned coffee plantations was mainly Indian—following the practice in Ceylon, whence most of the original owners came. The industry eventually failed on account of market fluctuations, disease, and the incursion of the more profitable rubber. Tapioca was planted by Chinese on estates, particularly in the Malacca area, from the late 1890's until swept away by rubber. There was also one tea-estate at Durian Tunggal, Malacca.

Rubber was first introduced experimentally to Malaya in 1877, but its expansion on a commercial scale did not begin until about 1895, and it was not until about 1905 that really rapid expansion of planting set in. Thereafter there was a great demand for labour

on rubber estates, and though the bulk of this labour was Indian, there was also a good deal of Chinese. In 1911, 60% of the estate population in the F.M.S. was Indian, 25% Chinese, and about 14% Malay. Nearly half of the Hailam population of the F.M.S. worked on rubber estates. They numbered about 10,000, and were followed in numbers by Cantonese, Hakkas, Hokkiens and Teochews, in that order. The total Chinese estate population was about 40,000. In 1931, of persons employed in rubber cultivation (including small-holders) in the F.M.S. 35% were Chinese and 40% Indian. The corresponding figures for other parts of Malaya were: S.S. Chinese, 32%, Indians, 31%; Johore: Chinese 49%, Indians 17%, Kedah: Chinese 16%, Indians 48%; Kelantan: Chinese 13%, Indians 20%. Malays and Immigrant Malaysians comprised 17% in the F.M.S.; 35% in the S.S.; 33% in Johore, 35% in Kedah, and 66% in Kelantan. At the end of 1940, the total Chinese estate population on rubber estates of over 25 acres in the F.M.S. was about 50,000, but there was, in addition, an enormous Chinese estate population in Johore, about 33,000, while the Colony had some, 7,500, and Kedah some, 4,500. In the F.M.S. Negri Sembilan has the largest Chinese estate population, (about 19,000), followed by Selangor, Pahang, and Perak, in that order.

System of Immigration

It will be clear from what has already been said that the influx of Chinese labour to the F.M.S. and, indeed, to Malaya generally, has been not only recent but also rapid, and we shall now look at the means by which this mass movement took place, at the machinery which was able to provide Chinese labour in any numbers, no matter how large, to keep the mining and plantation industries supplied with sufficient labour, notwithstanding the phenomenal rate at which these industries expanded.

Singapore was founded in 1819, and as early 1823, Sir Stamford Raffles published an Ordinance dated, strangely enough, May 1st, a date now generally observed as Labour Day, providing for the protection of immigrants from China. The following is an extract from this Ordinance:—

> "As it frequently happens that free labourers and others are brought from China and elsewhere as passengers who have not the means of paying for their passage, and under the expectation that individuals resident in Singapore will advance the amount of it on condition of receiving the services of the parties for a limited period in compensation thereof—such arrangements are not deemed objectionable provided the parties are landed as free persons, but in all cases the amount of passage money or otherwise is limited to twenty dollars, and the period of service by an adult in compensation thereof shall in no case

exceed two years, and every engagement shall be entered into with the free consent of the parties in presence of a Magistrate, and duly registered."

This description gives us a brief summary of the system of importation of Chinese labourers, but it is necessary for us to go into the matter in considerably greater detail.

Some of the immigrants were people who had sufficient money, either their own or borrowed to pay for the expenses of the voyage from China to Singapore. These immigrants on landing at Singapore had no obligations to anyone, and could look round for such employment as suited them. The demand for labour was so great, however, that the supply of labourers paying their own expenses was insufficient. Therefore there came into being the Credit-ticket system. Under this system, coolie-brokers in the ports of south China working in conjunction with similar brokers in Singapore paid the expenses of the voyage from China for batches of coolies. Later, after the colonization of Hong Kong in 1842, similar coolie-broking establishments were set up there. On arrival in Singapore or at Penang, the brokers found employment for the coolies. There was no difficulty about this for the demand was great, and the agents of the employers swarmed aboard the ships arriving from China to bargain with the Singapore coolie-brokers. The prices paid for coolies varied with the demand. The brokers were not in the coolie business for pleasure but for profit. Once in the hands of the employer, the coolie was required to work for that employer at whatever wages the latter cared to fix, until he had paid off the amount which the employer had paid for him. Immigrants imported under this system very soon came to be known as 'Chue Tsai' or 'piglets,' and the people in charge of the coolie-importing lodging houses as 'Chue Tsai Thau' (heads of piglets). The fact that these expressions were used is in itself an indication of how this business was regarded. It implied that the sale of coolies was akin to the sale of pigs, and there was considerable justification for this accusation. In the first place, the demand for coolies was so large and the business of supplying them so lucrative that the recruiters at the China ports were quite unscrupulous in their methods of recruiting. Men were sent to the country districts of South China to get in touch with the peasants there. They told wonderful stories of the wealth to be won by emigrating overseas and offered to pay the passages of intending emigrants. Or they would lure them to the city and introduce them to gambling houses where they lost all their money, and the recruiter or the lodging house keeper would cajole or force them to emigrate in order to pay their gambling debts. It was quite true that the wages offered overseas were higher than those obtainable in China where many of the peasants existed at the starvation line, but as we shall see, the wages offered were rarely obtained in full by the coolie. At the same time that

this great demand for labour existed in Malaya, there was also a great demand for Chinese labour elsewhere: Australia, the West Indies, America, so that the business in China was on a very large scale indeed, and the conditions surrounding the housing of coolies at the ports and the overcrowding on board ship were disgraceful. The coolies were, in fact, treated like cattle or pigs, and there are well authenticated cases of hundreds of coolies dying during the voyage or being drowned like rats without a chance of escape when ships sank. The more serious of these abuses took place not on the short runs to Malaya but on the longer crossings of the Pacific. The surprising fact is that, despite the inhumanity with which the trade was conducted, more and still more coolies could be found to swallow the bait. Chinese authorities at the China ports did, indeed, prohibit the traffic because of the abominable abuses which were connected with it. It is on record that in 1888, a coolie broker at Swatow was decapitated for having deceived coolies into emigrating. But though sharp warnings such as this acted from time to time as checks on emigration, the business was so lucrative and the field for corruption so wide that emigration under the same old system continued, and no effective action was taken in China to ameliorate the hard lot of the unfortunate emigrant under the Credit-ticket system. But the evils which beset the emigrant were by no means over when he had found, or rather been sold into, employment. The employer was invariably Chinese, for at that time the enormous influx of European capital had hardly begun. And even in cases where mines or plantations were owned by non-Chinese, the people in charge of the labourers were Chinese. There was an obvious reason for this. The Europeans did not understand the language, and the labourers had no knowledge of Malay. And so there existed the Contractor system on European owned places of employment. This system was not, however, restricted to European-owned places of employment. For example the usual system of employment on the sugar plantations in Province Wellesley whether European or Chinese-owned was the 'rumah ketchil' system. Under this system, the estate owner divided up his estate into sections each of which was in charge of a Chinese contractor. The owner arranged for the purchase of coolies and then handed them over to the contractors debiting their expenses to the contractors' account. The contractors took complete charge of the coolies, provided a house (the rumah ketchil) and made all arrangements for wages, food etc. The coolies were not allowed to leave the rumah ketchil except when at work on the estate under supervision, and there was widespread illtreatment. Coolies were beaten, badly fed, and locked in at night to prevent their escape. In general no medical treatment was provided and disease was rife. The contractors supplied the coolies with chandu at high prices and encouraged its use to increase their own profits. They, or their kepalas, ran 'crooked' gambling and thus relieved the coolie of what little balance of wages he might have. In actual fact,

the coolie did not receive any cash wages. His wages were credited to his account, and his chandu, gambling debts and other purchases were debited to his account. He was invariably in debt. Similar conditions existed wherever coolies engaged under the credit-ticket system were employed.

This, then was the state of affairs which led to the introduction by Raffles in 1823 of an Ordinance for the protection of immigrants from China. But it is one thing to place a law on the Statute Book, another to enforce it. It would appear that no machinery was provided to ensure that this law was enforced, other than the Magistracy, so that the limitation of passage money to $20, and of the period of service to two years was disregarded. In 1854 we find the following description of the immigration system.†

The System in 1854

"The Chinaman on landing in the Straits is called a Sin-Kheh, or new man or new friend by the Chiuchew, and Sin-Hak by Macao men. These immigrants are thus obtained. One or more of the Chinese merchants charter a vessel and leave Penang in April or May for Macao or Amoy. On arriving at the destined port, the charter, who usually proceeds in the vessel as super-cargo, sets a number of agents to work. These men go about the country and cajole the unsuspecting people, by promises of a speedy fortune and return to their native land, to accept the bounty money, which varies according to the respectability of the victims. They are then huddled on board. The agents received a dollar a head. The immigrants are usually overcrowded on shipboard, but treated well on the whole. They arrived in the months of January, February and March. The anchor is scarcely cast when the resident Chinese flock on board to buy Sin-Khehs as they term it. The Charterer gets for a master workman, either tailor, goldsmith or carpenter, 10 to 15 dollars, for a cooly 6 to 10, for a sickly man 3 to 4 or less. The Sin-Kheh then agrees to serve for a 12 month, receiving food, clothes and a few dollars for his service. Should he be an expert workman and fall in with a generous master, he may receive more than the sum agreed on. The Sin-Kheh costs 2 to 4 dollars per mensem for food and clothing. If not paid for, they are detained on board ship (if convenient) or in a godown, until a purchaser turns up. Should the charterers be forced to the latter alternative, the Sin-Khehs are not well treated. Complaints have been lodged before the sitting Magistrate at different times on this ground, and the Sin-Khehs were set at large after signing a bond promising to pay the passage money. Their agreements

† Journal of the Indian Archipelago, (Logan)

are generally faithfully fulfilled; at the end of the 12th months the Sin-Kheh is at liberty to enter his master's service on a monthly stipend or to seek his livelihood elsewhere. He is also then admitted into the Kongsee of his tribe. Very few Chinese remain clear of the Hoes*, but as few will acknowledge themselves members, it is difficult to arrive at the truth. From 2,000 to 3,000 Chinese land annually at Penang and spread from thence to Province Wellesley and the Siamese and Malay territories."

"The mode of conducting the emigration business is as follows, and would appear to be deserving of attention, as perhaps capable of being introduced elsewhere. The passenger (called Sin-Kheh) not having money to pay for his passage, enters into an agreement with the master of the junk to bind himself apprentice to some one at the port of arrival for one year, without wages, only receiving food, clothing, and a small sum for barber's expenses, tobacco and other little indispensable luxuries; the balance of consideration for the labour of the year is to be handed over to the master of the junk as payment of the passage money. The Sin-Khehs are kept on board the junks, as security for the passage money, till taken by an employer who, in consideration of obtaining his services for a year at a low rate, pays part of a year's wages in advance, with which advance the Sin-Kheh clears himself with the junk master. This is the principle of the operation, but as the business is conducted, not through each Sin-Kheh, but directly between the junk master and the intending employer, and as the amount for passage money varies with the demand for labour, it has a certain colouring of slave dealing which has prejudiced many against the system. The Sin-Kheh is not bound to go with any person who chooses him. If he pays his passage money, as he agreed to do when starting, at the same rate as the others, he is quite free to go wherever he pleases."

The System in 1876

Again, in 1876, the following account of the system then in force is given.†

"Immigration takes place chiefly between the months of June and October, during the fine weather in the China Seas of the South-West Monsoon, and though in former-times, when sailing junks were the exclusive means of conveyance, much hardship was no doubt incurred during the voyage, the trans-

*Triad Societies.

†Report of Labour Commission 1876.

port is now mainly effected by well-appointed steamers which make the passage in six or eight days, and there is so much competition for the business that the comfort of the immigrant is thus secured more efficiently perhaps than it could be by legislation.

"The method of recruiting the immigrants is as follows:—The steamer is usually chartered by a Chinese supercargo for a lump sum, the maximum number of immigrants she may carry being regulated by her official measurement. Some three weeks before the date of her projected departure, notice is given in the adjoining villages that a ship is going to leave for Singapore, when bands of men are formed under the leadership of a Kheh-Thau—or, as he is usually called Headman—who is generally, but not always, a returned emigrant from the Straits, the Kheh-Thau takes his band to a lodging-house at the port of embarkation, and their departure is arranged for through the agents of the ship—invariably an European firm, as being less open to be squeezed by the Chinese Officials.

"The rate of passage-money when paid in advance is about $7 to $8 (say 30s.), and in the case of immigrants from Amoy and Hongkong the money is almost always paid down. From Hainan the passage is often on credit, but oftener paid or arranged for in advance. From Swatow about half the Techius—as the people from this district, who are mostly agricultural labourers, are called—pay in advance, the other half get credit, the rate of passage on credit being about $12 (say 45s.), and the Kheh-Thau being responsible for it to the supercargo as regards the band of from 10 to 20 men under his charge. It is to be noted, as showing the purely voluntary nature of the immigration, that no advances are made (except for trifling expenses) to induce the parties to leave China, that while waiting to embark they are under no restriction of any kind, and that the ships are visited and carefully inspected by Officials, both European and Chinese, before their departure. The significance of these observations will be understood when the process of emigration from the Straits Settlements has been described.

"Each immigrant has a ticket which specifies the port of destination, whether his passage-money has or has not been paid, &c., &c., and on arrival in Singapore harbour, those who have paid their passages land and go where they like, or it would perhaps be more correct to say, wherever their Kheh-Thau likes to take them. The charter of the ship usually allows for three or four days of detention, and during those days of grace the immigrants who owe for their passages are detained on board, the Kheh-Thaus being allowed to land and

find employers for their hands who will settle for their passage-money. If there is a demand for coolies, the Kheh-Thau makes a large profit, getting perhaps $20 per head for his band, whereas they will probably have cost him $13 to $14. The usual price paid by the employers is from $17 to $20, and the margin between this and the passage rate constitutes the Kheh-Thau's profit.

"No doubt there is something in this which savours unpleasantly of buying and selling, but practically we have no reason to suppose that it leads to many real abuses in the case of immigrants remaining in the Settlements.

"When the steamer's days of grace are up, if there are still immigrants on board whose passage-money has not been paid, they are either landed in Singapore, and shut up in houses, or are sent on to Penang, if the steamer goes there, whether their passages were taken for there or not. In most immigrant ship there are immigrants regularly engaged for Penang, who are taken on in the ship if she is going there, or in one of the local steamers if she is not; but if there be a demand for labour in Penang and none in Singapore, it is believed that the supercargo and the Kheh-Thaus are not very particular as to landing the immigrants at the particular port for which they embarked."

Doubts and Misgivings

This description of the system above quoted (from the Report of a Commission appointed in 1876 to enquire into the conditions of Chinese labourers in the Colony) would seem to imply that there was nothing much wrong with it. There was, however, considerable public uneasiness on the subject. In 1871, Chinese merchants and citizens had petitioned the Governor, drawing attention to the disappearance of newly-arrived labourers. In 1872 there were riots in Singapore backed by the large Triad Societies which drew their members from the immigrant coolies. A Commission appointed to enquire into the causes of these riots recommended the introduction of a system of registration of Chinese immigrants. In 1873 a further petition was received by the Governor from local Chinese begging for an Ordinance prohibiting the disgraceful kidnapping of Sin-Khehs, and for the appointment of inspecting officers, and the establishment of depots for registration and lodging. About the same time articles appeared in the Straits and China newspapers alleging shameful overcrowding of steamers engaged in the coolie traffic and drawing attention to other abuses connected with it. In 1873 a Bill was introduced to regulate the system of immigration. It was vigorously opposed by the Unofficial members of Council who considered that the evils

had been exaggerated and that nothing should be done to interfere with the importation of free (sic) labour because if immigration were cut off or discouraged "enterprises of great moment that are now developing must wither and collapse." The Bill passed into law as Ordinance X of 1873 but was never brought into force. The shade of Raffles may well have wept at this result of fifty years' consideration of the problem, and at the policy of profit without honour which appears to have been adopted by the merchants whose "enterprises of great moment" were sacrosanct.

However, with a change of Governor a fresh approach was made, and the Commission of 1876 was appointed. This commission recommended the introduction of a system of control, the establishment of depots for the reception of immigrants and of emigrants leaving the country under engagements to labour (e.g. to Sumatra), the appointment of Chinese speaking officers to be known as Protectors of Chinese before whom written engagements to labour would be entered into, and the licensing of coolie-brokers and recruiting agents.

Early in 1877, attention was called by Mr. Pickering, then Chinese Interpreter, to the urgent need of proper protection of newly arrived Chinese. This report disclosed a scandalous state of affairs, gangs of coolies being driven aboard tongkangs (sailing ships) by armed men for shipment to Sumatra and elsewhere, and every conceivable extortion and oppression being freely practised.

The Founding of the Chinese Protectorate

In March 1877 a second Chinese Immigration Ordinance (No. II of 1877) was passed, based mainly on the recommendations of the Commission. Under the provisions of this Ordinance a Protector of Chinese (Mr. W. A. Pickering) was appointed at Singapore, and an Assistant Protector of Chinese (Mr. E. Karl) at Penang on the 3rd May, 1877. Thus was founded the Chinese Protectorate which is still colloquially known among the Chinese as the Pik Ki Ling—following the name of the first Protector.

Experiments in Protection

The Ordinance of 1877 was only partially brought into force as the Secretary of State was doubtful of the wisdom of establishing depots which might be considered to be Government barracoons for the detention of large numbers of coolies. Nevertheless, considerable progress was made, and in 1880 another Ordinance was passed (No. IV of 1880) incorporating improvements suggested by the experience gained in implementing the Ordinance of 1877. Under this Ordinance, immigrants whose passage had been paid were to be released at once; those whose passages had not been

paid were to be placed in Government depots for a maximum period of ten days during which the ship-owner was to find someone to pay the passage money. It was hoped that in this way immigrants would start their careers "without any burden of debt, instead of having a heavy drag upon them, not for services rendered to the immigrant, but to afford a profit to middlemen, who bring them into the Colony as a speculation. They will start fairly, with no other debt upon them than the exact amount of their passage-money, to be worked off by regular deduction from their wages, under engagements entered into with the supervision of the Protector". The introduction of the Ordinance was again strongly opposed by the Unofficial members of Council on the grounds that it was too restrictive and that the tax of a dollar per head on the immigrants, leviable against the ships, which the draft Ordinance imposed, was an interference with the freedom of the port and would injure the shipping interests. The clause imposing this tax was eventually withdrawn, a fee on signing the contract being substituted.

Protection of Employers

In addition to this legislation for the protection of the labourer there were Ordinances for the protection of the employer. The first of these was the Crimping Ordinance (No. III of 1877) introduced in consequence of a petition from the planters of Province Wellesley. It imposed a penalty on any person who, by deceit or other illegitimate persuasion, induced any person to leave the Colony for service elsewhere. It authorised the recruiting for such service by licensed recruiters and rendered a written contract, signed before a Protector, compulsory for all intending emigrants whose passage had been paid or who had been assisted by advances. It imposed penalties on those who, having signed such contracts or received advances, refused to carry out their agreement and forbade any person to seduce a labourer from his employment or harbour or employ a deserter. This was an attempt to stop the leakage of labourers from Malaya to the tobacco plantations of Sumatra—which offered a profitable field to labour recruiters in Malaya who could induce labourers to abscond from their places of employment.

The second of these Ordinance was the Labour Contracts Ordinance (No. I of 1882) which provided for written contracts to labour for a term of five years and imposed the penalty of rigorous imprisonment for breaches by the labourers. The Secretary of State considered that the term of contract should be reduced to one year and that simple imprisonment should be substituted for rigorous imprisonment for breaches of contract. These amendments were opposed in Council and eventually a compromise was reached and embodied in Ordinance III of 1883. Under this Ordinance the term of contract was limited to three years for

contracts made within the Colony and five years for contracts made elsewhere. Breach of contract involved imprisonment only after the option of a fine, and the imprisonment might be simple or rigorous at the option of the Magistrate.

Under the Labour Contracts Ordinance, verbal contracts exceeding one month were not recognised, and a verbal contract could be determined at any time by a month's notice or a month's wages on either side. Domestic servants and skilled artificers were exempted from the provisions of the Ordinance but in 1889 the provisions were extended to include domestic and menial servants (with a period of fourteen days' notice for domestic servants).

The Commission of 1890

In 1890, another Commission was appointed to enquire into "the state of labour in the Straits Settlements and Protected Native States, with a view to devising a scheme for encouraging immigration and thereby supplying the demand of labour." The rapid expansion in the demand for labour referred to earlier in this article, coupled with increasing demands from Sumatra and Borneo for tobacco planting had strained the immigration machinery and increased the price of imported labour, and the purpose of this Commission was to devise means for increasing the supply and reducing the price of labour. The investigation covered Chinese, Javanese and Indian labour. The Report of the Commission was submitted to Government in 1891 and is a very comprehensive document from which most of the preceding account of legislative experiment has been taken.

It is interesting to note that the Commission classifies the complaints laid before it regarding the Chinese labour system under three main heads:

Firstly, the physique and quality of the coolies imported.

Secondly, the deficiency in numbers with its attendant evils of crimping and desertion.

Thirdly, the excessive cost of obtaining the coolies.

It is clear from this Report, that the Government examination depots which under Ordinance IV of 1880 should have been established, did not exist. The Protector of Chinese (Mr. F. Powell) in a rider to the Report states that "no examination depot (except for Hailam junks) has under the Ordinance yet been established in Singapore, the examination of the men being carried on in a rough and ready manner on board ship or at the wharves to which the vessels go, while the women with some trouble are sent to the Protectorate in gharries". Instead of Government depots there were private depots licensed by Government, a system which as

some of the following extracts from the Report will show, the Commission considered to be unsatisfactory.

Interesting chapters of the Report concern "Abuses in China and on the Voyage", and "Defects and Abuses on arrival". In the former of these occurs the following remark about treatment in steamers: "As a rule, the ships which bring them are ocean steamers owned by large companies and thoroughly well managed. It has not once been suggested to us that there is anything amiss in this link of the system and we have not, therefore, considered it necessary to enquire specially into it."

The chapter on "Defects and Abuses on Arrival" contains the following enlightening comments:

> "Scenes of disorder, amounting almost to riot, sometimes occur on the arrival of cooly-ships, rowdies from the shore assaulting the Boarding Officers, boatmen, and depot-keepers, snatching ear-rings and bangles from the women passengers, and endeavouring to persuade the "unpaid" passengers to run away. To prevent a recurrence of such scenes, several of which took place in 1890, special police have been quartered near the docks, but this cannot ensure the space and quiet necessary for an effective examination."

> "The coolies are next marched to the various depots, guarded by employees of the depot-keepers. Once in the depot they are confined until selected by the agent of the employer, and it is this detention which forms one of the chief blots on the whole system..... There are also obvious objections to the confinement of a large number of Chinese for a period which may extend to ten days within the walls of a house where they are without exercise or occupation. These are points which, if they stood alone, would call for reform, but, in our opinion, a far more serious evil ..is the power which is thus placed in the hands of the depot-keepers."

The main objection to the power of the depot-keepers was found to be that coolies were forced against their will to enter into those contracts which were most remunerative to the keepers (usually contracts to work in Sumatra) instead of being at liberty to choose the employment and the country they preferred. The Report continues:

> "Before the abolition of the Secret Societies many of the Brokers were numbered among their headmen, and thus the first real power with which the Sin-kheh comes in contact on landing, namely that of the depot-keeper who took charge of him was identified in his mind with one of these Societies.

Though the societies have been suppressed, the power for evil remains. While the Sin-khch is in the depot, it is the keeper to whom he must look as his government, and it is the servants of this man who bring him from the ship, guard him in the depot, and eventually remove him to the scene of his future employment.

The power which is thus placed in the hands of the depot-keepers, who are agreed on all sides to be unscrupulous, appears to us greater than should be entrusted to private individuals, and we consider, therefore, that the system should not be perpetuated".

In another chapter of the Report, headed "Defects and Abuses during the Contract" we find he following interesting abstracts of the terms of contract in ordinary use for Sin-khchs:

"For Agricultural work in the Colony and Native States:

(a) Three hundred and sixty days' work, the days not being necessarily consecutive.
(b) Wages $30 per annum. No advances are given on signing.
(c) From these wages $19.50 deducted for passages and expenses from China.
(d) Fed free of charge by employers.
(e) Free grant of a mosquito curtain and some clothes.
(f) If in debt at end of a year, is kept on, but on wages of $3 a month and his food.

"For mining in Perak and Selangor:

(a) Three hundred and sixty days' work.
(b) Wages $42.
(c) Deduction for passage not exceeding $22 recoverable by half-yearly instalments of $11.
(d) Free food.
(e) Free mosquito curtain and usual clothes.
(f) If in debt at end of a year, is kept on, but on wages of a free cooly. No advances are given on signing.

"For mining in Pahang:

(a) 12 months' work.
(b) Wages $30.
(c) $16 is paid at the Protectorate to the broker for passage and expenses and the balance of $14 to the cooly during his period of contract.

(d) Free food.
(e) Usual kit.
(f) If in debt at end of year, works on at $5 per mensem and his food.

"For tobacco planting in Sumatra:

(a) One year engagement.
(b) Advance of $30 on signing contract in the Straits; of this $19.50 is deducted for passage and expenses, the remaining $10.50 being paid to them in cash.
(c) Coolies feed themselves, provision money being advanced by employers.
(d) They grow their own crop and sell it to their employer and fixed rates laid down in the contract, and after deducting advances any balance in their favour is paid to them in cash.
(e) They may then quit the estate even though their year is not up.
(f) They have opportunities of earning extra pay for various special work."

While it may be true, as the Report states, that coolies were forced to go to Sumatra against their will it is also clear that the terms of the Sumatra contracts were more attractive than those of local contracts. In particular the cash advance, must have proved a strong inducement not only to the broker who would fleece the coolie of as much of it as possible, but also to the coolie who might retain some few dollars.

This same chapter of the Report contains a brief account of the method of employing Chinese on European estates:

"The ordinary method of employing Chinese on European estates is as follows. The coolies are procured through the agency of a headman. The usual contract with the employer is signed at the Protectorate, but it has no practical meaning, for the men are never paid direct by the manager, nor, in many cases, are their names known to him. All that the employer does is to sign the contracts and pay the necessary expenses to the headman who obtains them. The work which they afterwards do is paid for at contract rates through the headman, whose accounts with his coolies are never examined. Thus the control of the coolies is thrown entirely into the hands of the headman, who has them completely in his power. The lines or kongsi-houses in which they live are generally dotted about the estates at long distances from the main buildings and

from each other, and are practically free from supervision. This state of things is calculated to favour ill-treatment on the part of the Tyndals, (headmen), and such practices undoubtedly exist. Moreover, we have not seen or heard of a single estate employing a European who speaks Chinese, so that except through the headmen, or perhaps a Chinese clerk, there is no channel by which the employer can question his coolies or they can make their complaints."

As to Chinese owned estates, it is remarked that there is no doubt that the condition of coolies is in many instances deplorable. The following extracts from a report of an inspection of a sugar estate at Penang by the Assistant Protector of Chinese (Mr. Wray) illustrate this:

"I found that there were on the estate a number of labourers who, having originally gone there as Sin-khehs were still working for the employer, though against their will.

Some had fulfilled their original contract three or four years ago, but had been continually kept in debt, and apparently compelled to work under the impression that they were still legally bound to their employer.

One man had, he stated, worked against his will for nine years, and was still in debt when I went there.

The coolies were unanimous in stating that they could not have got off the island if they had tried to, the rule of the place being that the watchmen at the ferries stop all coolies unknown to them, unless they have a pass, nor will the sampan-men ordinarily take them as passengers.

On hearing that their indebtedness was no impediment to their leaving the island, thirty of them immediately stated that they wished to leave, and it was instructive to see them running for two miles after my carriage in evident fear lest they should be again detained. Only three of those who were free agreed to remain on the estate for regular wages.

Nearly all the coolies were suffering from some complain or other, the only hospital being a little shed in the stable yard of the employer's private house, where the cooly is said to have been starved to death within fifty yards of a Police station.

I fear that similar irregularities prevail on other estates in the Province (and perhaps in the Native States), which may account for the scarcity of labour complained of by Pro-

vince planters, and I trust that the new Labour Ordinance will grant full power to hold periodical enquiries into the accounts and condition of Chinese labourers."

The Report of the Commission continues:

"The abuses which may arise under present conditions are innumerable and only a general investigation has been possible. We have, however, no doubt that both in European and Chinese estates, coolies are not infrequently beaten and otherwise ill-treated by their Tyndals or headmen. This is done without the knowledge of the employer, who may often be almost without power to check such practices.

"As a rule the coolies are well fed so long as they are able to work, but we are not satisfied that this is the case with men who, from sickness or unfitness, become a source of expense to their employers.

"It appears also that they are frequently detained long after the year has expired for which they contracted, and after they have done more than 360 days' fair work. This is done by keeping them in debt by advances of cash or provisions, so that the cooly at the end of his year owes more than he did at the beginning."

Attention is drawn to the fact that in the Colony Protectorate Officers had no legal powers of inspection and that the unsatisfactory condition of the Chinese labourer was due almost entirely to the absence of inspection. As a contrast it is pointed out that in Perak a strong Chinese Department whose officers had exercised constant supervision over the Chinese labourers working in the State, whether as miners or agriculturalists, had existed for years. (The Perak Protectorate was established in 1883).

Before leaving this most informative Report the following items of general interest may be noted:

1. The Protector of Chinese states that most Chinese coolies who engaged to work in the Colony and States did so chiefly for tin-mining in the Protected Native States, for sugar planting in Province Wellesley and Trans-Krian and for tapioca planting in Malacca.

2. The Protector gives the following figures for Sin-Kheh contracts made in the Colony for work in Perak and Selangor:

	Perak	Selangor
1886	5,276	7,522
1887	7,459	9,255
1888	4,564	9,653
1889	1,782	2,870
1890	1,442	1,351

showing a decrease from 16,714 in 1887 to 2,793 in 1890. This he attributes to the fall in the price of tin which, he says, in Selangor was $60 a pikul in 1887 and only $30 in 1890.

3. A reply by a European witness is quoted:

"I think that the failure in connection with Chinese labour is largely due to our want of knowledge of the Chinese language." On this the report comments:
"This is one of the main difficulties of the employment of Chinese by European. It is a truism to say that it is impossible for any man who can only address his coolies through an interpreter of their own nationality to acquire that influence over them which is necessary to obtain the best results. We are unwilling to recommend any rule on the subject, owing to the difficulty which would be found in carrying it out, but we believe that any manager who employed among his assistants a reliable European who could speak Chinese would find himself amply repaid for the extra salary which such a man might require."

Recommendations

The principal recommendations of the Commission were:

Firstly —Establish Government inspection over the Chinese coolies employed in the Colony or Malay States.

Secondly—Abolish the licensed depots and brokers, substituting Government depots both here and in China, at the same time reforming the method of recruiting on the lines indicated in Chapter IV.

Thirdly —Endeavour to obtain the full sanction of the Chinese Government to the credit-ticket system on the improved lines on which it is proposed to work it.

The Protector of Chinese in a rider, demurred to the recommendation that Government should take over the business of Chinese immigration (the Commission suggested the establishment of depots at Hongkong and Swatow). He pointed out that the drift to Sumatra and Borneo arose from the fact that the tobacco planters in these countries could afford to and did give large prices for coolies and gave considerable cash advances; that the Commis-

sion after an exhaustive enquiry had itself come to the conclusion that, "the abuses of the depot system were more sentimental than real," that unlicensed and uncontrolled depots would spring up and that no enquiry had been made as to the necessary cooperation of the Governments of China and Hongkong. He further adduced arguments to show that Government-recruited labour would be more expensive than that privately recruited.

The Report ends with the following paragraph:

> "In conclusion we would repeat what we have already pointed out. There is no royal road to plentiful and cheap labour. What the community, represented by Government, can do is to eliminate cheating, illegitimate profits, misrepresentation and every such bar to immigration; by inspection to ensure that the Straits shall offer an attractive field for labour; and to encourage by grants of land or other means, our immigrant population to remain here instead of being birds of passage; but beyond this the matter is in the hands of those interested. We have other countries to compete against, and if we are to induce labourers to come here in large numbers and to remain as settlers, employers must make their service such as first to attract and then to retain the labour they desire."

Enquiry Mainly Concerned with Planting Labour

It is noticeable that tin mining receives but scant attention by the Commission of 1890. The reason seems to be that the labour shortage was in respect of estates—and, in particular, European-owned estates. There was no miner on the Commission, but there were four European planters, and the only Chinese member was a sugar planter. This was the period of influx of European capital to Selangor and Perak for agricultural development. There were no European-owned mines of any importance. Indeed it appears to have been accepted that mining in Malaya was not a paying proposition for European capital. In the Annual Report of the British Resident, Selangor, for 1889 we find that he records that Rawang Tin Mining Co. Ltd. failed in September, 1889. He states that it was under European management from 1882 and was the last survivor of the European companies which started in 1883 and vanished in 1884. He continues: "Experience has shown that Chinese working in their own methods and with their own countrymen can make handsome fortunes in tin mining. But their systems as regards cost of management are eminently economical. There is little doubt that a Chinese manager on $25 a month will get better work out of his men that English overseer on ten times that sum. Weighted by heavy payments to promoters and so on, and by the cost of European staff, the foreign Company starts in

tin mining in competition with the Chinese at an enormous disadvantage, and there is little ground for surprise that company after company struggles and fails. In the present stage of exploration in the Malay Peninsula there is no proof of the existence of any mines which can be worked so as to return a profit on a very large capital under a highly paid European staff."

Inspection, Enlargement of the Protectorate

The Report of the 1890 Commission made clear the necessity for inspection of places of employment. The Protector remarked that this had long been advocated by all Government officers well acquainted with the management of Chinese estates. He added that the Chinese Agricultural Labourers Bill had been drafted for a good long time (1889), and the sooner it was put in force the better.

It has been said with reference to factory inspection in England: "more than a century's experience has shown that the best intentioned industrial legislation is almost entirely useless without the support of adequate inspection: the aggrieved workman does not play any direct part in making industrial legislation effective. A bad Act with efficient inspection might indeed be preferred to a good Act with no inspection at all"*

This is probably universally true, and it was certainly true of Chinese labour in Malaya. Some inspection had already been done in the Colony with good results, though no legal sanction for these inspections existed. An Assistant Protector had been appointed for Penang in 1877 but the Penang office was not established until 1881. In Perak, as we have seen, the Protectorate started in 1883. This was followed by the opening of other Protectorate offices as follows: Selangor 1890, Malacca 1911, Negri Sembilan 1914, Kedah 1923, Johore 1927 and Pahang 1938. Previous to 1911, the Malacca Protectorate work was carried on by the Chief Police Officer with occasional visits by a Protectorate officer. Before the opening of the Negri Sembilan and Pahang offices, the work in these States was conducted from Selangor.

Thus the machinery for the protection of the Chinese labourer on his place of employment was extended throughout Malaya.

In the Colony, the Chinese Agricultural Labourers' Protection Ordinance (VIII of 1891) was passed in 1891 and provided for inspection by Protectors, for medical treatment, for the keeping of registers by employers, and for the provision of adequate living and sanitary accommodation and water. It was stipulated that the

* Some Problems of Wages and their Regulation in Great Britain. A. G. B. Fisher, 1926

Labour Contract Ordinance 1882 applied to agricultural contracts of service and the magistrate was empowered to order an absconding labourer to pay a sum not exceeding $15 to his employer to cover the actual costs of effecting the labourer's arrest, in addition to any other penalty inflicted. The period of contract was limited to twelve months or alternatively to 330 days' work.

Malacca Reports

A few summaries of reports of inspections by the Assistant Protector, of Chinese estates at Malacca in 1902 and 1905 may here be quoted.

1902. Lendu Estate Tapioca. Owner Tan Ong Sun. 34 Sin-Khehs. Coolie ignorant of sum due on expiry. No mosquito nets for Sin-Khehs. One each for laukehs. [Note: "Laukeh" = an old hand].

Durian Tunggal. Tea Estate. Owners Mr. Peralta (Italian) and Tan Hong Guan, (former being resident manager). About 30 Sin-Khehs. Some trouble. Originally employer provided all food. Later, coolies preferred to buy their own fish and vegetables, leaving employer to provide rice. Coolies received 60 cents per man per month for this for some years. Then demanded 80 cents and threatened to strike if not granted. Peralta gave the ringleaders two strokes with his stick—"a questionable proceeding", though it proved efficatious as far as the threatened strike was concerned. Tan Hong Guan refused increase. preferred to supply all food himself. A.P.C. thought 60 cents sufficient. Only $4 to be due at end of agreement instead of $12. Peralta said he had paid $8 cash to the Khehtau† for each man on arrival at the men's request for transmission to parents in China. Men trusted Khehtau. A.P.C. is "doubtful". Coolies not in possession of duplicate contracts. Given to them by A.P.C.
Pegoh. Tapioca. Chan Keng Swee owner. 12 Sin-Khehs, happy, ignorant re wages etc.

Pulau Sebang, Tapioca. Lee Keng Leat owner. Managed by a Kling. Contractor Tan Giap Heng had 7 Sin-khehs. No copies of contracts etc. Contented. To receive $4 on expiry. Khehtau took $6 to hand to parents and when he returned with receipt would pay $2 cash to each coolie. Coolies trusted him.

† "Khehtau" = Headman

Kemandore (Jasin) Tapioca. Chan See Peng Owner. Contractor had 7 Sin-khehs. Khehtau had told them that they would receive $4 on expiry. Nothing sent to China. A.P.C. told them $12. "received with acclamation". Copies of contracts distributed by A.P.C.

Jasin. Tapioca. Liong Fong Gee owner. 7 Sin-khehs signed on 27.12.00. Three only remained. 2 absconded, 2 died of fever in Jasin hospital. Contract was for one year, advance of $18, total wage of $22 leaving only $4 to be received. "It is quite ridiculous and no wonder coolies abscond on the least inducement." Sleeping accommodation bad. Fresh quarters ordered.

Selandore. Not visited. Rest. Mangr. stated that of 16 Sin-khehs signed on 27.12.00, 6 had absconded and 6 died. Rim. Lau Kee Weng owner. No Sin-khehs. Were some previous year but had absconded.

Merlimau. Tapioca. Ong Kim Wee owner. 19 Sin-khehs fine strong fellows. Balance of $8 on expiry, $4 having been sent home through Ong Kim Wee, not through khehtau. Very seldom absconding.

Chiu Chiu Tapioca. 20 Sin-khehs. Not seen.
Recommends that owners, not contractors, should execute the contracts. More accurate details of places of employment to be kept. D.O.'s to keep Estate book containing lists of Sin-khehs forwarded by A.P.C. in order to check when visiting.

1905. Only one employer who employs more than 20 sin-khehs. Total no. of sin-khehs under contract to labour on estates in Malacca was 125, of whom he traced 110. Been diminishing for some time.

	Total contracts.	Estate work only.
1902	518	412
1903	372	257
1904	236	185

There is practically no difference between the treatment of sin-khehs and laukhehs. Accommodation and food is the same for all and the only difference is in the wage. Terms of contracts only strictly construed in case of European employers. Other cases—a good deal of latitude on both sides. e.g. Rickshaw coolies in Malacca signing on as sin-khehs receive more than stipulated pay. Absconding not unknown, but D.O. Alor Gajah said that in his three years'

experience of his district he had never known a prosecution instituted by an employer on this account. Magistrate Malacca confirmed this. Also no complaints brought by sin-khehs against employers. (note neither of these points is conclusive.)

Visited: Merlimau Tapioca. No sin-khehs, last batch just free.
Gading. Tapioca. No sin-khehs.
Durian Tunggal. Tea. "This is the only tea estate in the country". It is the only estate in Malacca where sin-khehs are employed to any extent. In all 56. Accommodation better than it is on most estates, but I do not consider it good.

Tebong, four Chinese estate owners—Tapioca. No sin-khehs, all time-expired.

Kemandore. 4 sin-khehs in factory Tapioca.

Bukit Asahan Tapioca and Rubber (first mention) 6 sin-khehs plus 5 from Gading. Two redeemed, one abscond.

Bembau, visited two kongsis found no sin-khehs. Chops unknown.

Panchore. Small Gambier Plantation. 2 sin-khehs, not supplied with articles stated in contract. Accommodation and water very poor.
Pegoh. Tapioca. 6 sin-khehs. Accommodation fair.

The Depot System

To return for a moment to the Report of the Commission of 1890. Undoubtedly the most important recommendation was that inspection of places of employment should be instituted, though it is possible that the Commissioners themselves considered that the recommendations concerning the importation of fresh labour were of more importance to the planting industry. Government, however, did not accept these latter proposals. Instead, in 1896, an Ordinance was passed (XVIII of 1896. Native Passenger Lodging-Houses) whereunder any house "kept as a public resort for the boarding and lodging of native passengers" was required to have a license issued by the Protector, and the Keeper thereof was bound to observe the rules made by the Governor in Council for the management of such lodging-houses.

The Federated Malay States

So far the main emphasis has been upon enquiry, legislation and action in the Colony. This of course, follows the line of

development of Malaya. We may now profitably jump in time and space—to 1910 and to the Federated Malay States, where, as we have seen, rapid development was taking place.

Until December 1909 each of the States of the Federation passed its own laws, and there existed in each State a series of Orders in Council, Regulations and Enactments dealing with the importation of labourers. Some of these laws dated from the 1880s but, in 1904, there was some consolidation into three main enactments, (1) The Labour Enactment (General), (2) The Labour Enactment (Chinese Mining) and (3) The Labour Enactment (Chinese Agricultural). In general these laws followed the lines of those already enacted in the Colony. There were no Government depôts for the reception of Sin-khehs, but in 1890 a depôt was established at Kuala Lumpur under the management of a committee of Chinese. The following extract from the Annual Report of the British Resident for 1890 describes the depôt and the system of recruitment:

> "With a view to the protection of employers of Chinese labour in the tin mining industry, an important step has been taken to carry out the Rules passed in June 1888. A central coolie depôt has been opened and its working has, so far, given satisfaction. This institution (Shia Mee Kong Seh) is a purely Chinese one. The building, a substantial brick one, has accommodation for 1200 men; it is well supplied with water and all conveniences.
>
> All newly imported coolies must pass through this depôt where they are registered, and where they remain at the expense of their broker until work is found for them. Lau-khehs, or labourers of a year's standing and upwards can also gain admittance to the depôt on payment of a small fixed charge, and can remain there at their own expense until they find work. The number that passed through the depôt in 1890 was 3,221 namely, 1739 sin-khehs and 1,472 lau-khehs. Employers in need of labour apply to the depôt manager (a Malacca Chinese) who communicates with the brokers. If coolies are engaged, agreements are made out in duplicate and the particulars are registered in the depôt. In the agreement are set out the sum received in advance, the term of service, the names of the employer and the coolie, the place of work, the scale of remuneration, the hours of work and the nature of the food and clothing to be provided. On the expiration of a sin-kheh's year of service he has to procure from his employer a certificate stating that his agreement has been fulfilled. This he presents to the depôt, and is thenceforth a laukheh and is free to take service wherever he chooses, as long as he holds a certificate to the effect that he has completed the term of his last engage-

ment and has repaid all his advances. Employers who engaged labourers without such a certificate are liable to a fine of $200. The Captain-Superintendent of Police reports: 'This system works exceedingly well, and has completely done away with the trouble previously experienced with absconding coolies. Several prosecutions have been instituted against persons for infringing the rules, but during the past six months there has been no trouble whatever, either from the employers, coolies or brokers.' The institution is under the management of a Committee of Chinese, of whom the Capitan China is Chairman. It is inspected periodically by the Residency Surgeon."

The Commission of 1910

The rapid expansion of rubber planting from 1906 onwards caused a sharp demand for labour. In 1909 the average price of rubber was 7s. 1d. a pound and the highest price 9s. 3d. as compared with 4s. 4¾ and 5s. 9½d. respectively in 1908. In 1910 the figures were 8s. 9d. average; 12s. 7d. highest. It was this increase in the price of rubber and the prospect of a profitable future due to the development of the motor car and the increasing use of pneumatic tyres which again focussed attention on the labour supply and led to the appointment of the Commission of 1910. This was a Commission of one man, Mr. C. W. C. Parr, a Government Officer, who (as Col. C. W. C. Parr) retired from Malaya as British Resident, Perak in 1926. It was appointed by the High Commissioner to enquire into matters generally connected with the employment of indentured labour in the Federated Malay States, and the advisability of its continuance.

This enquiry, like that of 1890, covered Chinese, Javanese and Indian Labour, but it was directed towards one object: the advisability of the continuance of indentured labour. From the Report, which was laid before the Federal Council on the 31st October 1910, we find that the system of recruitment of Sin-khehs had changed so little since 1890 that no lengthy account of it was necessary. Since 1900 a number of contracts had been made in the office of the Chinese Protectorate of the F.M.S. Reference is made to the prejudice against the system of "selling young pigs." It appears that "formerly the labourer repaid the sum of $19.50 (for passage), but no portion of the cost of importation is now recoverable from him. All contracts for mining and agricultural labour are for a term of 300 days' work. Those for domestic service are for one year. The usual rate of wages for indentured Chinese labourers engaged in agriculture is 5 cents per diem and food. Indentured labourers employed on mines, though engaged at nominally the same rate, appear actually to receive considerably higher wages.' Domestic servants under indenture receive $1.50 per mensem with free food. As a rule, the labourer receives little or no cash during his

indenture, such articles as he may require being supplied by the employer and debited to the labourer's account". This gives us a picture of the main features of the terms of employment. As to the treatment of the labourers the Report says:

> "The few indentured labourers employed on mines appear now to receive fair treatment, though ill-treatment on mines is not improbable even now, if the conditions appear to favour concealment of such ill-treatment. The facilities for absconding are at the present time so great in the case of labourers employed on mines in the three western States of the Federated Malay States that it would be against the interest of the employer to resort to ill-treatment."

> "In the case of indentured labourers employed on estates situated on the Kurau and Krian rivers the comparative isolation of the estate has enabled the employer (which term includes both the manager of the estate and the headman of the "rumah Kechil") to treat the indentured labourers with a severity (it might in some instances be termed ferocity) which would be impossible on estates less difficult of access. I attribute the cruelty and abuses which have surrounded and, to judge from the evidence taken and personal enquiry made under this Commission, still surround the system of indentured Chinese labour on the Krian estates, to the situation of the estates as above stated and to the "rumah kechil" system."

Details are also given of non-treatment of sick and diseased labourers, of illegal charges debited to coolies' accounts, of the supply of opium to coolies at high prices in lieu of wages and of the locking-in of coolies between the hours of 6 p.m. and 6 a.m. It is somewhat surprising to find that the only places mentioned as employing indentured Chinese labour are six estates in Perak and three in Negri Sembilan. Surprising too is the fact that the number of indentured Chinese labourers imported in the F.M.S. fell from 7642 in 1900 to 721 in 1908, though there was a slight rise to 863 in 1909.

As to this the Report states:

> "The demand for indentured Chinese labour, which had almost reached the vanishing point in the Federated Malay States, has revived lately owing to the extensive cultivation of rubber and the scarcity of other labour, and in view of the large number of labourers that will be required it is most essential that the system of recruiting Chinese labour should be placed on as sound a basis as possible."

> "The employment of indentured Chinese labour on mines has practically ceased, and the number of domestic servants under indenture is exceedingly small."

In an appendix to the Report, Mr. W. D. Barnes, British Resident, Pahang, and formerly Secretary for Chinese Affairs, F.M.S., gives a thumb-nail sketch of the development of thirty years. He says:

> "The early development of the Straits Settlements and Federated Malay States was, to a great extent, effected by indentured Chinese labour imported by Chinese capitalists. The system led to gross abuses, an account of which can be found in voluminous report of the Straits Settlements Labour Commission, 1891 (1890).
>
> As early as 1893, when I was first in Perak, the system of working mines by indentured labour was breaking down. As communications were improved, it was increasingly difficult to prevent absconding, and the number of small miners largely increased. The present condition of the mining industry is far healthier and sounder than when it was in the hands of a few capitalists employing labour, which was indentured in the sense of not being free to leave the mine until the next yearly or half-yearly settlement.
>
> In agriculture, indentured Chinese labour—i.e., Sinkheh labour—is practically confined to the sugar industry in Perak and Province Wellesley, and to the employment of contract Hailams on tapioca estates in Malacca. I have no figures available, but it is undoubted that the employment of indentured labour has diminished greatly in recent years.
>
> In my opinion this diminution is a matter for congratulation. A planter, of course, prefers indentured labour, because it is more completely under his control, but no body of employers, whether European or native, can be trusted to employ indentured labour in places where circumstances render absconding difficult unless their labour is constantly inspected by Government officers. In Province Wellesley the place of the Chinese sinkheh employed on sugar estates has been taken in some cases by free labourers, but in many others the estates have been broken up and are now occupied by free settlers."

The Commission recommended the abolition of indentured labour and the substitution of "the system of recruiting well known in connection with Indian labour as the "kangany" system. Most of the labour employed on mines is now recruited on this system, persons trusted by the employer proceeding to China and bringing back with them relatives or men from the same village to work on the mine."

Failing a sufficient supply of labour by this method, a limited form of indenture—limited to 100 or 150 days only—through Government depôt was advised—coupled with "the strictest supervision of such labour by Government." "Inspection should be both frequent and thorough—an efficient system of inspection being as much to the advantage of the employer who desires to treat his labour fairly as to that of the labour."

The following paragraph is particularly interesting in view of the increasing popularity nowadays of direct employment on European estates instead of employment through contractors:

> "European employers of indentured Chinese labour should be urged to deal direct with such labour, and their responsibility for the treatment and general welfare of the labourers should be impressed upon them. The system of dealing with indentured Chinese labour through a headman or contractor is likely to give rise to abuses and was condemned by the Labour Commission of 1890."

Legislation of 1910—The Period of the Contract

In November 1910, seven Bills were brought before the Federal Council embodying amendments to the labour laws which were "necessitated by the extension of the cultivation of rubber and the increase in the demand for labour." The first of these was the "Chinese Immigrants Enactment". In introducing it, the Resident of Pahang (Mr. Barnes) said:

> "In the past, Chinese indentured labour—that is, Chinese labour which was bound by contract to perform a certain amount of labour in the Malay States—has been imported under contracts made in the Colony. It is now proposed to bring the labourers direct without passing through Singapore, and it is, therefore, necessary that we should add to our legislation provisions for the protection of that labour . .
> "The question of indebted immigrants is dealt with exactly as in the Colonial law. On arrival it is ascertained from a man whether he owes his passages to anyone and, if so, provision is made for his detention in a depôt until he has signed a contract . . It may be concluded that a law which has been working for twenty or thirty years in the Colony and amended from time to time is the most satisfactory way of dealing with this matter."

Thus far the Bill provided for the Government supervision of immigrants as suggested by the Commission but the more far-reaching recommendations—in particular the reduction of the period of indenture, if indentured labour should still be found neces-

sory, to 100, or at the most 150 days, as recommended to the Commission by the Resident of Pahang—found no place in this Enactment. Instead we find that the period of indenture is limited to 300 days' work.

The remaining six Bills were the Indian Immigration Enactment, the Netherlands Indian Labourers' Protection Enactment, Labour Enactment 1904 No. 1 (General), Labour Enactment 1904 No. 2 (Chinese mining), Labour Enactment 1904 No. 3 (Chinese agricultural) and "an Enactment to provide for the due protection of the health of labourers employed upon Agricultural Estates."—Estate labourers (Protection of Health) Enactment. The main provisions of these Enactments dealt with house accommodation, water supply, sanitary arrangements, hospitals and health matters generally. They gave effect to the recommendations of a Committee of six Doctors (four of them Government Medical Officers) one planter and the head of the Public Works Department appointed one planter and the head of the Public Works Department appointed overlapping in the Enactments and it was stated that it was proposed eventually to consolidate the legislation in one Bill. The amendments to each of the three Labour Enactments 1904 each reiterated the limitation of the terms of contract to 300 days' labour. picture of the main features of the terms of employment. As to the treatment of the labourers the Report says:

On the consideration of these Bills in Committee, an Unofficial Member stated that he had "been specially requested by employers of labour in Perak to see whether there would not be a chance of the time of the contract being somewhat extended." He remarked that he understood that the idea of making the term of the contracts 300 days and no longer was due to certain considerations of what the feeling might be in England as regards employment of labour out here, and argued at some length on the benefits accruing from a longer period of contracts. He proposed that the terms should not exceed 600 days' work. This drew a spirited reply from the Resident of Pahang who, as we have seen, was a former Secretary for Chinese Affairs and had sponsored the suggested reduction of the term to 100 or 150 days. He said:

> "In dealing with labour there are two absolutely incompatible ideals, one is all free labour and the other all labour under indenture. That was the difference between the Selangor coffee planters in the old days and the Province Wellesley Sugar planters. These two ideals cannot be worked together. If you have the country full of free labour, with all the freedom of movement that free labour demands, it is absolutely impossible to keep large numbers of indentured labourers on estates tied down by all sorts of conditions. It is as absolutely impossible to hold indentured labour under such conditions

as it would be to hold a handful of quicksilver. The Chinese ..come here to be independent and their own masters. If they obtain a free passage they are ready to repay it and enter into a contract to labour until it is repaid, but when that period is over they expect to be free. Any attempt to keep them for a longer period is an offence against their self-respect and moral sense and will fail. The ordinary cooly is, as a rule, a very decent fellow, and he regards himself as under a moral obligation to fulfil his contract. But if you extend the term of the contract beyond what he recognises as proper to be required from him he will abscond. In a country like this if your labour force wants to go you cannot keep it. The hon'ble member said that employers who had spoken to him regarded it as a great hardship that as soon as their men get acclimatised they left them. Why should a man who has worked 300 days on an estate leave it as soon as his contract expired. Surely, if he is properly treated on that estate and is making a good wage there he will stay If they are not satisfied nothing will keep them. Apart from any consideration of what people at home may think, we know by past experience here that you will never get a large quantity of Chinese labour to come down here under contract The only place where Chinese labour on contracts for long periods has been satisfactorily worked is on the Deli tobacco estates. But there the whole conditions are entirely different. There the employers are strong and organised, they are not competing with miners and they are not competing with the general prosperity of the country outside agricultural labour, such as we have here. What is possible in an agricultural country, whose industry is entirely based on indentured labour, would be absolutely impossible in a country like this in which all other industries are based on free labour, and for that reason I strongly deprecate extending the maximum term of a contract beyond 300 days' work. I should mention that this may mean a great deal longer than 300 days spent on an estate."

Of interest too is a remark by the High Commissioner in this debate. He states that when the matter was before the Legislative Council in Singapore, the point that a three years' contract might induce Chinese labourers to come here with their families was mentioned by one of the members for Penang as an argument but that the Chinese member promptly said that no Chinese indentured labourer would ever dream of bringing his wife and family here. The High Commissioner also pointed out that 300 days was the recognised maximum and that the proposal of the hon'ble member was to go beyond what was then, and had been for some time, the recognised period and that Government could not support the proposal.

The hon'ble member was satisfied with the explanation and did not wish to press the matter.

Legislation of 1911

This, however, was not the end of the matter for on the 13th November 1911 we find an Unofficial Member asking when Enactment 12 of 1910 (the amendment of the Labour Enactments 1904 No. 1—General) which was passed on the 3rd November 1910 was to be brought into force. In reply the Chief Secretary stated that there were two points in the Enactment which had been the subject of correspondence with the Secretary of State, namely the maximum period of contracts and the stringent provisions of Section 8A of the Enactment, which imposed penalties on labourers for offences in the same way as the Colony Ordinance (No. VIII of 1891) quoted earlier.

"With regard to the first point, the Secretary of State has lately consented to the maximum period of contract being for the present 300 days, but has directed that the recruitment of Chinese labour on the Sin-kheh system shall cease altogether by the 30th of June 1914; all written contracts therefore made by Chinese immigrants prior to the 30th June 1914, for labour in the Federated Malay States, will lapse from that date."

The second point was still under consideration.

A new Labour Code was being prepared to consolidate the various laws referred to above, but, before it was ready, Council was suddenly faced, on the 14th of November 1911 with an entirely new Bill, "to make provisions for the proper supervision and treatment of labourers". This was to be a temporary measure, to be incorporated in the Labour Code in due course. Its urgency was explained by the Chief Secretary as follows:—

> "On a certain estate in the Federated Malay States matters have reached a stage at which the manager is unable to control the labour force there. There has been terrible mortality on the estate, the labour force of which consists of 1,100 men. On a recent visit of inspection, about 500 were found sick about the estate. The hospital accommodation is absolutely insufficient and the medical staff is quite unable to look after the coolies. The manager has been directed to carry out certain works but has failed to carry out promises which have been made. He states that matters have been reported to the Directors but that they have objected to the expenditure necessary to remedy the state of affairs. He admits that matters have got beyond his control and he has also informed me that he has sent in his resignation. He has been frequently

absent from the estate on other business and no one is left in charge who has power to deal with emergencies. In these circumstances it is necessary to ask the Council to confer powers on the Government to see that this state of things shall exist no longer. This is the only possible way to deal with such a case. As I stated before this is only a temporary measure, because the Labour Bill will soon be before the Council."

Unofficial Members demurred to this rush legislation, but on Government's giving an undertaking that the provisions of the bill would not be enforced against any other estate until the Unofficial Members had seen the reports upon which Government proposed to act, the Bill was passed into law as "The Labour Enactment, 1911."

The Labour Code, 1912 and the Abolition of Indentured Labour

From this welter of piecemeal legislation emerged "The Labour Code, 1912" which, though since considerably amended, forms the basis of the present (1933) Code. It included a section declaring that every contract entered into by an indebted immigrant was to terminate on the 30th of June 1914 and that no contract was to be entered into by an indebted immigrant after that date.

In introducing the Bill, the Chief Secretary remarked that it involved "no great alterations in the law which has been in force for many years in the Federated Malay States. During the debate, an Unofficial Member made some interesting remarks about strikes. Referring to "recent strikes in Kuala Lumpur" he said:

"It is a great disappointment to the whole of the country to see that the European employers in these particular instances have had to give in to the demands of their labourers. That such a thing could be possible in the Federated Malay States nobody would have believed. The matter should have grave consideration if we find that the European has to give in to the dictation of the cooly, who is probably acting under the dictation of some secret society, and I believe I have good grounds to suppose that these strikes were led by some secret society. If we are to give in to coolies like this, then the position of Europeans in the country will become very difficult, and probably there will be further trouble. I therefore draw the attention of Government to the advisability of considering some addition to the Labour Code, to avoid, as much as possible by law, the recurrence of such strikes, whether industrial, on mines or on plantations. We are prepared to look after our labour. We do our very best for them. We treat them al-

most as well as we would treat our own people, and we must expect that the labourers will respect the laws of the country and their employers. I am making a very strong point of this as of late there has been a lot of trouble amongst a certain class of Chinese. The strikes which have taken place in Kuala Lumpur are not the only strikes which have taken place in the country. I can speak feelingly on the matter as I have had to deal with two strikes—one of coolies and the other of workshop hands. I was very fortunate in being able to quell the whole thing and restore working. I cannot say whether in future cases I should be successful, therefore I do not think it is too much to ask Government to consider the matter and decide whether they cannot bring in some legislation to prevent the occurrence of strikes, especially amongst the Chinese and Tamils."

A later speaker—Towkay Eu Tong Sen neatly and tersely replied to this "cri-du-coeur" in the following words:

"With regard to strikes, when I was in London I could not get a taxi-cab one day owing to the strike amongst the taxi-cab drivers. I think these strikes affect every country."

The final stage of the abolition of indentured labour was reached with the passing in November 1914, of an amending Enactment—No. 32 of 1914, which removed all provisions of the Code which referred exclusively to written contracts to labour by Chinese indebted immigrants all such contracts having come to an end on the 30th of June in that year.

The legal abolition of indentured labour had but little influence on the system of labour supply. Already, as we have seen, the Chinese mines—the largest employers of labour had practically ceased to employ indentured labour and had developed a system of private recruitment. But the abolition of indentures did prevent any swing back to the old system which in view of the pressing demands for labour, might well have taken place.

The System of Personal Recruitment and the Lodging Houses

The system which had grown out of the old indenture system and had become widespread was on the following lines: A Chinese employer who wanted say fifty or a hundred coolies would send his contractor or Kepala to China to recruit. This recruiter would, as a rule, go to his own village or district, which would also frequently be the district of his employer, and there find men were willing to undertake employment in Malaya. The recruiter would pay all the expenses from village to port and from port to Malaya

and with his assistants shepherd the flock to the place of employment. Arrived there the coolies would be housed in an attap Kongsi-house—probably together with coolies already employed there—and would be set to work. An account would be opened in the employer's book for each Sin-kheh and the first entry would be a debit of a sum to cover his share of the cost of importation. This sum would be arrived at by taking all the expenses of the trip—including the expenses of the recruiter and his assistants to and from China—with generous allowances and "squeeze" so that the employer should make a profit on the transaction even allowing for the absconding of a few of the newcomers before repayment. The wages of the newcomers were usually assessed according to the ability shown. No wages would be paid, but they would be credited to the coolie's account. Items debited to his account would be food (unless, as on mines, free food were provided), clothing, chandu and any purchases of clothing, tobacco, matches etc., all of which would be obtained from a shop kept by the employer at the Kongsi. In course of time, provided that his health remained good and he did not smoke opium excessively, the Sin-kheh would work himself free of debt. Frequently there was no written agreement, but written agreements and promissory notes signed by the Sin-khehs were not unknown. Furthermore family and village ties tended to bind the Sin-kheh to the employer. But above all, the old tradition and customs of indenture tended to persist and, as Mr. Barnes rightly remarked (see above) the cooly regarded himself as under a moral obligation to fulfil his contract—provided that it was reasonable Furthermore, if the labourers were not sufficiently docile there was close surveillance by Chinese Kepalas and Sikh watchmen and the locking of the Kongsi doors at night.

Side by side with this system of personal recruitment was the system of recruitment through lodging houses which was a development from and bore a close resemblance to the old system of importation. Brokers in China recruited labourers and either themselves brought them to Malaya or sent them through lodging houses. Lodging houses for labourers at the coast ports of China are linked with lodging houses in Hongkong; these latter are linked with Singapore lodging houses which again are linked with similar establishments up-country. It was thus possible for the broker in China to hand over his recruits to a lodging house in China for transmission to any part of Malaya. In Malaya these lodging houses—established under Native Passenger Lodging House licences—served, and still serve, as reservoirs for labour and as employment exchanges. Chinese contractors looking for labour go to the lodging houses to recruit. Under the system which we have just been describing he would pay to the lodging house keeper a sum to cover the alleged expenses of importation and this sum, or a larger one, would be debited to the Sin-kheh's account.

The Labour Code empowered, and still does empower, the Protector to fix from time to time the maximum sum for which any immigrant should be indebted for passage money and advances. But it will be realised that the only means of ascertaining what sums had been debited against Sin-khehs—either under the personal recruitment system or the lodging house recruitment system—was the inspection of individual accounts at each place of employment. This, in itself, was a formidable task. Reference has already been made to the statement that "the aggrieved workman does not play any direct part in making industrial legislation effective." That was written in connection with labourers in England being inspected by men of their own race. It is infinitely more true of Chinese, newcomers to Malaya, being inspected by men of an alien race. The attitude, amounting almost to dumb antipathy, which met the Protectorate officer on his arrival at a place of employment is something which can hardly be appreciated except by those who have experienced it. In the Report of the 1910 Commission, Mr. Parr wrote: "A thorough inspection of an estate employing indentured Chinese occupies a considerable time. The inspection of Ban Kok Heng Estate by Mr. Ridges and myself occupied 8 or 9 hours on two consecutive days A cursory or hurried inspection of the Chinese-managed estates would fail to bring to light many cases of ill-treatment because the labourers are afraid to complain, and only careful and searching enquiry will elicit the true state of affairs."

This was equally true of the quasi-indentured labour which we are now considering. And even today, in his Annual Report for 1940 the Protector in Perak remarks: "It is extremely rare for any complaints to be made to an inspecting officer." Nevertheless, inspection was of considerable use, and the knowledge that the Protectorate provided a free court of justice for the labourer did spread particularly as the number of laukhehs was constantly increasing.

Before leaving the subject of lodging houses mention should be made of their function as reservoirs of labour. Unemployed labourers betake themselves to one of the local lodging houses and are there lodged and fed, if necessary, on credit. The security for a labourer's debt is his box (or, nowadays, his suitcase), containing his blanket, clothes and miscellaneous belongings. Contractors requiring labour obtain it from the lodging houses, but before the labourer leaves, the contractor must make a cash-advance to the labourer. Ostensibly this is needed to settle the debt for lodging, and, in fact, a good deal of the money advanced is used for this purpose. But the amount of the advance is not regulated by the amount owed by the individual labourer but by the supply of and the demand for labour. At any period the amount of advance in any one district is approximately the same for all labourers; it does

not fluctuate with individual needs. In times of shortage of labour and high rubber prices the amount demanded has been as high as $70 per man (for sin-khehs from China); in times of excess of labour the amount may be as low as $2 (for laukhehs), all of which may be owed to the lodging house. Labourers recruited from lodging houses in this way were more likely to abscond before working off their advances than labourers recruited by the personal system and it is a long-standing complaint of employers that there is no adequate redress for this type of cheating.

"About it and About"

From 1910 onwards there was much discussion among Association of European Planters and between these Associations and Government with a view to improving the system of the importation of Chinese labour. Various tentative schemes were drawn up by these Associations. In 1911 the Resident of Selangor asked the Planters' Association of Malaya whether planters would wish Government to move in the direction of establishing a Chinese Immigration Fund on the lines of the Tamil Immigration Fund. The Association replied that no useful purpose would be served thereby. Five years later, the Negri Sembilan Planters' Association asked the Planters' Association of Malaya to confer with Government as to the advisability of extending the Indian Immigration scheme so as to apply to Chinese. In 1920, the Controller of Labour invited representatives of European Planters' Associations to a Chinese Labour Conference. In 1922 a Special Committee on Chinese Labour appointed by the General Labour Committee of the Planters' Association of Malaya submitted a Report in which it recommended the establishment of a General Labour Board for Malaya, the functions of which would be *inter alia* the regulation and control of the recruiting of all classes of immigrant labour. The Board was to consist of representatives of the agricultural and mining interests.

It is significant that the F.M.S. Chamber of Mines dissociated itself from any resolutions passed or any conclusions arrived at by this Committee. Significant, because all the discussions and enquiries concerning Chinese labour, from the 1890 Commission, through the 1910 Commission and onwards had arisen because of the difficulties experienced and voiced by the European planters. And all the projected schemes were vitiated by the fact that miners were able to get the labour they wanted, and that labour recruited at the expense of the Planting Industry or of Government, as most of these schemes provided, was liable to drift away to the mines. In short, the immigrant found labour on mines more attractive than labour on estates.

Effects of the Aliens Ordinance 1933

None of the suggested schemes was adopted, and the system of recruiting through individuals or through lodging houses continued. Its cessation came as the result of a piece of legislation which was in no way framed with this end in view. This was the Aliens Ordinance which came into force in the Colony in January 1933. The main object of this Ordinance, as given in the Objects and Reasons attached to the Bill was "to regulate the admission of aliens in accordance with the political, social and economic needs for the moment of the various administrations of Malaya." It was considered that a system of control would be built up which would "enable selection to be made to some extent of suitable immigrants on a qualitative basis and facilitate the maintenance of equilibrium between the supply of and demand for labour in Malaya."

Under the Ordinance, the Governor in Council was empowered to fix from time to time the number of Alien deck passengers permitted to land, and this was achieved by gazetting a monthly quota of new immigrants. Persons already in Malaya received, on payment of $5, a Certificate of Admission which allowed them to return to Malaya outside the quota. There was also a provision for the issue to individuals or companies of permits to recruit labourers and bring them to Malaya outside the quota if these labourers were needed to work for such individuals or companies.

At the outset, the quota was applied to males only and was fixed at 1,000 monthly. Since then the figure has varied between 6,000 and 500 monthly, fluctuating with the labour needs of Malaya in so far as these could be judged. The immediate result of the imposition of the quota was an increase in the cost of passages for sin-khehs. This was due partly to the higher prices charged by the shipping companies to compensate them for their limited trade and partly to the competition for the limited number of tickets available—a circumstance of which full advantage was taken by the ticket brokers at the China ports and at Hong Kong.

The importation of fresh labour thus became an expensive business for any particular employer particularly when the newly arrived labourer might abscond almost as soon as he arrived. A few permits to import labour outside the quota for particular places of employment were issued but were invariably abused, many of the supposed labourers turning out to be shop assistants, clerks or schoolboys who had thus obtained admission to Malaya but had no intention of being labourers. Permits are now issued in very exceptional cases, e.g. for the importation of specialised crafts-

men. Employers therefore turned increasingly to the lodging houses for their additional labour requirements. In addition there has been a rapidly increasing number of local born Chinese entering into employment. As a result of the working of the Aliens Ordinance it may be said that any sin-kheh who now comes to Malaya has either paid for his own passage or has got a relative—probably in this country—to pay it for him. The system of broker-recruiting has vanished. The costs—and therefore the risks—are too high.

But the working of this Ordinance had another unforseen effect. As women were outside the quota, passages for women were far cheaper than those for men. There was no limit to the number of women who could enter Malaya. These factors encouraged women in China to emigrate, but this emigration was stimulated by the action of ticket brokers at the China ports who refused to sell quota tickets unless three or four non-quota tickets were bought by the lodging-houses and ticket agencies for each quota ticket bought. It was therefore to the advantage of the lodging houses and ticket agents to encourage the emigration of women to take up these non-quota tickets. As a result, from 1933 onwards until May 1938, when a quota of 500 monthly was introduced for women, ship-loads of Cantonese women—mostly from the Shun Tak and Tung Kwun Districts came to Malaya. Their ages ranged between 18 and 40 years and they invariably claimed to be widows. There can be little doubt that in some cases the old custom of the husband emigrating and sending money back to China for the support of his wife and family was reversed—the wife emigrating to earn money for the husband and family in China. In the five years 1934 to 1938 there was a migrational gain to Malaya of over 190,000 female Chinese deck passengers. The majority of these women were peasant women,—workers, who have entered the rubber and tin industries, the building industry and factories. They have settled here and many of them have married. Chinese women of the coolie class had been coming to Malaya for years (though the Hailam Community refused to allow its women-folk to emigrate until 1924). Laukhehs who had worked off their debts returned to China and married, bringing their wives back with them, or sent money back to their parents in China as wedding money to be paid to the parents of a girl whom they considered suitable and sent to Malaya to marry their son. So that there has, over the years, been an increasing number of women—particularly of the Cantonese and Hakka tribes—not only rearing families in Malaya but themselves working on estates and mines and in industry. This process was speeded up by the operation of the Aliens Ordinance in its first six years, and on estates there is no doubt that the near future will see the widespread establishment of labour forces consisting of families. At the present time, both our main industries—rubber and tin—are working to full capacity and there is sufficient labour in Malaya for this purpose. The immigration quota is 500

men and 500 women monthly. There are swarms of Chinese children in their teens, mostly local born, and still more who have not yet reached their teens. Unless something quite extraordinary happens it is unlikely that Malaya will ever need to import Chinese labour in the future. As far as can be seen, that chapter of her labour history is practically closed.

The Truck System and the "Farms"

The "Truck" System or "Tommy" System is the practice of paying workmen in goods instead of money or in money on the understanding that they will buy provision etc. from their employers. In England this practice was dealt with by Truck Acts of 1831, 1870, 1887 and 1896 (the last of these restricting the practice of deduction of wages in payment of fines).

It will be clear from the account of the old systems of employment of Chinese labour in Malaya that the Truck system was very widespread. It was, in fact, universal.

In 1907, a British mining engineer published a book on Mining in Malaya in which he has many seathing remarks to make on the subject of what he alleges to be the unfair treatment of British mining enterprises by the Malayan Governments, and the latitude permitted to their Chinese competitors. One of these strictures concerns the Truck system and is as follows:

> "Great additional interest has just been given to this particular mine by reason of the publication of some extraordinary statements made by the District Officer in whose jurisdiction it lies. This gentleman is reported as saying: 'Towkay X's mine is the most important (in the district); he has gradually worked it up, until at the time of writing he has over 3500 coolies employed, who turn out about 1200 pikul of tin ore per month.... It would, I think, be very wrong to allow any other miner into the field; the land is not very rich, and can only be worked profitably on a large scale and by Chinese methods, which require a large labour force. Chinese methods of mining depend on the truck system very much for profit; it is doubtful whether this field would be able to keep on working at a profit if labour-saving machinery took the place of coolies.'" The writer comments: "This is perhaps the most outspoken official advocacy of Chinese monopoly ever put into print. Here is a District Officer, who is primarily a magistrate, and not even remotely a mining engineer, urging that a whole field shall be given over to one Chinaman, because he depends on the truck system very largely for his profit—because he makes money in other words, not out of his tin mine but out of his coolies." It was unfortunately true that the truck system was inherent

in the methods of employment then in use. This was particularly true of the type of mining known as tribute mining which is briefly described by the same writer as follows:

> "A small storekeeper, seeing or hearing of a piece of vacant mining ground, goes to the owner of the surface and offers a percentage or royalty on the output for leave to work it. Having built a Kongsi house, he collects some clansmen and starts them with a small advance of stores, taking 100% commission. The returns are immediate, and a merely nominal sum is risked in proving whether the ground will be payable or not. If not, it is at once abandoned, and a fresh spot is sought."

Under this system tools and provisions were advanced to the coolies and debited to their account. Small cash advances were also made. If the mine looked like being poor, the coolies would demand larger advances so that they could get as much as possible "while the going was good." At the end of six months accounts were made up and the share of profits due to the coolies was divided among them by their headmen in proportion to the days worked by each (the advances etc. of each being deducted). Here, it may be remarked, we have an outstanding example of the sharing of the labourers in the profits of the industry. It was a gamble. If the mine failed the labourers got at least their food and what advances of cash they had managed to extract—in return for their labour; if it prospered they got a share of the profits. But the truck system was not limited to this type of employment—where it might well be held to be reasonable—it extended to all employment with the result that by charging high prices for provisions, goods, opium etc. a coolie might remain in debt for years. It was an invariable rule that all advances of money made to coolies were charged with interest. Deductions were made for clerks' wages, bed-boards and any other item provided by the contractor. This derived from the tribute mining system under which the advancer built the Kongsi but the labourers paid for everything else—including the bed-boards. The practice of settling up at six monthly intervals was also widespread among contractors long after the indenture system had gone. This led to incessant trouble due to the absconding of contractors. One of the reasons why the truck system was so all-pervading was that the old mining customs were crystallised into law by regulations in Perak and Selangor. In Perak, for example, between 1885 and 1888 various Regulations were issued the main effect of which was to confirm existing practice—including truck and the flogging of coolies who absconded or refused to work. Selangor had similar Regulations, and in cases unprovided for under these Regulations the magistrate could take evidence of mining custom in the locality and give judgment accordingly.

In 1909 Truck Enactments were passed in each of the Federated Malay States prohibiting the practice of truck. These Enactments were repealed when the Truck provisions were included in the Labour Code, 1912. Exception was permitted in the case of labourers working on an agreement of co-operation in order to permit the continuance of tribute mining. But despite the prohibition of truck, the system was so deeply ingrained that traces of it have lingered even to the present day. We still come across occasional cases where clerk's wages or bed-boards are charged to the coolies, and until very recent years the charging of interest of advances was quite common though prosecution was undertaken whenever it was discovered.

But in addition to the Truck system by which employers recovered most of the wages paid to their labourers, there were the "Farms"—the monopolies of selling chandu, spirits and sometimes pigs, and the monopoly of opening gambling houses. These farms were invariably let by Government to leading Chinese employers and it is the fact that many of the leading Chinese of the last generation who amassed great wealth founded their fortunes as farmers of one or more of these monopolies. To their credit it should be recorded that most of them were generous in their gifts to hospitals and decrepit wards for labourers broken in their service. In the early days in Larut, the Chinese headmen who controlled mines began to resent any interference with the profits which they made out of their truck systems and forced the Mantri to forego the gambling farm and the opium farm and to allow the mine lessees to pocket the gains from both sources. In 1879, we find the British Resident, Perak, in referring to the establishment of the Perak River Farms addressing the State Council as follows:

> "I was induced to devise this liberal measure in my great desire to do something to open our neglected rich deposits of tin ore in that district and to assist in the further development of others. The Perak river has been hitherto much neglected; but by interesting the Penang Opium Farmers in its prosperity I am inclined to hope that they will assist in the introduction of labourers and capital which while increasing their income from the opium will increase that of Government from the export of tin."

So that, what with truck and farms, every effort was made by the Chinese employers to see that the coolie should not lack opportunity to remain penniless.

Societies and the Labour Movement

There are several references in the early part of this article to the existence of secret or Triad societies among immigrant Chi-

nese. The name"Triad" derives from the Chinese "Saam Hap" or "three united"—Heaven, Earth and Man. With these three in unison there is complete peace and harmony. This "Heaven and Earth" society has its roots far back in Chinese history. In comparatively recent times it came into prominence as a political power in China when, during the latter part of the 17th Century, it espoused the cause of the Chinese "Ming" dynasty which had been overthrown in 1628 by the Manchu "Tshing" dynasty, and adopted as one of its slogans "Overthrow the Tshing, restore the Ming". From then onwards it became a proscribed society in China. It developed an intricate ritual similar to that of Freemasonry, and indeed in its origins—with the motto of "Obey Heaven and Work Righteousness"—it appears to have had similar aims. It developed into a powerful organisation having the power of life and death over its members.

In the Straits Settlements it flourished from the earliest times. Inche Abdulla—the scribe of Raffles—in his "Hikayat" gives an account of the activities of the society at Singapore in the early days of Crawfurd, (1823—1826) and tells of the terror which it inspired. Throughout Malaya there were serious society fights involving at times the death of hundreds of participants. Fights of this nature occurred in Singapore in 1824, 1846, 1851, and 1854, and in Penang in 1867. There were also fights at Malacca and, as we have seen in the Malay States. There were various lodges. In 1878 the principal lodge—the Ghee Hin had nine branches in Singapore. For many years there had been no "Grand Master" of this Society—as no person dare come forward to undertake the onerous and responsible duties of the office. In 1869 an Ordinance providing for the registration of societies was enacted. In 1878, the Registrar, who was also the Protector of Chinese—Pickering—reported that the names of tens of thousands of office bearers and members were registered. The societies were large mutual benefit and protection societies covering between them practically the whole of the Chinese population, and they were, in fact, the only Civil Government recognised by the bulk of the Chinese population. The headmen might deal with the Colonial Government, but the immediate government of the Chinese population was carried out by the societies. They settled disputes between members, whether over criminal or civil matters, by arbitration, and in any dispute between members of different societies the resources and the fighting braves of the societies were there to back up the parties. It was in this way that the riots and large scale fights to which reference is made above occurred. Wherever the Chinese settled there was government by Triad societies, and wherever there were Triad societies there was trouble. An observer writing in 1872 of the situation in Larut said "to what extent the Tunku Mentri was supposed to exercise government over these people I am unable to say. My impression is that, in the

main, they governed themselves." Until 1890 these societies in the Colony were not illegal. In that year they were required to dissolve, but their activities continued illegally, though harrassed by the police. The spheres of interest of the lodges were mainly territorial and tribal, but, in so far as it was customary for Chinese establishments carrying on a particular trade to group themselves together in one area, the tendency was for Chinese of one tribe engaged in a particular trade to join a particular lodge, though such a lodge might embrace several trades in its territorial sphere. This same tendency still persists in Singapore among the unlawful hooligans "societies" which, though but pale shadows of the former great lodges, descended from them and, in some cases, retain the old titles.

A more particularised form of Trade association is the Guild. From the earliest times until recent years the Trade Guilds were the only organisations catering exclusively for the interests of persons engaged in particular trades. They have existed in China from very ancient times and their membership included master craftsmen, journeymen and apprentices. They were particularly common in Malaya among the old-established trades such as tailors, shoemakers, goldsmiths and carpenters. The usual type was governed by a committee composed of employers and employees. Rates of wages, hours of work, holidays and terms of apprenticeship were decided by the Guilds. Many of them provided funeral benefits and accommodation for unemployed members. Legislation providing for the registration of societies was introduced in the colony in 1889, and in the F.M.S. in 1895, and among the societies registered in the early years was a large proportion of guilds. The guilds were, as a rule, restricted to a particular tribe:—Cantonese, Hakka, Hokkiens, Hailam etc.

The organisation of societies specifically for employees did not, apart from rare exceptions, take place until the nineteen—twenties. Such societies were registered under the societies laws. This movement drew its inspiration from China. The Revolution of 1911 introduced, among other western ideas, a Labour Movement on Western lines. From 1912 onwards efforts were made to establish a workers' movement and this was stimulated by the Russian revolution of 1917. This is of some importance, for the Labour Movement in China has from these early days drawn much of its inspiration from Russia. Dr. Sun Yat Sen, the father of the Chinese Republic urged the formation of labour organisations on Western models, and a programme of labour reform was drawn up at the First National Congress of the Kuomintang in 1924. On Labour Day in that year the first National Labour Conference was held, and thereafter, became an annual event until 1927. The Chinese Communist Party began as a secret society of students and intellectuals in 1920 and grew rapidly. This growth was greatly stimu-

lated by the policy of Dr. Sun who in 1924 turned to Russia for assistance and appointed Russian advisers to his government and Russian instructors for his army. Russian influence spread rapidly until 1927 when military leaders, alarmed at the increasing power of the Chinese Communist Party, turned against the Russian influence and began a purge. There was a general exodus of Chinese and Russian communists. The National Party—the Kuomintang—was re-formed, free from the communist elements which had almost taken over control. It was during this period of communist influence that the labour movement in China came under the control of the Chinese Communist Party, and at the 1927 Labour Conference, the subjects dealt with and the tone of the resolutions was such that, shortly afterwards, when the anti-communist purge was taking place, the National Government suspended the workers' and peasants' associations, and labour activities ceased until the promulgation of the Labour Union Law in 1929, since when the labour movement in China has been under the direct supervision and control of the Kuomintang. The political influences brought to bear on the Labour Movement in China have found their echo in the organisation of Chinese labour in Malaya. Typical, for example, was the attitude of Chinese Guilds in Malaya towards the Peace Celebrations in 1919. They strongly opposed any participation in the celebrations. This was in keeping with the protest made in China by a movement organised by Chinese students to oppose the Versailles Treaty because it acquiesced in the retention of Tsingtao by Japan. The student movement of 1919 in China gave a great deal of impetus to the Labour Movement.

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The Communist Party has also had its influence in Malayan labour organisations. For some years now there has been a Malayan Communist Party linked with the Communist Party in China. It has always been an unlawful society i.e. not registered under the laws. Among various subsidiary unlawful organisations have been the Malayan General Labour Union, the Communist Youth Corps, Workers' Vocational Associations and various others through which contact with labour and with labourers' associations has been made. Various methods have been adopted; the establishment of night-schools, the formation of "red" unions and of "grey" unions, and the penetration of societies already registered.

More recently scope has been found under the cloak of the National Salvation Movement. "National Salvation" may be described as "all hands to the pumps" in order to keep the ship of China afloat. It embraces all sections of the Chinese community including the Communists, and its principal activities are the collection of funds (Relief Funds) for transmission to the Chinese Government, the enforcement of the boycott of Japanese goods and the fanning of the flame of enthusiasm for both these objects. Its influence in the Chinese labour world was apparent from the middle of 1937, in the formation of Relief Fund Sub-Committees for particular trades and industries and in the increasing use, in Singapore in particular, which was made of these sub-committees or of members of the central Relief Fund organisations in conciliation and arbitration in industrial disputes. This organisation of workers undoubtedly encouraged the spirit of solidarity among labourers. The immediate result has been the formation of dozens of labourers' associations, usually under the title of "Mutual Help Association," which have been registered under the society laws. This trend has been particularly noticeable among the industrial workers of Singapore, but it has also made its appearance elsewhere throughout Malaya and, quite recently, similar associations among tin mining labourers and rubber-estate workers which have never previously been organised, have appeared in the F.M.S. These associations have not as a rule undertaken the responsibility of representing their members in industrial disputes and have even in some instances repudiated such functions. It is clear that under these conditions, with inexperienced leadership—and practically all the leaders of these associations are untutored labourers inexperienced in the handling of such organisations—there is a danger that such bodies may fan the sparks of industrial disputes and do nothing to quench the resultant flames.

For some years before 1937, the Nationalist Government of China was engaged in war against the Chinese Communist Armies. That meant that every patriotic Chinese—and to be uppatriotic is anathema—regarded the Communists with aversion. In 1937, however, the Communist Party of China agreed to cooperate with the National Government in opposing Japan and undertook to cease the class struggle in the interests of National Salvation. The position of the patriotic Chinese was now changed. He still felt an aversion to communism, he realised that the pact between the Chinese Communist leaders and the National Government had been achieved by pressure (the Communist military leaders had held Chiang Kai Shek captive until he agreed to allow them to cooperate), nevertheless he could not show or express his aversion lest he should be considered unpatriotic in condemning what his government accepted. This gave the Malayan Communist Party considerably wider scope for penetrating the National Salvation Movement and influencing the societies to which enthusiasm for

for this Movement had given birth. At present the relationship between the National Government of China and the Chinese Communist Party is somewhat obscure, but whatever may be the outcome, it can safely be asserted that, judging from past experience, the political position in China is likely to continue to have the influence on Labour organisations in Malaya.

It should be emphasised that the great mass of labourers on estates and mines has been untouched by society organisation, apart from the underground working of Communist groups. The great extension of labour society activity has been among industrial workers in factories. The movement towards organisation of labourers on estates and on mines is in its infancy, but is likely to grow rapidly. In 1940, legislation was passed both in the Colony and in the F.M.S. to provide for the registration and control of Trade Unions. These laws will shortly be brought into force and many societies now registered under the societies laws will be transferred from the societies register to that of Trade Unions.

Conclusion

In any detailed survey of the history of Chinese labour there are many points, here left untouched, which would require treatment, and many points here referred to briefly which would require more detailed enquiry. There is, for example the question of the health of the coolies. Some indication of the unsatisfactory nature of medical arrangements may have been inferred from some of the quotations given. Briefly health conditions were shockingly bad. In the early days of the opening up of the jungle for mining the wastage of life was appalling. 1873, the Mantri of Larut, who drew some $200,000 a year from his mines, stated that the emigration from China direct to Larut was about 2,000 to 3,000 coolies yearly. About 10% to 20% of the coolies died from fever when clearing the new jungle; when first the mines were opened 50% died. At the opening of the Ampang tin fields in 1857 the first batch of coolies totalled 87. At the end of two months "such were the ravages of fever and tigers that only 18 were left."

In the matter of housing and accommodation there has been, on the whole, little change. Estates have of recent years began to replace old attap Kongsis by permanent buildings and, very recently, lines designed for occupation by families have been introduced—but the old Kongsi is still widely found. On mines, except in rare instances, the old type of Kongsi is still universal. The following account of a typical Kongsi written in 1895, though somewhat lengthy, is here given to show what little change has taken place:

Effects of the Aliens Ordinance 1933

None of the suggested schemes was adopted, and the system of recruiting through individuals or through lodging houses continued. Its cessation came as the result of a piece of legislation which was in no way framed with this end in view. This was the Aliens Ordinance which came into force in the Colony in January 1933. The main object of this Ordinance, as given in the Objects and Reasons attached to the Bill was "to regulate the admission of aliens in accordance with the political, social and economic needs for the moment of the various administrations of Malaya." It was considered that a system of control would be built up which would "enable selection to be made to some extent of suitable immigrants on a qualitative basis and facilitate the maintenance of equilibrium between the supply of and demand for labour in Malaya."

Under the Ordinance, the Governor in Council was empowered to fix from time to time the number of Alien deck passengers permitted to land, and this was achieved by gazetting a monthly quota of new immigrants. Persons already in Malaya received, on payment of $5, a Certificate of Admission which allowed them to return to Malaya outside the quota. There was also a provision for the issue to individuals or companies of permits to recruit labourers and bring them to Malaya outside the quota if these labourers were needed to work for such individuals or companies.

At the outset, the quota was applied to males only and was fixed at 1,000 monthly. Since then the figure has varied between 6,000 and 500 monthly, fluctuating with the labour needs of Malaya in so far as these could be judged. The immediate result of the imposition of the quota was an increase in the cost of passages for sin-khehs. This was due partly to the higher prices charged by the shipping companies to compensate them for their limited trade and partly to the competition for the limited number of tickets available—a circumstance of which full advantage was taken by the ticket brokers at the China ports and at Hong Kong.

The importation of fresh labour thus became an expensive business for any particular employer particularly when the newly arrived labourer might abscond almost as soon as he arrived. A few permits to import labour outside the quota for particular places of employment were issued but were invariably abused, many of the supposed labourers turning out to be shop assistants, clerks or schoolboys who had thus obtained admission to Malaya but had no intention of being labourers. Permits are now issued in very exceptional cases, e.g. for the importation of specialised crafts-

men. Employers therefore turned increasingly to the lodging houses for their additional labour requirements. In addition there has been a rapidly increasing number of local born Chinese entering into employment. As a result of the working of the Aliens Ordinance it may be said that any sin-kheh who now comes to Malaya has either paid for his own passage or has got a relative—probably in this country—to pay it for him. The system of broker-recruiting has vanished. The costs—and therefore the risks—are too high.

But the working of this Ordinance had another unforseen effect. As women were outside the quota, passages for women were far cheaper than those for men. There was no limit to the number of women who could enter Malaya. These factors encouraged women in China to emigrate, but this emigration was stimulated by the action of ticket brokers at the China ports who refused to sell quota tickets unless three or four non-quota tickets were bought by the lodging-houses and ticket agencies for each quota ticket bought. It was therefore to the advantage of the lodging houses and ticket agents to encourage the emigration of women to take up these non-quota tickets. As a result, from 1933 onwards until May 1938, when a quota of 500 monthly was introduced for women, ship-loads of Cantonese women—mostly from the Shun Tak and Tung Kwun Districts came to Malaya. Their ages ranged between 18 and 40 years and they invariably claimed to be widows. There can be little doubt that in some cases the old custom of the husband emigrating and sending money back to China for the support of his wife and family was reversed—the wife emigrating to earn money for the husband and family in China. In the five years 1934 to 1938 there was a migrational gain to Malaya of over 190,000 female Chinese deck passengers. The majority of these women were peasant women,—workers, who have entered the rubber and tin industries, the building industry and factories. They have settled here and many of them have married. Chinese women of the coolie class had been coming to Malaya for years (though the Hailam Community refused to allow its women-folk to emigrate until 1924). Laukhehs who had worked off their debts returned to China and married, bringing their wives back with them, or sent money back to their parents in China as wedding money to be paid to the parents of a girl whom they considered suitable and sent to Malaya to marry their son. So that there has, over the years, been an increasing number of women—particularly of the Cantonese and Hakka tribes—not only rearing families in Malaya but themselves working on estates and mines and in industry. This process was speeded up by the operation of the Aliens Ordinance in its first six years, and on estates there is no doubt that the near future will see the widespread establishment of labour forces consisting of families. At the present time, both our main industries—rubber and tin—are working to full capacity and there is sufficient labour in Malaya for this purpose. The immigration quota is 500

men and 500 women monthly. There are swarms of Chinese children in their teens, mostly local born, and still more who have not yet reached their teens. Unless something quite extraordinary happens it is unlikely that Malaya will ever need to import Chinese labour in the future. As far as can be seen, that chapter of her labour history is practically closed.

The Truck System and the "Farms"

The "Truck" System or "Tommy" System is the practice of paying workmen in goods instead of money or in money on the understanding that they will buy provision etc. from their employers. In England this practice was dealt with by Truck Acts of 1831, 1870, 1887 and 1896 (the last of these restricting the practice of deduction of wages in payment of fines).

It will be clear from the account of the old systems of employment of Chinese labour in Malaya that the Truck system was very widespread. It was, in fact, universal.

In 1907, a British mining engineer published a book on Mining in Malaya in which he has many scathing remarks to make on the subject of what he alleges to be the unfair treatment of British mining enterprises by the Malayan Governments, and the latitude permitted to their Chinese competitors. One of these strictures concerns the Truck system and is as follows:

> "Great additional interest has just been given to this particular mine by reason of the publication of some extraordinary statements made by the District Officer in whose jurisdiction it lies. This gentleman is reported as saying: 'Towkay X's mine is the most important (in the district); he has gradually worked it up, until at the time of writing he has over 3500 coolies employed, who turn out about 1200 pikul of tin ore per month.... It would, I think, be very wrong to allow any other miner into the field; the land is not very rich, and can only be worked profitably on a large scale and by Chinese methods, which require a large labour force. Chinese methods of mining depend on the truck system very much for profit; it is doubtful whether this field would be able to keep on working at a profit if labour-saving machinery took the place of coolies.'" The writer comments: "This is perhaps the most outspoken official advocacy of Chinese monopoly ever put into print. Here is a District Officer, who is primarily a magistrate, and not even remotely a mining engineer, urging that a whole field shall be given over to one Chinaman, because he depends on the truck system very largely for his profit—because he makes money in other words, not out of his tin mine but out of his coolies." It was unfortunately true that the truck system was inherent

in the methods of employment then in use. This was particularly true of the type of mining known as tribute mining which is briefly described by the same writer as follows:

> "A small storekeeper, seeing or hearing of a piece of vacant mining ground, goes to the owner of the surface and offers a percentage or royalty on the output for leave to work it. Having built a Kongsi house, he collects some clansmen and starts them with a small advance of stores, taking 100% commission. The returns are immediate, and a merely nominal sum is risked in proving whether the ground will be payable or not. If not, it is at once abandoned, and a fresh spot is sought."

Under this system tools and provisions were advanced to the coolies and debited to their account. Small cash advances were also made. If the mine looked like being poor, the coolies would demand larger advances so that they could get as much as possible "while the going was good." At the end of six months accounts were made up and the share of profits due to the coolies was divided among them by their headmen in proportion to the days worked by each (the advances etc. of each being deducted). Here, it may be remarked, we have an outstanding example of the sharing of the labourers in the profits of the industry. It was a gamble. If the mine failed the labourers got at least their food and what advances of cash they had managed to extract—in return for their labour; if it prospered they got a share of the profits. But the truck system was not limited to this type of employment—where it might well be held to be reasonable—it extended to all employment with the result that by charging high prices for provisions, goods, opium etc. a coolie might remain in debt for years. It was an invariable rule that all advances of money made to coolies were charged with interest. Deductions were made for clerks' wages, bed-boards and any other item provided by the contractor. This derived from the tribute mining system under which the advancer built the Kongsi but the labourers paid for everything else—including the bed-boards. The practice of settling up at six monthly intervals was also widespread among contractors long after the indenture system had gone. This led to incessant trouble due to the absconding of contractors. One of the reasons why the truck system was so all-pervading was that the old mining customs were crystallised into law by regulations in Perak and Selangor. In Perak, for example, between 1885 and 1888 various Regulations were issued the main effect of which was to confirm existing practice—including truck and the flogging of coolies who absconded or refused to work. Selangor had similar Regulations, and in cases unprovided for under these Regulations the magistrate could take evidence of mining custom in the locality and give judgment accordingly.

In 1909 Truck Enactments were passed in each of the Federated Malay States prohibiting the practice of truck. These Enactments were repealed when the Truck provisions were included in the Labour Code, 1912. Exception was permitted in the case of labourers working on an agreement of co-operation in order to permit the continuance of tribute mining. But despite the prohibition of truck, the system was so deeply ingrained that traces of it have lingered even to the present day. We still come across occasional cases where clerk's wages or bed-boards are charged to the coolies, and until very recent years the charging of interest of advances was quite common though prosecution was undertaken whenever it was discovered.

But in addition to the Truck system by which employers recovered most of the wages paid to their labourers, there were the "Farms"—the monopolies of selling chandu, spirits and sometimes pigs, and the monopoly of opening gambling houses. These farms were invariably let by Government to leading Chinese employers and it is the fact that many of the leading Chinese of the last generation who amassed great wealth founded their fortunes as farmers of one or more of these monopolies. To their credit it should be recorded that most of them were generous in their gifts to hospitals and decrepit wards for labourers broken in their service. In the early days in Larut, the Chinese headmen who controlled mines began to resent any interference with the profits which they made out of their truck systems and forced the Mantri to forego the gambling farm and the opium farm and to allow the mine lessees to pocket the gains from both sources. In 1879, we find the British Resident, Perak, in referring to the establishment of the Perak River Farms addressing the State Council as follows:

> "I was induced to devise this liberal measure in my great desire to do something to open our neglected rich deposits of tin ore in that district and to assist in the further development of others. The Perak river has been hitherto much neglected; but by interesting the Penang Opium Farmers in its prosperity I am inclined to hope that they will assist in the introduction of labourers and capital which while increasing their income from the opium will increase that of Government from the export of tin."

So that, what with truck and farms, every effort was made by the Chinese employers to see that the coolie should not lack opportunity to remain penniless.

Societies and the Labour Movement

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The Communist Party has also had its influence in Malayan labour organisations. For some years now there has been a Malayan Communist Party linked with the Communist Party in China. It has always been an unlawful society i.e. not registered under the laws. Among various subsidiary unlawful organisations have been the Malayan General Labour Union, the Communist Youth Corps, Workers' Vocational Associations and various others through which contact with labour and with labourers' associations has been made. Various methods have been adopted; the establishment of night-schools, the formation of "red" unions and of "grey" unions, and the penetration of societies already registered.

More recently scope has been found under the cloak of the National Salvation Movement. "National Salvation" may be described as "all hands to the pumps" in order to keep the ship of China afloat. It embraces all sections of the Chinese community including the Communists, and its principal activities are the collection of funds (Relief Funds) for transmission to the Chinese Government, the enforcement of the boycott of Japanese goods and the fanning of the flame of enthusiasm for both these objects. Its influence in the Chinese labour world was apparent from the middle of 1937, in the formation of Relief Fund Sub-Committees for particular trades and industries and in the increasing use, in Singapore in particular, which was made of these sub-committees or of members of the central Relief Fund organisations in conciliation and arbitration in industrial disputes. This organisation of workers undoubtedly encouraged the spirit of solidarity among labourers. The immediate result has been the formation of dozens of labourers' associations, usually under the title of "Mutual Help Association," which have been registered under the society laws. This trend has been particularly noticeable among the industrial workers of Singapore, but it has also made its appearance elsewhere throughout Malaya and, quite recently, similar associations among tin mining labourers and rubber-estate workers which have never previously been organised, have appeared in the F.M.S. These associations have not as a rule undertaken the responsibility of representing their members in industrial disputes and have even in some instances repudiated such functions. It is clear that under these conditions, with inexperienced leadership—and practically all the leaders of these associations are untutored labourers inexperienced in the handling of such organisations—there is a danger that such bodies may fan the sparks of industrial disputes and do nothing to quench the resultant flames.

For some years before 1937, the Nationalist Government of China was engaged in war against the Chinese Communist Armies. That meant that every patriotic Chinese—and to be uppatriotic is anathema—regarded the Communists with aversion. In 1937, however, the Communist Party of China agreed to cooperate with the National Government in opposing Japan and undertook to cease the class struggle in the interests of National Salvation. The position of the patriotic Chinese was now changed. He still felt an aversion to communism, he realised that the pact between the Chinese Communist leaders and the National Government had been achieved by pressure (the Communist military leaders had held Chiang Kai Shek captive until he agreed to allow them to cooperate), nevertheless he could not show or express his aversion lest he should be considered unpatriotic in condemning what his government accepted. This gave the Malayan Communist Party considerably wider scope for penetrating the National Salvation Movement and influencing the societies to which enthusiasm for

for this Movement had given birth. At present the relationship between the National Government of China and the Chinese Communist Party is somewhat obscure, but whatever may be the outcome, it can safely be asserted that, judging from past experience, the political position in China is likely to continue to have the influence on Labour organisations in Malaya.

It should be emphasised that the great mass of labourers on estates and mines has been untouched by society organisation, apart from the underground working of Communist groups. The great extension of labour society activity has been among industrial workers in factories. The movement towards organisation of labourers on estates and on mines is in its infancy, but is likely to grow rapidly. In 1940, legislation was passed both in the Colony and in the F.M.S. to provide for the registration and control of Trade Unions. These laws will shortly be brought into force and many societies now registered under the societies laws will be transferred from the societies register to that of Trade Unions.

Conclusion

In any detailed survey of the history of Chinese labour there are many points, here left untouched, which would require treatment, and many points here referred to briefly which would require more detailed enquiry. There is, for example the question of the health of the coolies. Some indication of the unsatisfactory nature of medical arrangements may have been inferred from some of the quotations given. Briefly health conditions were shockingly bad. In the early days of the opening up of the jungle for mining the wastage of life was appalling. 1873, the Mantri of Larut, who drew some $200,000 a year from his mines, stated that the emigration from China direct to Larut was about 2,000 to 3,000 coolies yearly. About 10% to 20% of the coolies died from fever when clearing the new jungle; when first the mines were opened 50% died. At the opening of the Ampang tin fields in 1857 the first batch of coolies totalled 87. At the end of two months "such were the ravages of fever and tigers that only 18 were left."

In the matter of housing and accommodation there has been, on the whole, little change. Estates have of recent years began to replace old attap Kongsis by permanent buildings and, very recently, lines designed for occupation by families have been introduced—but the old Kongsi is still widely found. On mines, except in rare instances, the old type of Kongsi is still universal. The following account of a typical Kongsi written in 1895, though somewhat lengthy, is here given to show what little change has taken place:

"A few words about the kongsi house or cooly lines may perhaps be of interest. Externally the kongsi presents the appearance of a huge thatched roof rising from the ground to a height of about 30 feet to the hip and covering an area of 150 feet by 40 feet. This ungainly looking mass of thatch, and the covered area, walled in with timber or split bamboo, constitutes the kongsi. There are three divisions in the building: the centre, which is sub-divided into the hall and store room, and the two wings, which are used as dormitories. A verandah runs along the front of the kongsi, and a door leading from the verandah to the hall gives general access to every part of the house. In the hall are to be seen the "kong pai" (check roll) hung up in a conspicuous place, the clock which regulates the working hours, and a small table or altar on which are placed incense, joss-sticks and all the paraphernalia of heathen worship; while little rude tables here and there, shew that the hall is also the dining room. The store room, which is connected with the hall by a small door, is the sanctum of the "choy foo" (clerk) who here reigns supreme, and dispenses opium, tobacco, etc., from behind a counter. The manager, head overseer and the clerk have each their bed in this room, which is also reserved as a dining place for these three officials and the assistant overseer. In one corner is a raised platform for holding rice and other provisions, and in another the "shape-mi-chong" (tin box) for storing the tin ore as it comes from the mines. The coolies are not allowed inside, and any business they have with the clerk must be done through little wooden bars separating the store room from the hall. The verandah may be said to be the busiest part of the kongsi, affording a rendezvous for the cake-seller, pork-vendor, hawker and the rest of the pedlar fraternity who meet here at all hours of the day to tempt the coolies with their wares. But its usefulness does not end here, as the basket-maker, whether mending old baskets or making new ones, always works in the verandah, the overseer beats the wooden drum and calls his coolies to work there, and lastly but not leastly it is the happy meeting-ground of the idlers, the coolies who skulk from work and generally the good-for-nothing who congregate here to loaf, gossip or quarrel.

The dormitories are divided into rectanguar blocks with a main passage running through the centre and the beds are placed in the cross passages branching off, on either side, from the main thoroughfare. Four posts driven into the ground with a plank or bamboo floor on them and a mat to cover the floor form the bed of the cooly. But the bed of the cooly is his sanctuary. Here he keeps his belongings and furniture—his box, which also serves as pillow, occupies a corner, and his

tea-pot and opium pipe and lamp are neatly arranged on a tray in the middle, whilst over them all is the universal mosquito-curtain which the cooly can never do without however poor his circumstances. Here he retires after the day's work, entertains his friends, sips his tea, smokes his opium and writes "clubbed packet" letters to his family in China. A bamboo partition separates the beds of the "pongshoo" (petty overseers), who generally keep themselves separate from those of commoner clay.

In small mines cooking is done in the kongsi house itself, but in large ones, owing to the greater number of men and the risk of fire, a separate kitchen house is provided within convenient distance from the main building. It is generally about 40 ft. by 20 ft., is walled on three sides and entirely open to the front or side nearest the kongsi house. The cooking range with the large rice-pan permanently imbedded in it, the kitchen dresser, chopper, saucepans and other culinary apparatus are kept scrupulously clean, though so much cannot be said of the drainage and outside surroundings. It is needless to say that the cook holds absolute sway over the kitchen, and nobody is allowed in except at mealtimes. The cook and his assistant sleep in the kitchen.

The above description applies to what is called the "tai kongsi'. (big kongsi), where the overseer and the governing body live. Other less elaborate kongsi houses are also built called "nai chang kongsi," for the accommodation of the "nai chang" coolies, that is, men engaged by piece work for the removal of overburden. The difference between the "tai kongsi" and the "nai chang kongsi" is that the former is looked upon as a permanent establishment (as long as the mine lasts), while the latter is more of a temporary nature."

This description might almost have been written to-day.

Another matter of interest and importance is the change over—particularly in mining—from mainly Chinese ownership to mainly European ownership. The limited amount and personal nature of Chinese capital resulted in the working by Chinese in the early days of the easiest and most productive fields. When mechanical means were required to deal with the less productive and deeper areas, English joint stock companies were able to find the capital required, whereas the Chinese with their preference for personal and borrowed capital could rarely obtain adequate financial resources. We have already seen that about 1890 practically no European mine could work at a profit. In 1920, 64% of the tin production was in the hands of Chinese and 36% in the hands of Europeans. By 1932 the position was almost exactly reversed 66%

being in the hands of Europeans and 34% in the hands of Chinese. This change over has had its influence on the outlook of mining labour.

Other items which would deserve fuller treatment are the detailed analysis of the progress of legislation to deal with abuses discovered; details of the actual labour work of the Protectorate, the technique of inspection enquiry and conciliation, details of wage rates and living costs; descriptions of old mining customs and superstitions and of different methods of employment past and present; and details of artizan, female and child labour.

But this article merely attempts to present an outline of the progress of the Chinese labourers in Malaya from slavery to freedom, to provide a background against which present labour conditions can be viewed in their proper perspective. The freedom of the Chinese labourer has been gained not merely through legislation, inspection, and investigation by Government officials, great though the influence of all these has been, but also through many other factors, improvement of communications, increase in literacy, influence of the vernacular press and of political and labour movements in China and Malaya, increase of family life and other social influences. The abuses referred to in this article have now practically vanished, and the labourer is free in fact as well as in law. The problems with which we are now and shall in the future be faced arise, in the main, from the manner in which labour exercises its freedom.

Chinese Settlement in Malacca.

by

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It is often loosely stated that the Chinese have *lived* in Malaya for many centuries, and a distinction is rarely drawn between trading visits or diplomatic missions and permanent settlement. It is historically necessary that we should get our ideas clear on this point, and as a contribution to this end the present article will endeavour to ascertain as precisely as possible the time when Chinese first made Malacca their home.

Considering the nearness of their country to the Malay Peninsula it would have been strange if the Chinese had not eventually found their way thither. But disregarding the very early voyages in these waters by Fa Hsien and others who were usually on pilgrimages and came Malayawards by accident, the Chinese were not, enterprising travellers. A main reason for this was their country was the "Middle Kingdom" and germane to this conception was the belief that she had everything worth while to give and nothing worth while to receive. Therefore there was no reason for going abroad. But, as Logan's Journal remarks, if the Chinese had not themselves found their way to Malaysia they must soon have learned it from the Arabs who, with the Persians, were already settled in Canton by the eighth century.

Two propositions concerning the Chinese appear to be generally true—first that they did not make regular trading expeditions abroad until long after they had received regular visits from foreign traders, and second that they did not settle abroad in large numbers until the establishment of European power had guaranteed peaceful conditions. The exceptions to the second are Borneo and Java, but the settlement there prior to the arrival of the Dutch, though considerable, was not on a scale to disturb the general truth of the proposition.

Even when trading contacts had established the richness of the "Nanyang" (i.e. "Southern Ocean", as Malaysia was called), there were still powerful forces operating as a restraint on emigration. Chinese religious sentiment condemned as "unfilial" the desertion of the ancestral graves (the ghosts demanded maintenance), and the Ch'ing dynasty made emigration an offence under the Penal Code—the Manchu conquerors believing that emigrant rebels would create centres for revolution overseas. Those Chinese who did go abroad were actuated by hope for gain in trade or in a less degree compelled by population pressure, or were rogues and

vagabonds who found life outside China more comfortable and more lucrative. The Nanyang, like other colonies, has had an undue share of rogues and vagabonds.

Godinho de Eredia gives 1398 as the date of the foundation of the Malay Kingdom of Malacca. K. J. Wilkinson fixes it at 1405, regarding it as purely a creation of the Chinese Emperor (as indeed did the Chinese Emperor!). The early history of the Kingdom is very uncertain and it is not until Malacca began to have close contacts with China at the beginning of the fifteenth century that we come to an undoubted landfall. In 1403, says the Ming History, the Emperor of China sent the Eunuch Yin Ch'ing as envoy to Malacca with presents of silk brocade, at that time Malacca was feudatory to Siam. The Malay King "was very glad" at the Chinese visit and in 1405 sent a return mission to China. The Emperor spoke to this Mission in laudatory terms of their master, appointed him the King of the Country of Malacca, and gave him a commission, a seal, a suit of silk clothes, and a yellow umbrella. The King, through his representatives, then "requested that his mountains might be made guardians of the country, to which request the Emperor gave his consent; he prepared an inscription with a piece of verse at the end, and ordered a tablet to be erected on those mountains".(1) In 1407 the King, "Parameswara", again sent envoy to China.

But the most noteworthy even of the era was the arrival at Malacca in 1408 of the Chinese Admiral Cheng Ho, afterwards deified as Sam-po-kong. Cheng Ho had been, like Yin Ch'ing a eunuch at the Chinese Court. He made several voyages to South-East Asia and got as far as Ceylon. He took with him on his voyage of 1413 a Chinese Mohamedan named Ma Huan wo could translate foreign books. This Ma Huan later (1416) wrote a book describing Cheng Ho's voyages called the *Ying-yai Sheng Lan*, or General Account of the Shores of the Ocean". (The text of this book has been the subject of much controversy amoungst the authorities—Duyvendak, Rockhill, Pelliot etc., but its authenticity seems to be well established).

Ma Huan tells us that at the time of Cheng Ho's visit the soil of Malacca was barren and saline, the crops were poor, and agriculture was not in favour. He states that it was Cheng Ho

(1) Is this tablet still in existence, though buried? A tablet erected by Cheng Ho in Ceylon in 1409 was discovered at Galle in 1912. It is now in the Colombo Museum.
The extract from the Ying-yai Sheng Lan runs as follows: "In the year 1409 the imperial envoy, Cheng Ho, brought an order from the emperor, and gave the chief of this country two silver seals, a cap, a girdle, and a long robe; he erected a stone, and the land was called the Kingdom of Malacca. From this time the Siamese did not venture to molest it any more."

who in 1409 gave Parameswara "a silver seal, a cap, and official robes and declared him King, "on which", he remarks, "Malacca ceased to be a dependency of Siam", (But the Siamese, to judge by their subsequent conduct, did not seem to have been informed of this fact!).

The question of importance to us is whether there was a permanent settlement of Chinese in Malacca during the period of the Malay Kingdom. Ma Huan's description suggests that at the time of Cheng Ho's voyage there was not such a settlement. He tells us that the people of Malacca were Mohammedans, and that their language, their books, and their marriage ceremonies were nearly the same as those of Java. He remarks, "The place is visited by Chinese merchants vessels; whenever these come a barrier is made", and to this Groeneveldt adds a note, "for the purpose of collecting tolls," which seem the more likely explanation. Book 325 of the Ming History (1368—1643) says, "the Chinese who trade to foreign countries often visit this place and are even invited to do so", The *Hai Yu*, or "News from the Ocean", published in 1537 (but like to many Chinese books, refers to an earlier period, and in this case certainly to a time antecedent to the Portuguese conquest of 1511) tells us that the cost of living in Malacca was high, about five times the cost of living in China, that fowls, dogs, geese, and ducks were imported, and that pork, a forbidden article of food to the native Mohammedans, was eaten by the Chinese "who live here". This suggests that at some time previous to the writing of the *Hai Yu* the Chinese had begun to reside in Malacca, but a further reference to the "Merchants of Ships who live in an hotel" would seem to point to the fact that they, at least, were only temporary sojourners.

It may be well to give the extracts from the *Hai Yü* relating to the Chinese in Malacca in full, since they throw some light on our enquiry (2).

> "According to their customs [that of the natives of Malacca] it is forbidden to eat pork: when the Chinese who live here eat it, the others are indignant and say it is a filthy habit."
>
> "The Merchants of the ships live in an hotel, the owner of which always sends female slaves to serve them and sends their food and drink morning and evening; but if one uses too freely of this he may be sure that all his money will pass into the hands of the other".

(2) The translation was checked by me from an early edition of the *Hai Yü* in the Library of Congress of Washington.

Book 325 of the Ming History states of Malacca, "men and women wear their hair in a knot, but some are of lighter colour, *being descendents of the Chinese.*" (3) The dynastic histories of China were written after the demise of the dynasty so that there is little guarantee that the facts, even if accurate, relate to any particular period. These histories were, in any case, the work of stay-at-home scholars who received their information second hand and who had often the native scholar's indifference to time and to precise geography.

The Chinese authorities not being conclusive on our point, we must now see what the Portuguese writers say, remembering that they too, are speaking retrospectively and on unstated authority.

D'Albuquerque, the bastard son of the conqueror of Malacca, says that before the coming of the Malays Malacca's site was occupied by twenty to thirty persons who lived partly by fishing and partly by piracy. The place, after the founding of the Malay Kingdom, depended upon passing Chinese junks for trade. D'Albuquerque speaks of a King, Xaquendarsa, who after begetting many sons went to China for three years. "Sri Maharaja" of Malacca went to China in 1424 and sent envoys in 1431 in a Sumatran vessel. These envoys returned with Cheng Ho in that year and he was instructed to convey the usual severe injunctions (or pious hopes?) to the Siamese that they should desist from interfering with Malacca. Tribute was sent to China in 1433 and 1435, and in 1445 Malacca sent envoys asking for recognition. There are a number of other references to Malacca's Chinese contacts throughout the century. (4)

D'Albuquerque further tells us that every year during the Malay period ships belonging to Cambaya, Chaul, Dabul, Calicut, Aden, Mecca, Xaer (Shehr, a port on the East Coast of Arabia) Juda, Coramandel, Bengal, China, Gores (Liu Chiu Isles), Java, and Pegu used to come to Malacca. He says that the second King of Malacca, Xaquendarsa, married a daughter of "the King of China's Captain". If this is so, who was this "Kapitan China"? He must have had authority over a more or less permanent Chinese community in Malacca. But the Chinese junks would have come down with the North-East monsoon about January or February

(3) Book 325 of the Ming History (Groneveldt's translation) says of the Malacca people:—

"Their customs are good and their way of trading is pretty fair, but since the Franks [Portuguese] have taken the country, things have become worse and merchant vessels seldom go there any more, mostly proceeding direct to Sumatra. When, however, ships have to go near this country they are generally plundered, so that the passage there is nearly closed "

(4) English edition of D'Albuquerque in Hakluyt's Voyages Vol. 62, 1880.

and returned with the South-West monsoon about April or May. They would, in any case, have had to spend a few months in Malacca. Maybe this "Kapitan China", if he existed, was an agent residing permanently in Malacca. But, so far as I am aware, the statement regarding this Sino-Malay royal marriage is not confirmed from any other source. (5)

We now come to Osorio whose history of Portugal was published in Portuguese in Paris in 1587 (and previously in Latin). Osorio says that Malacca was then one of the most celebrated Eastern ports. Osorio does not give us any information regarding the Chinese community within the town, but he has a good deal to say of the encounter of Sequiera with some Chinese merchants. Sequiera was the Portuguese commander who came to Malaya in 1509 with the intention of attacking it. When he came to anchor in the port he found there four Chinese ships, the captains of which immediately waited on him. Sequeira was much taken with their polite formal behaviour and their agreeable manners and at once felt quite at home with them. He paid visits to the junks and was well entertained. Noticing that the Portuguese, thinking themselves secure, walked about the city without fear, the Chinese warned them against trusting to the good intentions of the Malays who were, they said, a deceitful, wicked and perfidious people who would fall on them as soon as they thought it safe. Sequeira disregarded their advice with the result that a number of his men were seized and imprisoned. (He held a council of war at which he said that all ships, except those of the Chinese, ought to be burnt and the city battered down by cannon, but he had not sufficient force to carry out his purpose).

Among the instructions given to Sequiera by his superiors was one particularly concerning the Chinese. He was to ask the Chinese were they lived and at what distance away, at what times they came to Malacca, for what purpose, from what places they set out, what merchandise they bought, how many of their ships came each year, whether the ships returned in the same year as they came, whether they had agents at Malacca or in other countries, whether they were rich merchants, whether they were weak men or warriors, whether they were big men or small men, whether they were Christians or pagans, whether their country was large, whether Moors and others dwelt among them who shared neither their faith nor their laws, and if they turned out not to be Christians, what they believed and what they worshipped, what customs they observed, in what direction was their country and by what was it bounded, and all other information concerning them. (6) The answers of the Chinese to Sequiera

(5) Malay Annals?
(6) Cited by D. Ferguson in "Algunos Documentos do Archivo Nacional, Lisboa, 1892.

would probably include the answer to our question—but, alas, the answers are not extant!

We now come to the year 1511 when the great Alfonso d'Albuquerque came to conquer Malacca, professedly in revenge for the treatment of Sequiera, but actually to carry out the project that Sequiera had been unable to accomplish. The fleet announced its arrival with a great fanfare of trumpets. D'albuquerque (the son) devotes a chapter of his history to describing how the Chinese Merchants who were at Malacca made their way to Alfonso D'Albuquerque and the council they had with the Captains, Fildalgos, and Cavaliers of the fleet which had come to attack the city. There were five Chinese junks in the port and they had been detained there for some days by the King of Malacca who intended to use them against the King of Daru with whom he was at war. Some of the Chinese junk captains were the same as had made friends with Sequiera two years before. They were indignant at their own treatment by the Malays and gave the Portuguese information as to the conditions in the city. They also offered the services of their crews and of their five junks. They said that if the Portuguese were able to take the place (which they doubted) they could guarantee that 100 junks a year would come with their merchandise. (7)

There is in the Portuguese histories and records so far available no indication of the size of Malacca's Chinese community in Malay times or of the duration of the stay of individuals. The Malays had an evil reputation as Ludovico de Varthema in a book published in 1510 in Rome says, (8) "one should not go into the town at night for the natives kill people like dogs. All the Merchants who come there sleep in their ships The King appoints a Governor to administer justice among themselves. They are the worst set of rogues in the world". But he admits that they were civil and softly spoken. Varthema probably based his views on Sequiera's experiences.

The Portuguese followed a policy of exclusive monopoly and as far as possible compelled all passing ships to call at Malacca. In 1546 the duty was 10% on China goods and 8% on Bengal goods, but this did not include the miscellaneous exactions of offi-

(7) A curious remark is made by Governor Johan van Twist in his journal under the date 13th March, 1641—the Dutch captured Malacca on 14th January that year. It is this:—"To the coat-of-arms of the city depicting a Chinese junk (because the Portuguese first entered the place under the guise of Chinese traders and afterwards conquered it) shall be added " (here follow details of the coat-of-arms) There does not seem to be any historical foundation for the statement that Sequiera, or any other Portuguese, entered Malacca "in the guise of Chinese traders."

(8) Quoted by Cordier, T'oung Pao, 1911.

cials and others. Altogether there was not much to attract the Chinese to Malacca in Portuguese times, and conditions were little better under the Dutch.

Eredias history of Malacca (9) does not help us with figures to estimate the size of the Chinese population in his time. He mentions alone the Christian population of the eight parishes of Malacca as being 1,400 ("Infileds", apparently, are not even worth counting). But his map of Malacca Town and Forts shows the extent of Campon (Kampong) China. It is apparent from this that the Chinese Settlement was not very extensive. When D'Albuquerque left Malacca he did not appoint a separate headman for the Chinese, but it would seem that a Kapitan China was recognised not long afterwards.

Until the archives of Lisbon are fully harvested there is not much more from the Portuguese authors that throws light on the Chinese during the period. It is perhaps worth mentioning here that when St. Francis Xavier arrived at Malacca in 1545 there were more than a hundred ships anchored in the bay including Chinese junks. (10)

The Rev. W. G. Shellabear (11) says that Chinese contacts with Malaya were very early, but when the Portuguese and the Dutch were fighting for the possession of Malacca, there appear to have been but few if any Chinese remaining there, for Valentijn says that in 1641 the Dutch imported Chinese from Batavia to work in the fields and gardens, and that at that time the trade of Malacca appears to have been monopolised by Indian merchants. Up to the end of the 16th century Chinese immigration to the Malay Archipelago was confined to the island of Java.

Before we proceed to the Dutch period, let us see what evidence exists in the monuments and remains of Malacca itself as to the antiquity of the Chinese settlement there.

(9) Dedicated from Goa in 1613. Kampong China was about where Second Cross Street now is.

(10) Bellesort, "L'Apôtre des Indes". Francis, according to his usual method, sought the friendship of a "nominally Christian" Chinese whom he hoped to turn from sin. This trader kept concubines. Invited to dinner, St. Francis purposely detained his host until a late hour when he asked whether he might be put up for the night. Upon being shown his room, he asked to be allowed to see one of the women, who, when she went to him, found him scourging himself with a chain. Holding out another to her he told her to scourge herself, unless she wished to have him continue to do penance for her sins. At this point the trader himself ran in and flung himself in tears before St. Francis. The result was that one of the women was married to the man, and the other, after suitable provision had been made for her, dismissed.

(11) "The Chinese in Malaysia", p. 502—6.

Captain Begbie (12) says that according to the "Malay Annals" one of the five excellent wells at Bukit China was dug by Chinese in the reign of Sultan Mansur Shah. Sultan Mansur Shah was (according to Winstedt) a young man and reigning in 1549, so that if the "Malay Annals" are correct there was probably a Chinese community existing in Malacca at this time. (12a)

In Malacca there is a tablet stating that Kapitan Li Chi-t'uan was a native of Lu Kiang (in Fukien) who left home at the beginning of the Ming dynasty and settled in Malacca. With him were people from Tsing Chia Wan near Amoy, and from San Tu. The tablet purports to have been erected in the I Ch'ou year of the Lung Fei reign. There is no such reign in the Ming or Ch'ing dynasties (the only one of that name in China was from 396—8 A.D.!) and the invention possibly denotes the refusal of the Malacca Chinese to recognise the Ming dynasty (13) If so it suggested an early Ch'ing (1644—1912) origin for the tablet and this lends colour to the suspicion that Kapitan Li came from Fukien not at the beginning of, but at the end of, Ming times.

Some of the oldest relics now existent in Malacca (or indeed in Malaya) are to be found at Bukit China, which together with Bukit Gedong and Bukit Tempurong, forms an enormous Chinese burial ground, said to be one of the largest outside China. A very few old graves with coral tombstones, the inscriptions of which are no longer legible, are still descernable at Bukit China (says the Rev. Yeh Hua Fen). Some of these probably date back to the sixteenth century if not earlier. Then there are about a dozen Chinese graves of the second order of antiquity, dating from the last decades of the Ming and first decades of the Ch'ing dynasty. Only two of them have the words "Imperial Ming" clearly inscribed on them. One of them is that of a husband and wife, Ng by surname. The other consists of two tombs side by side within the omega-shaped graveyard. The tombstone on the right shows that the interred person

(12) "The Malayan Peninsula", 1834.

(12a) I am indebted to Sir Richard Winstedt for the following note:—

"The 'Malay Annals' written ca. 1490-1530 relate that Sultan Mansur (1458-1477) of Malacca sent the son of his Bendahara, or Prime Minister, to China, where he was lodged with a mandarin, Ling Ho. The Emperor sent him back with one of his own daughters as a bride for the Sultan, her name Hang Liu. She became a Muslim and bore the Sultan a son, Paduka Miniat, whom he made raja of Jeram near Langat. 'Even now' (i.e. ca. 1500) 'his fort exists and his people at Jeram are well-mannered.' 500 Chinese escorted the Emperor's daughter from China and were given Bukit China to live at It was they who dug the fanous well there and their descendants were called *biduanda China* (i.e. the Chinese functionaries of Malacca's Sultans)

This may be folk-lore but apparently contains the grain of truth that Mansah Shah had a Chinese wife."

(13) A similar device was adopted at the beginning of the present century when "Patriotic Debentures" were sold by Sun Yat-Sen, for they were inscribed with the name of the T'ien Yun period, which had no existence.

was Kapitan Tay and that on his left the Lady Kapitan or Kapitan's wife, "probably a native woman" (as Rev. Yeh rightly adds). (14)

The Bukit China Cemetery is said to have been bought and donated by Li Kap (i.e. Kapitan Li) to the Chinese of Malacca in the middle of the seventeenth century.

The traditions of the Malacca Chinese themselves do not encourage the setting of a very early date to Chinese settlement. The records of no family go back further than the first half of the seventeenth century. The Tans and the Tays are among the oldest, the Li traditions go back somewhat further. Taking this into account, together with the remarks of the Rev. Shellabear above quoted and the evidence about to be given, it is likely that the Chinese community in Malacca fell into decay at the end of the Portuguese period and was renewed by importations under the Dutch.

Malacca was a ruined city directly after the Dutch conquest. The contemporary reports of the Commissary Justus Schouten (15) given a clear picture of the town and environs and that time. War and disease had taken their toll. The suburbs were entirely ruined. There was hardly a house standing. The Malays were blamed for this. The inhabitants of the city who remained had put up temporary bamboo dwellings outside the city in which they found shelter. The total population of Dutch, Portuguese and Slaves, and Chinese was counted at 2,160. Schouten compares this poor total with the 20,000 he estimated to have been the population of the city and environs before the siege (including the inhabitants of the hinterland). The Chinese were not separately enumerated in this count though (as we shall see in a moment) there were 300—400 of them remaining, and 33 Chinese are given as having come from Batavia, many of whom were sickly. Those already resident in Malacca are referred to in the remark, "the Chinese living in the Bazaar on the North of the city are under their own Captain Notchin who lives on small merchandise".

An extract from Schouten's report reads, "The 3 to 400 Chinese shopkeepers, craftsmen, and farmers could also be allowed to settle down at their own convenience, provided that they cultivate the gardens within their own territory. They can hire or occupy those empty houses which can be saved from collapse or destruction . . ".

(14) Rev. Yeh Hua Fen's article on the Chinese of Malacca in "Historical Guide of Malacca," Singapore, 1936.
(15) JRASMB Vol. XIV, Part I, January 1936.

The Chinese were also expected to figure in the reconstruction scheme. The ruined gardens between Bukit China and the Southern suburbs, said Schounten, should be let to the Dutch, Portuguese, Malaccans, and Chinese to be cultivated "and in due time these will become valuable lands for the Company to lease out". The city would thus be provided with all kinds of fruit, and agriculture would be saved from future decay. "For this", the Commissary said, "some 800 to 1,000 Chinese would be very useful. The Portuguese government (following the example of Manilha (Manila)) realized this and tried the experiment, but the selfishness of the Malacca burghers prevented its success". Schouten concluded, "It will be advisable to impose small, or no, poll tax on the one or two Chinese junks expected to arrive during the year with all sorts of coarse wares. In short all means should be studied diligently to enlarge the trade of Malacca".

The first detailed census of Malacca we owe to Governor Balthasar Bort who in 1678 rendered a very complete report of the recently acquired property of the Dutch East Indies Company. There were then 137 brick and 583 atap houses with a population of 4,884 persons. There were 852 Chinese all told inside Malacca territory outside the fortress, and in addition 40 Chinese inside the fortress, with the Garrison. Not a large population after all those centuries of contact! The Chinese had 81 brick and 51 atap houses with 127 men, 140 women, 159 children, 93 male slaves, 137 female slaves, and 60 children of slaves inside the city limits.

The Chinese of both Portuguese and Dutch Malacca were not prominent in local affairs. Baretto de Resende's "Account of Malacca" (still in manuscript), written in 1646 but referring to the period c 1638, and Francois Valentijn's "Account of Malacca", published in 1726, make practically no mention of the Chinese. Nor had the Chinese yet begun to supply the artisans for the Peninsula, and after the capture of Malacca in 1641 we find the Governor requesting the Laxamana of Acheen to send him 200 Malay carpenters and timber to repair the bridge.

By 1750 the Chinese population of Malacca had increased only to 2,161. It dropped to 1,800 in 1760, and increased little, if at all, between 1760 and the British occupation of 1795 onwards. Contrast with this record of three centuries of Portuguese and Dutch rule with that of Penang where the Chinese were *nil* in 1786 and about 3,000 after seven and a half years, and with Singapore whose Chinese population was *nil* in 1819 and several thousand within a year. Malacca's own Chinese population increased greatly under British rule. By 1941 it was 92,125 in a total of 2,380,000 Chinese for Malaya (total population 5,561,000).

A very significant fact regarding the Chinese of Malacca during the Portuguese and Dutch periods I have left to the last

but only for the sake of emphasis. It is that the Chinese settlers were exclusively males. They had Javanese and Malay slaves as concubines or married the children of these mixed unions. Buckley (16) under the year 1837 makes the remarkable statement, 'Up to this time, no Chinese woman had come to Singapore from China, and the newspapers said that, in fact, only two genuine Chinese women were, or at any time had been, in the place, and they were two small-footed ladies who had been, some years, before, exhibited in England." Although, as Earl's statement of the same year suggests, (vide footnote (17)) Buckley's remark may not be strictly accurate, it appears to be true that there was little or no immigration of Chinese women to Malaya until the beginning of the nineteenth century. The effect of this (allowing for those Chinese males who kept their families in China) was that the Malacca Chinese had about as much Malay blood in their veins as Chinese. Their offspring were brought up as Chinese and have retained Chinese culture, custom, and dress to this day, though they have lost their language, speaking a kind of Malay of their own manufacture.

If the Chinese immigrants to Malaya had continued to be almost exclusively male, if return to China had continued to be as infrequent as it was in Portuguese and Dutch times (as we infer it to have been) and had the flood gates of Chinese immigration not been opened in the nineteenth century, there would bo Sino-Malay problem in Malaya today. The Babas adapted themselves perfectly to their surroundings, but they retained their Chinese dress, religion, and customs with singular pertinacity. But they had in some essential respects and will continue to have, the "Malayan outlook."

(16) Buckley, "Anecdotal History of Singapore."

(17) Sir Ong Siang Song is his "100 years of the Chinese in Singapore," repeats the statement, and Earl in his "Eastern Seas" p. 637 says, "From five to eight thousand (Chinese) emigrants arrive annually from China, of which only forty or fifty are females." Earl was in Singapore in 1834 and his book was published in 1837. Sir Ong Siang Song, speaking of Malacca, Penang, and early Singapore, says that boys born of Malayan Mothers were repatriated for education to China. The girls were left behind but were never allowed to marry natives of the country.

The Floating Cannon of Butterworth

By A. E. Coope, M.C.S.

Plate XIII.

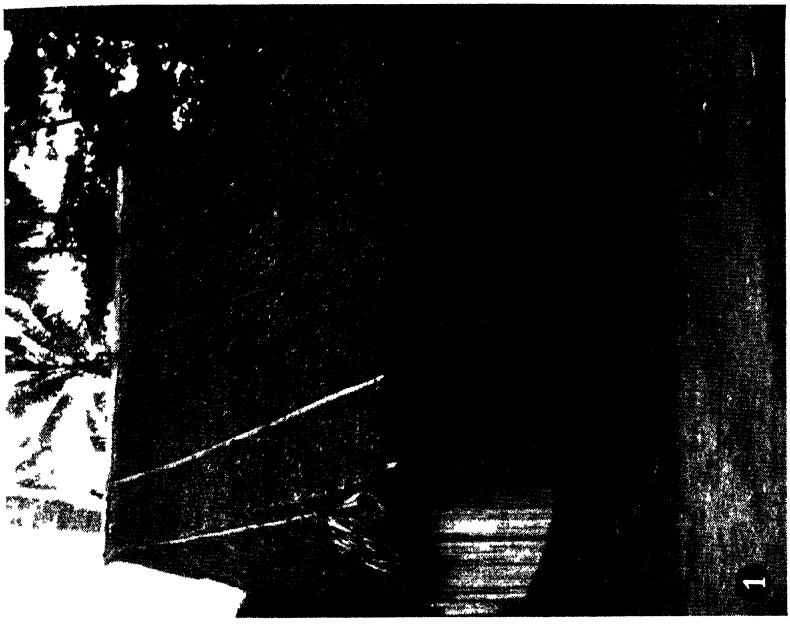
If a passenger from Penang, alighting from the ferry at Mitchell Pier, walks south past the Harbour Board godown for about 100 yards, he will notice (or, more probably, will not notice) a small thatched shed on his left, near the entrance to the private road of the Harbour Board. This shed harbours the Floating Cannon of Butterworth, an object of great reverence to the simple Chinese fisherfolk of the locality. If one looks inside, one sees nets hanging in the corners—kept there possibly for convenience, possibly for good luck. And, partly embedded in concrete, lies the "Floating Cannon" with its muzzle towards the door. Beside and in front of it are racks for joss-sticks and marks indicate that candles are sometimes burned on it.

It is a muzzle-loading cannon, 6½ feet long, with a bore of 4½ inches. It is encrusted with rust and dirt. Near the touch hole are faint indications of an old incised inscription in Roman characters—probably the maker's name; but even if one were sacrilegious enough to give it a thorough cleaning, it is unlikely that the inscription would be legible.

The precise history of the Cannon and of how it came to be regarded as sacred is lost.

But the belief forming the basic reason for the Cult of the Cannon, if it may so be called, is the belief that it floated in the sea to the place where it now is and long has been,—it is the Floating Cannon (Chinese. *phu tua chheng*, Malay, *meriam timbul*). And the floating of a cannon, of course, implies a miracle and miracles beget cults. It seems impossible to ascertain how long the Cannon has been where it is. An old Chinese told the writer that his grandfather told him that it was already there when he was a small boy; one can get no more than vague statements such as this.

As to how it came there, traditions vary. There is a Chinese tradition to the effect that it and the big cannon on the esplanade in Penang were a pair—the Butterworth cannon being the female! According to this story the Butterworth cannon "ran away" and floated to Butterworth. Now the history of the Penang cannon is lost. It is 10 feet long and has a bore of 10 inches. It bears an incised inscription "IAN BERGERUS ME FECIT 1603". It





COOPER *Floating Cannon at Butterworth.*

has other interesting features and is itself a tempting object of research. It is looked upon with vague reverence by some people though it has no shrine or cult. And it is understood that if the Municipal Commissioners ever abandon the practice of anointing it with lard at intervals, it will run away into the sea.

Another Chinese tradition, which probably has no connection with that above mentioned, is that the Butterworth cannon belonged to "Panglima" (Warrior) Ah Chong, a bravo of the inter-Chinese wars which took place in the Larut tin-fields in 1862 and lasted sporadically for ten years. (This warrior turned into a crocodile on his death and this crocodile is now the biggest stuffed crocodile in Raffles museum, Singapore, though the Director is unaware of the fact). But this tradition is very vague indeed and is silent as to how Ah Chong's cannon came to be in the sea. In fact, the Cannon was probably in its present place before Ah Chong flourished.

Much more precise, except as to dates, is the Malay tradition, according to which the Butterworth cannon belonged long ago to a Malay trader, called To Johan, who traded up and down the west coast as far as Siam in his own schooner. Such a trader would, of course, carry cannon on account of pirates. When he was about to retire, he dumped this cannon overboard into the shallow water off Butterworth beach.

And owing to the accretion which has long been taking place along this beach, the cannon gradually found itself further and further from the water, whilst itself not moving. And as it thus came from water to dry land, it acquired the name of the Floating Cannon.

As to the fact of accretion on this beach, this is true and it is still noticeable. Butterworth stands on a sand-bank, which is almost certainly the result of accretion over a very long period of time.

The cannon is now some sixty yards from high-water mark.

As regards the tradition that the Floating Cannon was the "mate" of the Penang cannon. Malays say that it is true that the Penang cannon is one of a pair and that its mate was somehow at some vague date lost in the sea. But they say that this lost cannon is not the Butterworth Floating Cannon.

This Malay tradition certainly sounds probable, though it may be remarked that the simpler and older Malays illogically (and contrary to the teaching of Islam) show considerable reverence for the Floating Cannon and some attend the annual ceremony held

in honour of the Cannon, or perhaps rather of the Tutelary Spirit supposed to guard it. Many Indians also attend this ceremony.

For on the 15th day of the 8th Chinese moon it is the custom to hold special celebrations at the shrine and a Siamese "menora" performance is staged.

The reason for the choice of the date is lost but the reason for the due performance of the celebration is to be found in the need to propitiate the spirit. A sharp reminder of this need was given some 16 or 17 years ago when the celebration was omitted and a plague struck the locality, causing several deaths.

When the Cult commenced, Butterworth was doubtless merely a fishing village. With the development of the water-front the little shrine is beginning to look somewhat oddly placed. Still, there is plenty of room for it and there the Cannon lies, embedded, as has been said, in concrete (lest it resume its travels?) while before it—

> Joss-sticks turn to scented smoke
> The little sins of little folk.

As is usual with such miraculous shrines in Malaya, no priest is attached to the Shrine of the Floating Cannon—it depends solely on popular reverence. No miracles of healing are attributed to the Cannon nor does it appear to have any phallic significance for its devotees. On plate XIII are reproduced a photograph of the shed in which the Floating Cannon is housed and a photograph of the interior, showing the Cannon itself, considerably foreshortened. The joss-stick stands will be observed. The dark objects hanging on the right and left of the picture are nets.

Kingship and Enthronement in Malaya

By R. O. WINSTEDT

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(PLATES XIV AND XV)

There are two rulers in Malaya who claim descent from a Bichitram (? = Vicitram), reputed kinsman of the Srī Mahārājas of Srī Vijaya, the Buddhist empire (fl. A.D. 750-1350) that extended over Sumatra and Northern Malaya and for a while Java. The name Bichitram is whispered into the ear of every Perak Sultan at his enthronement as that of the ancestor of the Perak (and old Malacca) dynasty. And Bichitram, according to the *Sejarah Melayu,* was brother of the first king of Palembang (=Srī Vijaya) and Singapore, and was himself ancestor of the Minangkabau line, from which the Yang di-pertuan of Negri Sembilan claims descent.

The folk-lore of the *Sejarah Melayu,* however, confuses the history of Srī Vijaya (which had relations with the Palas of Bengal) with that of its Chōla conquerors and derives the spear side of these Malay dynasties from chieftains in North Arcot, Trichinopoli, Tanjore, and possibly Chingleput, who were related by descent or marriage. Shulan must be the dynastic name of the Chōlas of Negapatam. The Amdan, with which one recension connects them, may be Andam, i.e. Anda-nādu in North Arcot. Chulin of Lenggiu may be a Chōla of Ilangai-tīvu, Tamil for Lanka-dvīpa or Ceylon. Raja Suran could be Rājeśuran, the Tamil form of Rājēśvara or else the legendary Raja Sura of Tirukkalukkunram in Chingleput. His three "sons", Jiran of Chandragiri, Chulan of Vijaya-nāgara, and Pandyan of Negapatam, must be corruptions of the names of the Chēra, Chōla, and Pāṇḍya dynasties, though the Chēras never ruled Chandragiri, the Chōlas were nearly extinct before Vijaya-nāgara arose and the Pāṇḍya kingdom never included Tanjore, in which Negapatam lies. Paladutani, son of Chulan, may be Pāṇḍavāyana "descendant of Pandu". Jambuga (= Jambuka), son of Adhirāja-rāma (alias Adhivīra), is apparently connected with Jambukēśvaram or Tiruvanaikaval, a place in Trichinopoli with an important temple.[1]

Whatever their genealogy, it is the enthronement of the two Malay rulers claiming this descent from Palembang or Srī Vijaya that happens to have been described by observers.

[1] I am indebted to Dr. L. D. Barnett for the identifications in this paragraph.

To understand the awe Malays still have for their rulers one has to explore the origin of their divine right. In his latest avatar, a Yang di-pertuan, He-who-is-made-master, is the Shadow of Allah on earth, whose blood is held to be white as in the veins of Muslim saints. But formerly it was as an incarnation or receptacle of a Hindu divinity or a Boddhisatva that he was credited with white blood, and the rulers of Perak and Negri Sembilan are still installed with Brahminical and Buddhist ceremony. Moreover, under the Muslim Caliph and the Hindu-Buddhist ruler, there remain traces of the shaman from Yunnan and affinities with the emperors of China and Japan. The custom in Japan and formerly in Malaya of vacating the palace of a dead predecessor and starting a new capital, the custom of giving dead kings posthumous titles, the couch-throne found in Japan's oldest enthronement ritual and in parts of Indonesia, the reverence for regalia without which no Japanese or Malay can become a ruler, all these would appear to belong to a very early layer of civilization.

The Malay King as Shaman

Dayak believe that at first the Creator stretched out the heavens no bigger than a mango, and a medicine-woman in a Dayak legend satisfies an army with rice steamed in a pot the size of a chestnut and with meat cooked in a pan the size of a bird's nest. The heads of the Perak royal drums are fabled to be the skins of lice and the clarionet to be made of a nettle stalk. The pillars of the palace of the Sultan of Mmangkabau also were fashioned of nettle stalks, and the Sultan possessed a dagger formed of the soul of steel, coeval with the creation. Both Malay ruler and Malay shaman therefore were masters of the mannikin soul of things. And if as seems certain ideas derive from great centres of civilization, then this conception of the power of Malay kings and magicians will have come in prehistoric times to the Malays, as to China of the Chou period, from Babylonia or some other centre in the Middle East, to be carried from Yunnan down to the archipelago; a conception to be developed centuries later into the idea of a Malay king being a Hindu god, and to conclude in the Malay's ready acceptance of Islamic pantheism with the famous cry of Abu Sa'id that "there is nothing inside this coat but Allah".

As a Hindu god the Malay king was lord of the realm by virtue of possessing a miniature Mount Meru. But as Confucius reminds us, even five centuries before Christ there was "an earth-mound at the borders of a Chinese town or village, interpreted as symbolizing the whole soil of the territory in which it stood. It was often associated with a sacred tree or grove and with *a block or pillar of wood* which served as a resting place for spirits". Under the old wooden palace of Negri Sembilan hangs by a rope a carved truncated pillar (or oblong block) of wood, not reaching the ground and tabu

for all but royalty. As we shall see, a palace or a temple came in time to symbolize the mound mentioned by Confucius.

The office of shaman, like that of ruler, is often hereditary among Malays, and both possess as insignia drums and tambourines baleful to those that touch them, even though the ruler's vengeful instruments have become part of a Muslim's *naubat* band. It is tempting to surmise that it is with the grass aspergillum of the shaman a Sultan of Perak sprinkles rice-paste on newly installed chiefs, but the brush of medicinal leaves used by the King of Siam before his coronation is prepared by Brahmins. However, as late as 1874, Perak folk saw nothing strange in their Sultan, 'Abdu'llah, sitting at a sèance on the shaman's mat and becoming possessed by the genies of the State, who prophesied the death of the British Resident. Just as Japan had a spiritual head in the Mikado and a secular in the Shogun, so however it came by him, during the last two centuries at least Perak had in addition to its secular ruler a Sultan Muda holding the office of State Shaman, whose duty it was annually to revive the regalia by proffering them food and drink and on occasion to sacrifice to the guardian spirits of the country, brought within the fold of Muslim orthodoxy by inclusion under djinns who are all subservient to Allah.

While the Sultans of Malay port kingdoms waxed rich on tolls and dues, it is perhaps significant that like the shaman (and the Khassi chief) a Sultan of Minangkabau had no source of income beyond the produce of the royal demesne and voluntary contributions for ceremonial functions. But, though the Malay shaman frequently uses a tabu vocabulary, there appear to be no words reserved for himself and his actions, as there now are for rulers. It is notable, however, that in the old Indonesian tongue, Sundanese, the words *siram* "bathe", *gĕring* "dry = sick", *ulu* "head", *bĕrangkat* "be carried = travel", *titah* "order", *mangkat* "borne away, dead" are not, as in Malaya, reserved for royalty and tabu for others. Moreover the words "be carried" for the royal mode of progression, "borne away" as a euphemism for death, and "dry" for "sick" embody Hindu ideas that a king must never set foot on earth and that his subjects must never allude to him as liable to mortal ills.

The Malay King Incarnate as a Hindu God

Along with those Indonesian words tabu in Malaya for all but royalty have been joined the Sanskrit words: *murka* "angry", *karnia* "gift", *anugrah* "give". For to graft the Hindu conception of a divine king on to the Indonesian master of magic was in many respect easy. A man might be born a shaman or he might be made one by magic rites, just as a Hindu king, though hereditary, acquired divinity by the performance of the magic

ritual of enthronement, which under a Muslim veneer is still for Malays a Hindu and Buddhist ceremony.

(1) As in Vedic times, as formerly in Burma and still in Siam and Cambodia, the first rite is lustration. In Perak the Sultan sits on a banana-stem, while water is poured down a banana-leaf over his shoulders by a hereditary herald of Sivaite origin entitled Sri Nara-diraja who alone outside the royal family may handle the regalia. In Negri Sembilan, at the last installation the ruler and his consort were seated on a nine-tiered bathing pavilion (Pl. XV). Seven times the four Palace Officers circumambulated it, carrying rice-paste in a silver bowl, which each in turn presented to the royal couple, who four times dipped their right hands in it. So far from being an innovation on the Perak custom, "in Jataka reliefs in the Ananda temple, Pagān, there are coronation anointment scenes in which Brahmans are represented as offering consecrated water in conches, in small quantities suitable for anointment." Both in Siam and in Burma Buddhism substituted water for oil, and lustration and anointing are now apt to be merged. But in Siam after lustration the King dons royal dress and sits on a throne, where he is handed conches of anointment water, one at each quarter of the compass as he turns about. In Negri Sembilan this part of the symbolism has been forgotten or found inconvenient to carry out and the ruler sits facing east for all four anointings, not as in Vedic ritual only for the first.

Just as in Siam Brahmins chant stanzas of benediction, so pious Malay Muslims here chant prayers for the prosperity of their ruler.

(2) After the lustration, the Perak Sultan dons royal dress. Like a Hindu god he wears a golden necklet and golden armlets, shaped like the dragon Antaboga. In his headdress is thrust a medieval seal, whose handle, it is stressed, is made of "thunder" (*gĕmpita*) wood that "causes matter to fly": it is called the "lightning seal" (*chap halilintar*) and must have taken the place of Indra's *vajra*, or thunderbolt symbol so often represented in Javanese sculpture. In Vedic time an Indian king was given at his coronation a wooden sword termed a thunderbolt as a weapon against demons. And in Japan, where it may be only a coincidence, the Emperor after being anointed is given a wooden baton as a badge of priestly office. From the Perak Sultan's shoulder hangs a State weapon (*churika Mandakini* "blade from the heaven-born Ganges") that still bears this name of the heavy sacrificial knife (Pl. XIV) used by Aditiavarman, fourteenth century ruler of Minangkabau, as member of a demoniacal Bhairava sect professing a Tantric doctrine that connected the worship of Siva with the worship of Buddha. This type of knife figures in the sculpture of Borobudur and Prambanan and in images of Bhairavas at Singosari

WINSTEDT. *Kongsies and Enthroned Art in Malaya.*

WING OF KAMPONG AND LONG HOUSE IN MALAYA.

(Java) and Padang Rocho (Sumatra). Aditiavarman's knife formed part of the Minangkabau regalia and was discovered as recently as 1930 in the house of an old lady descendant of the former royal family: on the obverse and reverse of the blade inlaid in gold wire are the figures of a Bhairava and his *sakti*, one of the terrible manifestations of Siva and Mahadevi. In spite of its name the Perak weapon (unlike heavy Malay choppers called *parang churika* [1]) is a *sword* of Indian or Arab make, and in no wise archaic, though reputed to have belonged to Alexander the Great. In the Sultan's waist-belt is tucked his personal weapon, a creese. It is not on this creese but on the sword that the guardian spirits of the State may alight during the enthronement.

The ruler of Negri Sembilan whose ancestor came over from Minangkabau and carved out a throne in Malaya as late as the eighteenth century possesses no Hindu armlets and no historical weapons. He and his consort wear handsome Malay costume and in his belt is a fine creese, a family heirloom. Thus arrayed the Malay ruler is escorted in procession round his palace grounds. The ruler of Negri Sembilan with his consort is seated under a yellow-curtained canopy on a heavy processional car, termed Maharaja 'diraja. It is not said if the car circles the royal precincts more than once but apparently not. It is drawn by a body of retainers called The Ninety-Nine. In front are carried regalia and royal umbrellas, behind the royal flags.

In Perak the Sultan circumambulates the royal demesne seven times to the thud and blare of the *naubat* drums, trumpet (Pl. XIV, and see *JRAS.*, 1944, p. 193, n.), and clarionet, escorted by courtiers carrying flags and pennons, creeses, lances, and swords.

In modern Siam it is after the coronation that the King has circumambulated his capital the way of the sun.

This circumambulation of palaces recalls how the royal house of Sri Vijaya was connected with Mount Meru, which in Hindu and Buddhist mythology is the pivot of the universe, the heaven of Indra, wielder of the thunderbolt and controller of weather. There is no difficulty about the siting of a Mount Meru in Sumatra at Palembang—which (it has not so far been noted) is corroboration that the spot was a capital of Sri Vijaya. For Hinduism gave the name to many mountains just as the Olympian gods, wherever their worshippers moved, dwelt on the highest mountain there, making it an Olympus. In the museum at Batavia there is or was a sculptured Meru being transported by the gods from India to Java! So in Burma, Siam, Indochina, and Indonesia, the capitals of old kingdoms in sequence from a more ancient symbol, had like Angkor

1 *Note*: *Ksurika* Skt., *churiga* Prakrit

a hillock or like Angkor Thom a Buddhist shrine or like Bali a Hindu temple or like Mandalay a palace-tower, all of them identified with Mount Meru.

> Convenne rege aver, che discernesse
> della vera cittade almen la torre.

The owner of such a hill, temple, or palace was a receptable or incarnation of Siva or Vishnu or Indra; always of Indra where Hinayana Buddhism admitted no immortal god, the long-lived lord of Meru being the next best thing, and it was as lord of the state's symbolic Meru that the King guarded the fortunes of his people. The Tamil poem Manimekalai mentions two Malayan kings who claimed descent from Indra. Bhisma states that when a king is crowned, it is Indra who is crowned, and a person who desires prosperity should worship him as Indra is worshipped. In Malay literature, the word Indra, which in Sanskrit can mean a prince as well as the god, was used to denote "royal", as, for example, Permaisuri Indra "royal princess" and Mahkota Indra "royal crown". And the synonym Isle of Indra for Penyengat where the Muslim Under-Kings of Riau lived in the eighteenth century may have had no other significance. In the same century Perak had three capitals, Brāhmaṇa Indra, Indra Sakti, and Indra Mulia. The capitals of Pahang (as well as one Sumatran State) was called Indrapura, "the town of Indra." The hill close behind the Negri Sembilan palace is The Hill of Sri Indra, which is unequivocal.[1] Sri Vijaya had its Sailendra dynasty, the house of the Indras or lords of the mountain.

If as in modern Siam the State religion was Hinanaya Buddhism, then the lord of the Meru might occasionally claim to be a Boddhisatva or his worldly counterpart, a Chakravartin.

To circumambulate his Meru, whether hill or palace, was for the new sovereign, Hindu or Buddhist, to take possession of his kingdom in little.

In Hindu mythology the four faces of Mt. Meru are coloured, white towards the east, yellow towards the south, black towards the west, and red towards the north. It is probably not mere coincidence that these are the colours appropriate in Perak for the Sultan, the Heir Apparent, the Prime Minister, and the Minister of War respectively.

1 A Minangkabau tribal headman of Negri Sembilan, when suspected of offering a bribe to an official, protested that, if he were guilty, then might he be stricken by the magic of magnetic iron, by the thirty chapters of the Kuran, by the divine power of his Ruler and might his tree of life be killed by the borer-beetle of Indra Sakti!

(3) In Perak, when the Sultan has entered the palace and taken his seat on the throne, his chief herald, Sri Nara-diraja proclaims the royal title and, as a Brahmin whispers into the ear of his pupil the name of the god who is to be the child's special protector through life, so the herald whispers to his new lord the State secret. Vicitram, the name of the lord of that Meru in old Palembang, ancestor and guardian of Perak royalty. Then he reads the *chiri*, a formula in corrupt Sanskrit, extolling the new ruler as a great king "who ravishes the three worlds by the jewels of his crown" and lauding his victory, his luck, his justice, his power of healing.

In Negri Sembilan, when the new Ruler and his consort are seated on their throne, the premier commoner chief tells the Court Herald on the Right, of the electors' choice, whereupon the herald proclaims it in Brahminical attitude, that is, standing on one leg with the sole of the right foot resting against his left knee, his right hand shading his eyes and the tip of the fingers of his left hand pressed against his left cheek. Incense is burnt and a formula in Malay and Arabic is read, *not by one of the* 'ulama *but by one of the Four Court Officers,* an invocation to the angel of the rising sun, the angels on the right and left of the sky, the angel of the setting sun, the angel Katb of the zenith to beseech Allah to enthrone the prince; and an invocation to Karnain the horned angel of the moon [1] and to the four archangels of Islam to assist in his salvation. It was the guardians of five regions who were invoked in Vedic ritual.

It looks as if the choice of the reader was the survival of a Brahmin privilege and as if the Herald and the Four Court Officers must once have been Brahmins just as there are still Brahmins at the courts of Siam and Cambodia. The Sri Nara-diraja in Perak was obviously of Brahmin origin, and beef is tabu for his family.

But more interesting still is the fact that the combination of Perak's *chiri* with Negri Sembilan's fourfold "anointment" and subsequent invocation to the five regions of the heavens make up the Siamese rite when after lustration the King facing east first

1 The horned angel (or, in one version, princess) of the moon is an intruder. Alexander the Great was known to Muslims as Dhul'l-Karnain or "two-horned" from a phrase in the Kuran. And Muslim missionaries, needing a pedigree for royal converts to compensate for their loss of Hindu godhead, fabricated for them descent from Alexander the champion of Islam (as their reading showed), with the genealogy of the Sassanian kings and Kaid the Indian as a link. Alexander's connection with Meru was patent! Dionysus was born from the thigh (*mēros*) of Zeus and raiding India Alexander found near Meru the people of Nysa, named after Dionysus' nurse, who joined him in his raid on the Punjab. Once upon a time Alexander crossed to Andalus (Andalusia) and clearly this was Andalas (Sumatra); so Minangkabau folk-lore has put his tomb on the slopes of Palembang's Meru! It was therefore a brilliant thought to invoke the horned angel (or princess) of the moon to protect the descendant of Alexander the two-horned!

takes his seat on a throne. A court functionary (1) hails His Majesty as a victor and protector, and (2) offering water in a conch calls on him to guard and rule the eastern tracts of his realm. The Siamese King promises so to do and turns to the points of the compass one after the other—a similar address being made and answered at each.

Both in Negri Sembilan and in Perak the rulers have to sit as immobile as possible on their thrones, rigidity being evidence in Hindu ritual of incipient godhead. In Perak the Sultan has to remain utterly still while the *naubat* band plays a certain number of tunes, not more than nine or less than four. The Sri Nara-diraja lights the royal candles (or ? candle) and asks the Sultan to fix the number of tunes. Negri Sembilan lacks the Muslim accretion of the *naubat*.

(4) The Sultan of Perak sits to hear the *naubat* enthroned, while page bearing the regalia squat to right and left. But no account speaks of swords and daggers being displayed. In Negri Sembilan, as soon as one of the Four Palace Officers has read the invocations to the angel guardians of the five regions of the sky, the regalia are displayed, weapons being taken from their wrappings and unsheathed for a moment and then covered again. Although no mention is made of further details at the last enthronement of a ruler of Negri Sembilan, a previous record set forth how "the Panglima Raja stands on the ruler's right and holds the Great Spear and the Panglima Sultan stands on the left and holds the Royal Sword. Beyond them are the two Laksamana similarly equipped. Beyond them are retainers with eight tufted spears, eight long creeses, eight tapers, eight water-vessels, and other symbols of power. When all is ready, the insignia are shown solemnly to the spectators. The weapons are taken out of their yellow wrappings, the royal umbrellas are opened, the royal candles are lit, the water-vessels and betel boxes are lifted on high for all to see. A copy of the Koran is set down before these mighty regalia and ewers filled with every kind of holy water are arranged before them. One ewer contains water mingled with blood; another contains water with a bullet in it; another rice-paste."

It will be a pity if these old-world details are abandoned. For in Siam and Cambodia princes, courtiers, and officials drink twice a year water of allegiance in which the Court Brahmins have dipped the State Sword and other royal weapons. Newly appointed chiefs in Perak used to be sworn to allegiance on water in which the State sword had been dipped.

(5) Next, in Negri Sembilan the Herald on the Right once more assumes his uneasy Brahminical posture and calls on the four territorial chiefs to pay homage. Each chief in turn on every one

of the seven steps of the dais lifts folded palms to forehead, kisses the ruler's hand three times, and still seated (cross-legged) retires backward down the steps, lifting hands in homage five times. Lesser chiefs lift hands nine times advancing and seven times retiring.

In Perak, it is said, a chief touches the Sultan's knees with forehead and lips or puts his head under his Sultan's feet.

The Malay King as Caliph

(6) In Negri Sembilan the ceremony closes with a Muslim accretion, just as in Siam it closes with the modern assumption of a crown. The local Kathi recites a prayer in Malay asking Allah's guidance for the new Kalifah He has raised to the throne, the guidance He gave to the Prophet Solomon.

Here the Perak account is vague. But it is suggested that the prayer with the Kuranic verse on Allah having appointed a new Caliph as His vicegerent precedes the homage.

So finishes the ceremony, but several kindred points deserve notice. To-day in Perak, as in Siam, the ruler's consort is separately installed, and in Perak in deference to Muslim prejudice the spectators are women. But an eighteenth century history of Perak, the *Misa Melayu*, records how in 1756 a Sultan and his consort were enthroned together. In matriarchal Negri Sembilan in 1936 the Ruler (perhaps wrongly in theory) installed his consort first, before he was an anointed king endowed with royal authority: in Siam the King instals his consort afterwards.

There are several other parallels between Malay and Siamese kingship. As in ancient China new posthumous names are given to dead rulers. The King of Siam keeps an albino elephant, albino monkey, and albino crow: till modern times, albino children were a perquisite of the ruler of Negri Sembilan. Umbrellas must be closed near Malay as well as near Siamese palaces, as they are the homes of incarnate gods. For the same reason no one might have a higher seat than a Malay or Siamese ruler even in a carriage or car. It was taboo to spill royal blood. Head and hair of rulers were sacred. Only, however, in Trengganu has there survived a form of top-spinning conducted (several centuries ago) by Brahmins in Siam to foretell the fortunes of the realm.

In old Malacca, Perak, and Negri Sembilan there has been the same preoccupation with 4, 8, 16, and 32 that Dr. Heine-Geldern has detected in other kingdoms of Farther India and the same division into officers of the right and left hand. Malacca and Perak have had 4 great, 8 major, 16 minor, and 32 petty chiefs. Even the

ground-plan of an Old Perak palace shows pillars in sets of 8 making 32 for each main section of the building. In Negri Sembilan, and probably in other States, salutes numbered 8, 16, and 32. Negri Sembilan too has 4 princes of the blood, 4 territorial chiefs, 4 major court officers, and only the ruler may have 4 wives. The regalia of the ruler of Negri Sembilan comprise 8 tufted spears, 8 swords, 8 creeses, 8 large candles, 8 small tapers, 8 betel-boxes, 8 handfuls of ashes, 8 water-vessels, 16 pennons, and 16 umbrellas. In Burma the King was required to have 4 queens, 4 lesser consorts, 4 chief ministers, 4 heralds, 4 messengers, 8 assistant secretaries. For the first part of his coronation a Siamese King sits on an octagonal throne. Fifty years ago when a shaman's *séance* was being conducted to cure his illness, the sick Sultan was seated on a sixteen-sided stand to await with shrouded head and grass brush in hand the advent of the spirits of the realm. There was the same kind of preoccupation with these astrological numbers in Siam and Cambodia. Generally at his enthronement a king in those countries is surrounded by eight Brahmins representing the Lokapālas who guard the eight points in the Brahmin cosmogony. Pegu in the fourteenth century had thirty-two provinces, whose governors with the King made up the number of the gods in Indra's mountain paradise. "A passage in the New History of the T'ang Dynasty," Dr. Heine-Geldern tells us, "indicates that the kingdom of Java in the ninth century was divided into twenty-eight provinces, their governors together with the four ministers again having numbered thirty-two high officials. This may have been a somewhat older form of the same system, in which the provinces corresponded to constellations, the twenty-eight Houses of the Moon, and the four ministers to the guardian gods of the cardinal points. It is clear that in all these cases the empire was conceived as an image of the heavenly world of stars and gods." On the fifth day of the Cambodian enthronement ceremonies princes and dignitaries forming a circle about the King pass round nineteen times from left to right seven disks set on tapers, whose smoke they fan towards him. This ritual symbolizes the revolution of the seven planets about Mt. Meru here represented by the king.

Accounts of the enthronement ceremony are wanted from Pahang, Selangor, Trengganu, and especially Kedah and Kelantan.

[References: *Sejarah Melayu*, ed. R. O. Winstedt, *JRAS. Malayan Branch*, 1938; "History of Negri Sembilan," R. O. Winstedt, ibid., 1934; "History of Perak," R. O. Winstedt, ibid., 1934; "History of Malaya," ibid., 1935; "The Installation of Tunku Abdul-Rahman as Yang di-pertuan Besar, Negri Sembilan," J. J. Sheehan, ibid., 1936; "The Installation of Tengku Kurshiah as Tengku Ampuan," J. J. Sheehan, ibid.; "Some Malay Studies," R. J. Wilkinson, ibid., 1932; *Misa Melayu* ed. R. O. Winstedt, Singapore, 1919; *Shaman Saiva and Sufi*, R. O. Winstedt, London; "Sri Menanti," R. J. Wilkinson, *Paper on Malay Subjects*, ii, series 2, pp. 18, 19, 30, 34-44, 47; *'Adat Radja-Radja Melajoe*, Ph. v. Ronkel, Leiden, 1929; "Conceptions of State and Kingship in South-East Asia," R. Heine-Gelden, *The Far*

Explanation of Plates

Plate XIV. Two faces of the Minangkabau Chutikâ and a panel of the Perak State Trumpet.

Plate XV. Pañca-Prasãda at the enthronement of a Sultan of Selangor, 1939.

Eastern Quarterly, Columbia, November, 1942; *Oudheidkundig Verslag*, Batavia, 1930; *Keris and other Malay Weapons*, G. B. Gardner, Singapore, 1936, p. 77, pl. 50, figs. 3, 4; *Siamese State Ceremonies*, H. G. Quaritch Wales; *Kingship*, A. M. Hocart; *Malay Magic*, W. W. Skeat; *The Analects of Confucius*, A. Waley, 1938, p. 236; *Pictorial History of Civilization in Java*, W. F. Stutterheim, Weltevreden, Java, figs. 54, 102, 125; *Indian Cultural Influences in Cambodia*, B. A. Chatterji, 1928, pp. 4, 5; *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1927, vol. iii. pp. 315-355, *The Evolution of the State, Dr. Balakrishna; Cambodge, Fêtes Civiles et Religieuses*, A. Leclêre, Paris, 1916; *The Japanese Enthronement Ceremonies*, D. C. Holtom, Tokyo, 1928].

Notes on Malay Subjects

by

R. O. WINSTEDT, K.B.E., C.M.G., D.LITT. F.B.A.

1. Kulanggi or Gulanggi again

As Mr. Roland Braddell and I are both interested only in the attainment of historical truth, so far as anything so elusive is attainable, perhaps I may be pardoned if I set forth the grounds that lead one still to doubt the identity of the word *K.l.nggi* of the "Kedah Annals" with *Kalinga*. Mr. Braddell ended his last paper on "Ancient Times" with a quotation from Bertrand Russell on the desirability of hanging a question mark on things taken for granted, and his note on Kulanggi has at any rate sent me to the original Malay *Jawi* texts which I should have examined before.

First two remarks on Jawi spelling. (1) The Malay till quite recently never inserted vowels in any but the penultimate and (more recently) the final syllables. Accordingly *hlbalng* = *hulubalang* and *mnsi* = *manusia;* and *K.l.nggi* may = *Kĕlĕnggi* or *Kulinggi* or *Kulanggi* or *Kulunggi* and only the original author and perhaps his contemporaries would know what the missing vowels were. (2) *ngg* can never = *ng*, though Mr. Braddell and probably Colonel Low have thought so. Any student of *Jawi* could put them right on this point. Therefore, while I do suspect Col. Low's *Galungi* or *Kalungi* to be incorrect romanization, so far from doubting the accuracy of Mr. Bland and Mr. Sturrock I accept their *Klanggi* and *Kĕlinggi* as evidence for my view. Neither *Klanggi* nor *Kĕlinggi* can stand for *Kalinga* but both could stand for *Kulanggi,* or, as ڪ & ک are often confused they could stand also for *Gulanggi*: all the Malay MSS. of the *Hikayat Amir Hamza* read *K* for the Persian *G*.

Mr. R. J. Wilkinson's *Jawi* edition of the Kedah Annals (Penang 1898), which Mr. Sturrock romanized, reads كلڠكي = *K.l.nggi* and كلڠكي = *K.linggi;* Maxwell MS. 21 of the "Kedah Annals" in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, reads كلڠكي = *K.l.nggi* (and in a few places كلاكي = *K.lĕngaki* which obviously is an error); while according to Dr. van Ronkel's Catalogue (p. 290) Batavia's *Sjadjarah Negeri Kedah* reads *Gulanggi.*

None of the MSS. omit the *g* after the *ng* and therefore, unless all the MSS. are corrupt, none support the reading *Kalinga* or *Kalingi*. Of course, the Malay MSS. may just possibly all be corrupt, the same hand that inserted Zamin Turan from the tale of *Amir Hamza* changing *Kalinga* into the *Kulanggi* of the same tale. But one can hardly base a theory on this supposition.

2. Mysticism in Malaya

Snouck Hurgronje in *The Achehnese* (ii 18 sg.) and Dr. D. A. Rinkes (*Abdoerraoef van Singkel*, Leiden 1909) have described a Sufi order, Shattariya, which has been commoner in the Malayan region than elsewhere. It is also briefly noticed in "The Encyclopaedia of Islam" *sub* Shattariya. Writers on its tenets often prefix their works with a "genealogical" list of teacher after teacher who have expounded its doctrines, and these lists still have an interest as showing the spread of mysticism throughout the Malay world. One such list appears in a manuscript in the Marsden collection, formerly in the keeping of King's College London and now in the Library of the School of Oriental and African studies. It is particularly interesting as proof of the existence of this mystical order in Trengganu in the eighteenth century. Here I will translate the list:—

"This is a book to record the descent of the Shattariah order that came from the Apostle of Allah, whom Allah bless and preserve, from the lord 'Ali son of Abi Talib, with whom may Allah be well pleased, who taught the lord Husain the Martyr, who taught the lord Zain al-'abidin, who taught Imam Muhammad al-Baqir who taught the blessed (*ruhaniah*) Imam Ja'far al-Sadik (d. 886 A.D.) who taught the blessed king of those that know (*sultan 'arifin*) Abu Yazid al-Bistami (d. 878 A.D.), who taught Shaikh Muhammad (al-) Maghribi, who taught Shaikh al-'arabi Yazid al-'ishgi, who taught the master (*qutb*) Abu Muzaffar-i Maulana of Khargan, who taught Shaikh حداقلي (? Khudaquli) of Transoxiana (*ma wara'un-nahri*) who taugnt Sayid Muhammad al-'ashiq, who taught Sayid Muhammad 'al-'arif, who taught Shaikh 'Abdullah al-Shattari, who taught the Qadli al Shattari, who taught Shaikh Hidayat u'llah Sarmast, who taught Shaikh Haji حصوري who taught Sayid Muhammad Ghaus son of Sayid Khatir al-din, who taught Sayid Wajih al-din al-'aluwi who taught Sayid Sibghat Allah son of Sayid Ruh Allah who taught Saidina Abi Mawahib 'Abdullah Ahmad son of 'Ali an 'Abbaside and Shinnawi, who taught Shaikh Ahmad son of Muhammad of Medinah along with Ahmad Qushashi, who taught 'Abdu'r-rauf son of 'Ali, of the same race as Hamzah of Barus (*Fansuri*) and a man of Singkel, who taught Shaikh Haji 'Abd al-muhyi of the village Saparwadi in Karang (Preanger, Java,) who

taught Pakir Kiai Agus Najim al-din of Saparwadi in Karang, who taught Kiai Haji Muhammad Yunus of Saparwadi in Karang, who taught Kiai Mas Penghulu of Bandong, who taught Haji 'Abdullah ibn 'Abdul-Malik who lived at Pulau Rusa in T(er)enggannu who taught Lebai Bidin son of Ahmat an Achinese, whom God Almighty love in this world and the next. And the MS. goes on to say what devotions Lebai Bidin prescribed for members of the order.

Down to the famous 'Abdu'r-rauf of Singkel, who was teaching at Acheh in 1661, the list is that found in other MSS. (Rinkes *op. cit.* p. 48). After that the various MSS. have different names according as their writers had different teachers.

It is interesting to see that a Trengganu man (or possibly a Javanese missionary to Trengganu) learnt his mysticism in Java and handed his knowledge down to an Achinese. One wonders if perhaps he may have been a writer of tracts and if any have survived.

3. Pantun

Dr. Brandstetter would derive the word *pantun* from an Indonesian root *tun*, that can be traced in old Javanese *tuntun* "thread", *atuntun* "in lines", Pampanga *tuntun* "regular", Tagalog *tonton* "to speak in a certain order." And remarkable confirmation of this occurs in a sentence in a Kelantan MS. of a recension of the larger *Hikayat Bakhtiar:—di-tuntunkan-nya oleh pĕrĕmpuan muda itu pantun.* I am indebted for this quotation of Mr. E. M. F. Payne of the Malayan Education Department, who will I hope soon let us know more of the manuscript.

4. Hikayat Bustamam

On p. 57 of my "History of Malay Literature" I stated that the Hikayat Bustamam and Hikayat Ganja Mara were both "translated by a mysterious Dato Saudagar Puteh, that is white (or pale) Merchant Chief." A MS note by Sir William Maxwell identifies him as "Saudagar Che Puteh (or Teh) uncle of Penghulu Che Sahid, who translated for the instruction of Mr. Maingy, Superintendent of Province Wellesley, then living at Kuala Buka—he afterwards went to Burma."

Obituary

RICHARD JAMES WILKINSON, C.M.G. (1867—5 December 1941)

Born in 1867 Richard James Wilkinson was the eldest son of R. Wilkinson, British Consul at Salonika. After a childhood spent on the continent, in Spain among other places, he was elected an exhibitioner at Trinity College, Cambridge and passed high into the Indian Civil Service only to be rejected in the riding test. In 1889 he became a Straits Settlements Cadet, and passed in Chinese. In 1902 he was District Officer, Dindings. In 1903 he became Federal Inspector of Schools, Kuala Lumpur. Later he was appointed British Resident, Negri Sembilan, the post which in retrospect he loved above all others. From 1911 to 1916 he was Colonial Secretary, Singapore. From 1916 to 1922 he was Governor Sierra Leone, promotion which afterwards he regretted having accepted as it took him away from his Malay interests. On 5 December 1941 he died almost suddenly at Smyrna, from which he had once been a fugitive to Greece and to which Hitler's war made him in turn a fugitive from Mitylene.

As an official he served Malaya brilliantly in the field of education, doing much for Malay vernacular schools and being responsible for the foundation of the Kuala Kangsar College. He also did Malaya eminent service when in 1914 war found him acting as Governor at Singapore. But his *magnum opus*, the Malay-English Dictionary, to which he devoted 40 years, will long outlive the memory of his official career. Next to lexicography his main interest was Malay history, in which he was a pioneer of scientific method, although the cares of offices never left him time for the thorough study, which would for example have saved him from dating the creation of Negri Sembilan and the compilation of Malacca Laws centuries too late. But it was a great service to Malay historical research that his "doubts doubted" his successors' "doubts away." One of his great assets was a lively and readable style that made his "Incidents of Malay Life" so popular. That brochure appeared in a series of "Papers on Malay Subjects," which he started. His editorship of that series puts him alongside Logan of Penang, the founder and editor of the Journal of the Indian Archipelago. And to it he further contributed pamphlets on Malay Games, Law and Literature, as well as pamphlets on the Aboriginal Tribes and a valuable Sakai Vocabulary. He published in Leiden a brochure on "Malay Beliefs," which exhibited his Malay scholarship, although generally in ethnography his wandering career allowed no opportunity for the reading necessary to keep abreast of modern science.

In 1917 he married Edith Sinclair, daughter of J Baird of Glasgow, who typed for him the whole of the second edition of his dictionary which he prepared and published in retirement by the sea at Mitylene

Marsden, Raffles, Crawfurd, Begbie, Newbold, Logan, William Maxwell, with scholars like these Wilkinson's name will go down to posterity.

R. O. WINSTEDT.

A Murut Fairy Tale

By G. C. WOOLLEY

This story was told to me by Angkas bin Dabus, a Tambunan Dusun, who had heard it in Keningau, where he lived for some years.

The general outline and such details as the loss of a 'flying coat' and the ways in which certain animals befriended by a man helped him when he was in difficulties are to be found in the Folk-lore and stories of other races, but there may be sufficient variety and local colour in this version to make it worth repetition.

The Story of Baiagong and the Red-Stalked Coconut

Many years ago there lived a great hunter in Keningau whose name was Baiagong; he was a native of Kampong Keningau, but he knew all the country round as the result of his hunting trips. One day he went out alone, and reached the head-waters of the river Liawan. There was a large pool, at which he thought that he might find some animal coming down to drink. Approaching carefully, he suddenly noticed some strange things hanging on bushes by the pool, and creeping round he saw a party of seven girls bathing a little way off. He was very much astonished, but seeing that they were naked, and being a modest man, and knowing the "adat", he withdrew behind the bush and then saw that the things hanging on it were clothes of some strange material and had wings. His mind was quickly made up, and taking the smallest cloak he went off with it and hid it.

Not long afterwards, the seven girls, who were fairy princesses from Kayangan (Fairyland), finished their bathe and came to get their clothes. Great was the distress of the youngest when she found that her cloak was missing: for a long time they all hunted for it, but in vain, and at last her six sisters decided that they must leave her behind, so they put on their winged cloaks and flew away to Kayangan. The youngest princess wept bitterly, but could do nothing, for her sisters could not carry her with them, so she wandered by herself looking for her cloak. Presently she met Baiagong, who had been hiding not far off, and came out when he saw that only one girl was left. She asked him if he had seen her cloak or had noticed anyone taking it away, but Baiagong denied all knowledge of it, and professed great concern and anxiety to help. "Your sisters were very unkind to leave you so", said he, "but come back with me and stop with me until your cloak is found: my mother is at home, and she will welcome you and help

you." "How can I go with you to the village", replied the weeping princess, "can't you see that I have no clothes? "Oh", said Baiagong, as if he had only just noticed this, "Well, take this head-cloth of mine and use it as a wrap until we get to the house". So the princess took it and went with him, and when they got to the house he brought her to his mother, who gave her clothes. Some days afterwards, when there was still no news of the winged cloak—though really Baiagong had fetched it from the jungle where he had hidden it and put it away in a box in the house—Baiagong said to the Princess "You cannot return to Kayangan without the cloak, and there is no news of it, So why not stay here and be my wife, for I love you." Though at first unwilling, at last she agreed. They were married, and in due time a son was born to them.

But then trouble started, for Baiagong's old mother did not like the child because he always cried when his mother was away. Baiagong was often away hunting, and the Princess then had to go out to look after the garden and padi and to collect vegetables and firewood, leaving the old woman at home with the child. There was no open quarrel with the Princess herself, but one day when the child could make himself understood, he told his mother how his grandmother was harsh to him and complained of having to look after him, and spoke slightingly of his mother, telling him that she had forced his father, her son, to take her out of pity, when she was only a stranger and a foundling who had never been formally asked for in marriage by herself on her son's behalf, as is the proper Murut custom: no one knew who her people were or where they lived, and she had brought no property or belongings with her, so that the old grandmother had to supply anything that was wanted from her own property. The Princess was very ashamed and distressed at what her son told her, and said that if only she had her flying cloak she would go back to Kayangan, and she told the boy all about her home in Kayangan and about the cloak. "Was it a cloak like the one in my father's old box?", he asked, and when in sudden excitement she made him show her the box and open it, there lay her cloak, as fresh and fine as on the day she lost it. The Princess put it on at once, and taking up her son tried to fly away. But the boy was heavy, and she could only mount up to the height of the coconut trees and then flutter down to earth again. Many times she tried, but found it useless, so at last she determined to leave him behind. She filled a bamboo with milk, and said, "see, here is milk, enough for food until your father returns: then tell him how I have gone, and say that if he wants me he must come with you to the pool where first he met me: there he will find an old man fishing: he must catch hold of his hook, and the old man will lift him up to Kayangan. There he will be able to find my house, because there are red flowers growing on the ridge of the roof, like those which you Muruts always wear in your hair." Then

she spread her wings, and this time they bore her aloft, and she soon vanished out of sight.

Great was Baiagong's grief when he got home and found his wife gone, and in spite of all his mother's prayers and entreaties he announced his decision to take his son and follow after the Princess. Preparations were soon complete, and carrying his son he went down to the Liawan, intending to follow a track up its banks until he came to the pool.

He had not gone far when as he was passing by a dam with a fish trap set in it he heard his name called: he looked round but saw no one; then, as the call was repeated, he noticed that the sound came from the fish trap, and wading out to it he found it full of fish who asked him to have pity on them and release them. Baiagong felt sorry for them, but said he could do nothing for them as he was hurrying up stream and could not wait. Again and again they implored him to help them, until at last he unfastened the bamboo trap and shook out the fish into the water, when they thanked him and swam away happily. A little further on he came across a column of ants, carrying their eggs, travelling from the jungle to the water's edge, where their line was broken and they were running up and down distractedly: again he heard his name called: "Oh, Baiagong," cried the ants, "help us: we are taking our eggs to a new nest across the river, and our bridge is gone: make us a new bridge, Baiagong." "I cannot wait now", replied Baiagong, "I must hurry up-stream". "Do help us", they pleaded, "perhaps some day we shall be able to repay your kindness." So Baiagong listened to them, and looking round found a long dead branch which he laid across the stream, and the ants at once reformed their line and passed along the branch to the other side. Baiagong went on, and then saw a squirrel caught in a trap; the squirrel appealed to him for help, and though Baiagong was in such a hurry yet he listened, and drew back the catch of the trap and set the squirrel free. Going on again, he presently heard a louder call for help, and found a deer caught fast by the horns in a rotan noose trap. "Help me, Baiagong," cried the deer, but Baiagong said "I am in a great hurry, for I have stopped already several times, and if I delay any more, the old man at the pool will have stopped fishing and gone home". "Oh please help me, Baiagong", pleaded the deer, and so at last he was persuaded, and drawing his parang (knife) he cut through the rotan knots and let the deer go free, and then hurried forward again, saying to himself that not for anything would he stop again before he got to the pool. But when he had nearly got to the place, a very faint voice reached his ear: "Oh Baiagong, help me", it said, "I am caught in this net". And looking down he saw a little fire-fly struggling in a spider's web. "I cannot wait", said Baiagong, "as it is I may be too late, and the old man may have gone home". "Oh Baiagong", replied the fire-fly,

"it will not take you long, you need hardly stop at all—and oh, be quick, for I see the spider coming." Baiagong checked his pace, and sweeping his hand down brought up the fire-fly, and after wiping away the threads of the web which were entangling it, he let it go, and away it fluttered with many thanks.

It was not long afterwards that the pool was reached, and Baiagong saw an old man sitting on the top of a big rock which projected over the water, with a rod and line, casting into the deep water above the rock. Without a word he crept up under the shadow of the rock, and tying his son tightly on to his back waited until he saw the line drifting down towards him: then noiselessly he slipped into the water and caught hold of the line with both hands. The old man on the top of the rock felt a twitch on his line, and thinking that he had a bite, flung up his rod so quickly that Baiagong, with his son on his back, was jerked clean out of the water, over the rock, over the trees behind, and up through a thick cloud until he landed with a bump in a strange country. Feeling a bit dizzy at first, he picked himself up and had a good look round: it was a fine flat country, not unlike his own Keningau plain, with jungle and streams and padi fields and patches of fruit trees, and here and there the roof of a long-house showing. "This must be Kayangan" thought Baiagong, and looking round again more carefully he saw some bright red patches on the roof of one of the largest houses. "Perhaps those are the red flowers on the roof of the house where my wife lives" he thought and he started to walk towards it.

When he reached the house he called out, and the Princess, his wife, came out of one of the rooms and seeing and recognising him invited him to enter. He went in and sat down in the long open verandah, and not long afterwards his wife's father, the Rajah of Kayangan, entered. Baiagong explained that he had come in search of his wife, and that he wanted to take her back to Earth with him. To this, however, the Rajah objected: he admitted that his youngest daughter had been married to Baiagong, but declared that she had left him and that the manner of, and the reason for, her departure were equivalent to a divorce: besides, he said, she had formerly been betrothed to a Prince of Fairyland: now that she had returned, the old pledge would take effect, and she would shortly marry the Prince. Baiagong protested, but the Rajah only said that if he really wanted the Princess he must show himself worthy of her by proving his ability to carry out certain tasks which would be set him. Baiagong agreed to attempt them, and the following morning was appointed for the first test. The Rajah led a large party to a big pool in the river, and taking a large box of beads from one of his attendants, threw them in handfuls into the deep water. "Now", he said, "stay here and dive for them, and bring me back the whole boxful, without one bead missing, by midday." Baiagong dived

a few times but could not recover a single bead from the pool, and then he sat down on the bank and wept. "Why are you weeping, Baiagong?" said a voice, and lifting his head he saw a fish looking at him from the water, and he told him all his trouble. "Never mind, Baiagong", said the fish, "I and my brothers will help you in return for your help to us that day: you just sit here at the edge of the pool and hold the basket under water." Baiagong did so, and the fishes swam backwards and forwards, each one bringing up a bead every time in his mouth and dropping it into the basket, and so quick were they that it was not nearly midday when Baiagong returned to the Long House with his basket and the beads correct to the very last one. The Rajah was surprised, but said little, and appointed the next morning for the next test. This time he went to a patch of rough ground covered with thick bushes, and scattered all over it a gantang of rice. "Pick up every grain" he ordered, "and let me have the full gantang, with correct measure, back by midday: and I do not think" he added "that you will find any fishes under those bushes". Baiagong started to pick up a few grains, but he could not find them in the long grass and thick scrub, and soon he sat down in despair. "O Baiagong", said a chorus of small voices, "let us help you," and a column of ants appeared: they scattered into the scrub and grass and soon came out again each carrying a grain of rice just as they carry their eggs, and soon the gantang measure was full and Baiagong took it back in triumph. The Rajah could not deny that the measure was correct, so he only said "Come with me to my orchard tomorrow." Next day they went to the orchard, and the Rajah pointed to a large langsat tree laden with fruit to the outermost twigs. Then he ordered his people to cut through the trunk until the tree was almost falling, and said to Baiagong "Bring me every langsat that is on that tree, but the tree must not fall, and not a twig must be broken off." Baiagong, though a good climber, dared not trust his weight on the tottering tree, and in any case he could never have crawled out to the ends of the branches, but when he was about to give up in despair a squirrel ran up to him and said "Let me help you, Baiagong, in return for your help to me when I was in the trap." The squirrel then jumped into the tree and with his sharp teeth bit through all the fruit stalks so that the fruit fell to the ground, whilst even the smallest twigs only bent a little beneath the squirrel's weight, and not one was broken. So this task too was successfully accomplished. The Rajah was not best pleased, and said "Tomorrow you shall have an opponent in your task, and we shall then see who is the better." So next day the Rajah took Baiagong and the Fairy Prince, his wife's suitor, to a place from which, across a wide expanse of jungle, could be seen a tree with large red leaves on the spur of a distant hill. "Fetch me some leaves from that tree," said the Rajah, "and the one who is back first will be the winner." Baiagong started off, knowing that once in the jungle it would be difficult for

even so experienced a jungle man as he was to keep his direction properly, but he did not intend to give way. The Fairy Prince, however, said, "There is plenty of time: this mortal has got to walk and is certain to lose his way in the jungle: I will go home first and have a meal and then with my flying coat the rest will be easy." A minute or two after he gained the shelter of the jungle Baiagong heard a loud crashing in the bushes on his right, and a splendid stag leaped out in front of him: "Jump up on to my back", he said, "and I will take you to the tree." Baiagong mounted, and the stag went off like the wind. On reaching the tree Baiagong picked some leaves, and they set off on their return. "Get off now", said the stag when they reached the edge of the jungle, "and hurry on by yourself, for I must not be seen". Baiagong did so, and got back to the Rajah and had handed the leaves to him just before the Prince swept down through the air and alighted beside him. "Baiagong wins", said the Rajah, "Your meal has cost you dear." Baiagong claimed the Princess, but the Rajah said "There is one more test: show that you can look after her goods properly, so that there will be no risk of loss or mistake. This evening I will put her cup amongst other cups, and you must pick out hers in the dark." The same evening when it got dark, the Rajah ordered all the cups in the house to be collected and put into a store room, and he himself went in with the Princess's cup. There were over a thousand cups there, piled up on the floor and standing on shelves in the store room. The Rajah chose a place for the Princess' cup and then came out and led Baiagong to the door, and telling him to go in shut it behind him. It was pitch dark inside, and Baiagong was afraid to move for fear of stepping on or knocking over a cup. "Stand still", said a little voice, "and watch me". And Baiagong saw a little fire-fly glimmering in the dark. "I watched the Rajah and saw where he put his cup" said the fire-fly: "Pick up the cup on which I settle, and take it to the Rajah without fear, and ask him if it be not the Princess's own." Baiagong stepped carefully across to where the light twinkled on the rim of a cup: "This is the right one" said the fire-fly, "and now good-bye, and thank you for saving me from the spider." Baiagong picked up the cup and called to the Rajah to open the door. It was the right cup, but the Rajah, who had never imagined that Baiagong could succeed in all his tests, did not wish to lose his daughter. "You have won," he said, and you can take the Princess as your wife again, but you must live here and not take her away back to Earth." Baiagong was not very pleased, but did not know what to say, so after a little hesitation he agreed. For some time all went well. Then some of the people in the house, egged on by the disappointed Fairy suitor, began to complain. "This mortal", they said, "makes unpleasant noises in his throat when he sleeps" (Baiagong certainly did snore a good deal)" and besides he has a most unpleasant human smell, which we cannot stand." Things got so bad that even the children began to tease him and to make rude remarks and gestures.

"I can't help having a human smell" Baiagong explained: "Perhaps not", they replied, "but it is not a nice one: why don't you go and wash yourself sometimes in our forest pool?" "Of course I will" said Baiagong, who hitherto had always bathed in the river near the house, "show me where the pool is." So they took him to a dark pool far away in the jungle, whose water was thick and covered with scum, and in it he saw the snouts and cold cruel eyes of many crocodiles. "No. I will not bathe there", he declared "however much I smell." They tried to persuade him, and at last a few even tried to push him in, but he resisted, and as he struggled he slipped on the muddy bank and the middle finger of one hand went into the water, and when he pulled his hand back the finger was perfectly white. No more was said just then, but Baiagong could not ever be induced to risk a bathe in the pool.

The crisis came one night, not long after this, when Baiagong was sleeping on the verandah of the Long House. A party of the house people, returning late, passed close by him. "Poi!" said one with a spit of disgust, "What a foul smell". "Just like a lump of filth" said another. "Let's treat it in the proper way, then" said a third, and immediately, while one or two pulled up the ends of the split bamboo flooring close by the sleeping man, the rest, with bits of stick and bundles of twigs, used as brooms, half swept and half shovelled him through the opening in the floor. Down fell Baiagong to the ground, and through the ground, until he finally awoke to find himself in his own house on Earth. Neither wife nor child were with him, but by his side were an axe and a tabor or gendang (drum) which he recognised as coming from the Long House and one of the pink-stalked coconuts which grew on the trees round it.

He planted the nut which grew into a fine palm. The sound of the fairy drum struck terror into the hearts of enemies if they came to attack his village or whenever he took it with him when leading a raid. Countless foes fell beneath the strokes of his axe, and all the heads of the slain he was able to bring back, however many there were.

His wife never came back to him, but his son came down occasionally to visit him on Earth, usually on the great days of the harvest feasts or at the 'Main Mensilad' feast when the heads were taken down from the beams in the roof from which they hung and were carried in procession round the village. The boy refused to stay with his father on Earth, and at length said that he would not come down again, even on a feast day, because the Earth was 'too dirty', or that if in future he did come he would be invisible to all in the village.

Baiagong died in extreme old age. Nuts from his coconut palm were distributed throughout all the district, being known amongst the Muruts as 'Pisau Magoriding', though the Dusuns call them the 'Piasau Dayang'. His Drum and Axe became precious 'pesaka' (heirlooms), and the white finger of the old man was cut off by his heirs before the body was buried, and preserved as a visible memorial—to be seen, it is said, even to this day—of a mighty hunter and famous warrior who once had won for himself a fairy princess as a wife and had seen with mortal eyes the magic realm of Fairyland.

Megalithic Remains in North Borneo

By H. G. KEITH

PLATES XVI—XVIII

Banks (1) in his paper, *Some Megalithic Remains From The Kelabit Country in Sarawak With Some Notes on The Kelabits Themselves*, says,

> "Megalithic remains, so common in Celebes and further East, in Java, Sumatra, the Philippines, Malaya and right away to Assam, have been singularly lacking from Borneo, the only record being a casual mention by Burbidge of some stones used as a burial memorial to some Dusuns on one occasion in North Borneo; the occasion seems to have been unique for no further mention of such things is made by either Evans or Rutter who have dealt rather fully with the people of those parts."

While I agree with Banks that references to megalithic remains in North Borneo are few, and what references there are (2) mention only Burbidge's (3) report, the actual remains are not so rare as failure, by previous writers on North Borneo, to mention them would lead one to believe.

In January, 1937, while cutting across country from Tenghilan Estate to the Tuaran—Kota Belud bridle path I came upon an excellent series of Tenghilan Dusun (to follow Perry (4), who in turn quotes Peet (5)) cromlechs. This site is situated about ¼ mile south-east of Mile 36½, Tuaran—Kota Belud bridle path, close by the Tenghilan (according to Rutter (6) Tengillan) Dusun village of Sarambutan, West Coast Residency.

The Tenghilan Dusun cromlechs at Kampong Sarambutan do not fall precisely into any one of the well-defined types given by Perry (4) and except for those stones that surround the grave-houses they do not always mark out a definite space and appear rather to be in the form of scattered grave markers (pl. XVIII, 2).

Those stones that surround the grave-houses obviously would, after the houses had rotted and fallen in, enclose rectangular spaces only, because the grave-houses themselves are rectangular. Some of the stones, particularly the irregular slab-shaped pieces, that surround the grave-houses are not planted firmly in the ground but merely rest upon the surface and are supported by the sides of the grave-houses in an upright position. As a grave-house rots away many of these unplanted stone slabs fall over.

In the nearby village of Sarambutan there are also some roughly hewn 4-sided stone pillars used for house posts, and at some future time rectangular spaces marked out by roughly hewn upright stones may be found that may well have marked a former house site, the erstwhile owner not having removed the stone foundation posts for use at a new site.

The Tenghilan Dusun cromlechs at Kampong Sarambutan are not carved in any way and, as the illustrations show, are similar generally to the "upright stones" in Sumatra as illustrated by van der Hoop (7).

Explanation of Plates.

Plate XVI.

1. The site of some Tenghilan Dusun cromlechs, Kampong Sarambutan, North Borneo. A *nunuk* (*Ficus* sp.) on the left and three grave-houses. Buffalo wallows in the foreground.
2. The same as Fig. 1, but a closer view of the stones and grave-houses.

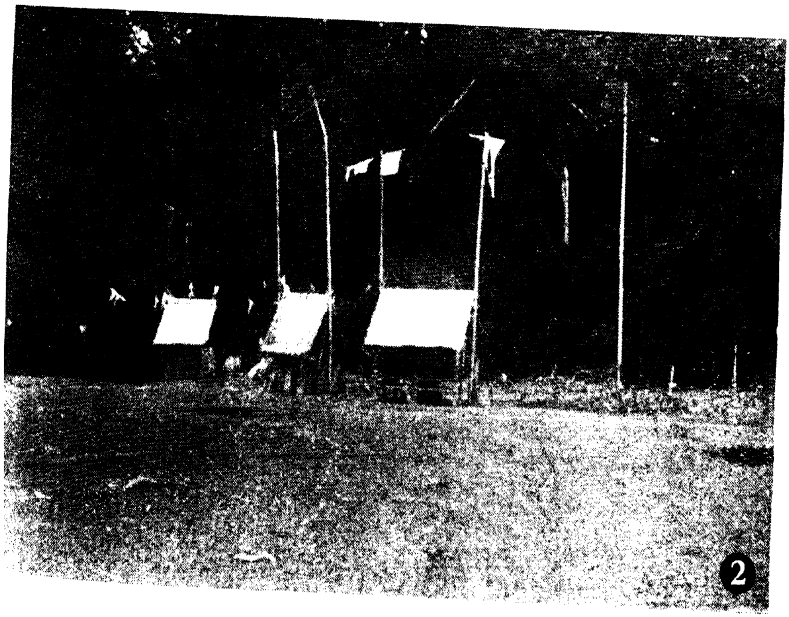
Plate XVII.

1. The same site showing upright stones of various shapes, a new grave-house, and a partially collapsed grave-house. Note the jar to the right of the partially collapsed grave-house in the background. In addition to stones jars are also used as grave markers on this site.
2. The same site but a closer view of the partially collapsed grave-house, showing stone markers and jars. The jars are used as markers and not as burial jars, (i.e. the corpse is not placed inside the jars as is the case with certain tribes in North Borneo) on this site.

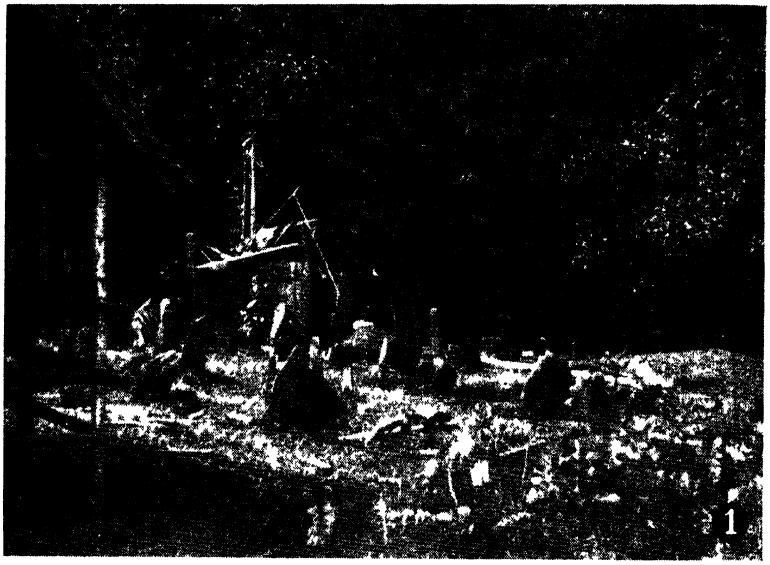
Plate XVIII.

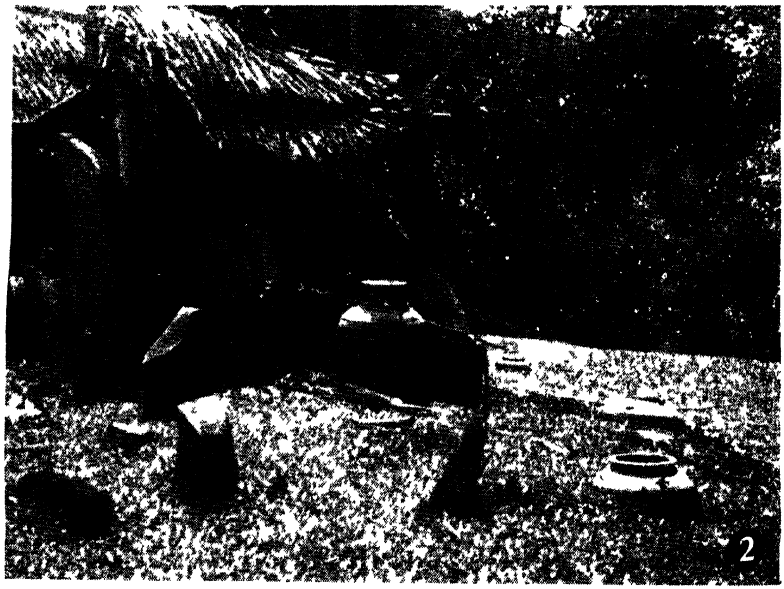
1. The same site but a closer view of the middle grave-house (see pl. XVI, 1) surrounded by stones. Some of the stones are planted in the earth and some merely rest on the surface and lean against the side of the grave-house. The surrounding of this new grave-house would appear to indicate that the custom of marking graves with upright stones is still practised.
2. An older part of the same site and to the right of the grave-houses (see pl. XVI, 1) showing upright stones and also what are obviously remnants of a grave-house.





KEITH: *Megalithic remains in North Borneo.*





KEITH: *Megalithic remains in North Borneo.*





PLATE XVIII *Megalithic remains in North Borneo*

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Ancient History in Greater India

The DYNASTIC HISTORY OF India by L. de la Vallée Poussin in 1935 contained notice of a work in preparation by Professor G. Coedès on the subject of Greater India for Cavaignac's series of WORLD HISTORY, (publishers E. de Broccard, Paris). The expectations which this notice aroused were inevitably frustrated, since one of the many evil consequences of the war was that Europe became cut off from Indo-China and from the French School at Hanoi in which Coedès remained on as Director. However, he enjoyed facilities which would have been denied him at home, enabling him to pursue his studies of S-E. Asia and in 1944 to publish them in a form reminiscent of pre-austerity standards. Discerning readers, while appreciating the aesthetic satisfaction of handling such a volume, will not fail at the same time to be impressed by the value of its contents, which have already won the Giles prize in Paris for its author. The title of the book is HISTOIRE ANCIENNE DES ETATS HINDOUISES D'EXTREME-ORIENT.

The first two chapters contain a brief summary of such scanty knowledge as we possess regarding conditions in that part of the world prior to the first century of the Christian era, the period at which the process of Indianization appears to have begun. Coedès quotes the works of leading ethnologists and, without prejudice to the theories of individuals, is able to trace an outline of which the earliest elements are found in Tongking and reveal Melanesian affinities. Next in order of time are the Veddoid elements in Sumatra, Java, Borneo and the Celebes—descendants of the stock being still found in the Peninsula. Between them and the later neolithic Indonesians on the one hand and Austro-Asiatics on the other there are, as Coedès reminds us, evidences of a bone culture; but those who practised it have still to be identified. According to some, the migratory tendency was from East to West; others hold that it came from the West travelling eastwards. Coedès does not intervene in the dispute excepting in so far as to mention Von Hevesy's failure to break the link which Fr. Wm. Schmidt of the West-East school claims to have established between the Munda and Santali tribes in Orissa and the Mon-Khmer Austroasiatics on the mainland of Greater India. Although no date is yet forthcoming for the early migrations from North to South, Coedès notices how this "vertical" movement survived earlier "horizontal" tendencies on the part of vagrant populations. In order to account for it he shows how great was the attraction of the southern deltalands for the folk in the mountainous hinterland—Malay, Pyu, Burman from Thibet; T'ai from China; Khmer from the Mekong rapids—all in turn pressed down from the North and appear to

have confined the earlier Indonesians to the southern periphery. It is a fact that the grooved axe is generally associated with Indonesians and the shouldered axe with Austro-Asiatics. The reason for this apparent cleavage in custom between the inner continent and the periphery has yet to be determined. An incentive to new research is the suggestion that it may possibly be not unconnected with some influx of Mongolians. Nevertheless, all theories are treated with reserve and, in the present state of our knowledge Coedès is not prepared to go farther than Przyluski's formula:—

> "During the second bronze age in Europe, Indo-China came into the orbit of a sea-born civilization that embraced S-E. Asia to the furthest limits of Indonesia."

In S-E. Asia, bronze and iron were in use side by side with the most developed form of stone implements. The latest examples of this mixed culture are approximately contemporary with the earliest dated evidences of Indian culture in Champa, Camboda, Malaya. Chinese writers of that period (the later Han dynasty) apply the term *'K'uen Luen'* to various groups on the periphery of S-E. Asia, Coedès inclines to agree with Krom and Majumdar that this term denoted Indonesians who had evolved as a result of contact with Mongolian elements—i.e. Proto-Malays whom he regards as the carriers of Austro-Asiatic civilization. The main characteristics of this pre-Indian culture in S-E. Asia are summarized by the author as the use of irrigation for growing rice; domestication of cattle; skill in navigation; matriarchy; the cult of ancestors and local gods on high places, the actual corpses of the dead being disposed in jars and dolmens. Such modifications as have occurred during the past two thousand years can be traced to cultural influences from India—excepting in the lands adjacent to China. But for their effect upon the present-day Khmer, it would be hard indeed to distinguish him from his wild Kinsman, the Pnong highlander: physically there is little difference between them. The Indian achievement—as Coedès notices—is remarkable for its success in spite of the numerical insignificance of its authors compared with the local population upon whom the Indians imposed their own laws, religion and rulers. A striking proof of the relative smallness of their numbers is the almost complete absence in the modern population of any physical links with Aryan India; although their culture is Indian, their ancestry is indicated by unmistakable Mongolian features.

In discussing the causes which determined these Indian invasions, Coedès holds that the influence of dynastic changes in India was subsidiary to that of trade-expansion in luxuries (gold, spices, etc.) which took place after the conquests, first of Alexander, then of the Seleucides and Kanishka, finally of the Roman Empire. He regards the contemporary diffusion of Buddhism as a powerful in-

centive to travel on the part of a population which had been taught hitherto to regard travel as a form of pollution. Finally, the period of early colonization coincided with the revolution in ship-building when for the first time ships, capable of carrying several hundred passengers, were laid down. The existence of these ships has already been signalized by Pelliot in his study of the Chinese texts.

The manner in which small bands of invaders from India succeeded in imposing themselves upon the local inhabitants may be inferred from the legends of Cambodia and Champa. They tell how a Brahmin, supported by only a small retinue of his countrymen, achieved control of the land by means of marriage with a local princess. Previous contributions to this subject by Ferrand and Winstedt are acknowledged by the author.

The first and outstanding contribution which Coedès makes to the history of S-E Asia is the method he adopts in presenting it. In the past it has been customary to review the history of each country in turn. This method Coedès calls the "Vertical" method and contrasts it with his "horizontal" approach—one merit of which is that it avoids the repetitions inevitable in the other system used, among others, by the late Fr. Calenge of the '*Mission Entrangere*' in Siam. Calenge left an unfinished manuscript compiled from his reading of numerous works and articles (published prior to 1929) with reference to early history in Tongking, Champa, Cambodia, Malaya, Burma, Siam. Ten years after the Reverend Father's death an attempt was made to summarize the essential parts of the manuscript for publication in English as a brochure, including the latest discoveries, under the title BETWEEN INDIA AND CHINA. The war however intervened to prevent further action until last year when a second attempt was made to bring it up to date. The intention was to amplify the earlier analysis for publication as soon as conditions in London improved. Meanwhile, the reoccupation of Hanoi this year by a French force has lifted the curtain which shrouded northern Indo-China from the rest of the world. Coedès who was thus enabled to come down to Saigon, brought with him the volume under review that had been published two years earlier but denied to readers outside the Japanese sphere. Its superiority both in form and substance over the brochure is so marked as to render unnecessary any further attempt to revise that work. In any case, seventeen years have now elapsed since Calenge died and, in the light of later discoveries, emphasis has inevitably shifted from some of his head-lines. A tribute to his voluminous labour is none the less over-due. Work of this nature is subject to constant revision as new facts are brought to light by the latest research. Coedès' book is no exception to this rule, even within two years of its appearance. Recent discoveries in the south-western tip of Cochin-China reveal a likelihood that this district may have been

the cradle of indianized Funan, forerunner of Cambodia, until abandoned as the result of some catastrophe, it is thought possibly a tidal wave. Air reconnaissance of the OC-EO area, now semi-submerged, reveals clear outlines of extensive irrigation in a district where in modern times nothing can be grown excepting floating-rice. Excavations there have yielded a number of valuable objects that prove the area to have been an emporium for trade with the West in the age of the Antonines. The whole subject will doubtless be fully documented in time for inclusion in a second edition of *'Histoire ancienne..* ' which may be expected in due course from Paris.

It would appear therefore that the southern point of Cochin-China, the most natural landing place for the Indian adventurers who had traversed the waist of the Malay peninsula on foot, was actually the scene of their early settlement in Funan. Their passage across the Peninsula between Takuapa and Bandon has been established beyond dispute and the connection between Funan and the Peninsula appears to have been kept alive by colonies from Funan. Coedés now goes further, taking in all Cochin-China and up to Nha-trang as part of primitive Funan, including in it the shrine and Sri Mara's Buddhist inscription at Vo-canh which he holds with Finot should be attributed to Funan rather than to Champa. Funan thus, at the beginning of our era, comprised important parts of southern Indo-China and of the Malay Peninsula. Furthermore, *'Funan'* itself is now shown to be the Chinese rendering of the familiar Cambodian word for a mountain—*'Phnom'*. This word pervades Cambodian topography and assumes particular significance in the ninth century when, in its early years, Jayavarman is returned from Java where he is held to have been detained by the people who dominated central Java where he is held to have been detained by the people who dominated central Java in the eighth century and were known as *'Lords of the Mountain'*. Majumdar has derived these "Lords" from a tribe in India whose name resembles *'Sailendra'*, as they were called in Greater India. Since the derivation has been challenged, Coedés would prefer to take *'Sailendra'* as a Hindu adaption of an early Indonesian belief that mountains were the home of the Gods. He asks whether the conquering Sailendra of the eighth century, in taking the title of *'Lord of the Mountain'* and *'Maharaja'*, were not merely reviving the title of the early kings of Funan in order to justify a claim to be universal monarchs. In support of this proposition the recorded incident is quoted of Jayavarman causing a priest to present him with the symbol of kingship, a new *'Linga'*, upon Mt Kulen and to bestow upon him the title of *'Lord of the Mountain!* Coedés interprets the ceremony as a ritual breaking of Jayavarman's subservience to Java which would be meaningless were not Java's pretentions to universal sovereignty derived from ancient Funan. He also shows how these Sailendra, who were Mahayanists, inspirers

of Borobodur, put new life into the old indianized kingdom of Srivijaya in Sumatra in the eighth century, enabling it for another six centuries to dominate the Straits between Kedah and Palembang.

Coedés explains to any critics who complain that Cambodia seems to occupy a predominant place in his work—his design has been to re-edit Cambodian history of which there is no recent edition, but without allowing it preeminence over its neighbours. If Cambodia occupies more space in his work than Champa or Indonesia, the reason is that masterpieces, such as that of G. Maspèro for Champa or of N. T. Krom for Indonesia, have facilitated his task of condensation in a manner impossible in the case of his new edition of Cambodian history which entails much explanatory matter.

None the less, if regarded as the historical continuation of the earliest indianized civilization in Funan, Cambodia stands out among her neighbours on account of her central position in the middle ages, dominating Burma and Annam together with southern Indo-China. As originator of a conception of universal kingship associated with high places, Cambodia represented a rigid and supersitious state system unknown in Burma, Champa or among the early T'ai, but imparted by her to her neighbours in Java, Sumatra and to her heirs in Siam. Chou Takuen's account of the artificial atmosphere surrounding the Cambodian king in Angkor is contemporary, but in strong contrast, with the inscription of Rama the Strong, the T'ai liberator of Suk'odhaya from Cambodian rule. The manly style of his inscription delights the reader and refreshes him, as it were a gust of fresh mountain air blowing through the Angkor hot-house. And yet, La Loubère's description of an audience given him by the king of Siam in the seventeenth century is identical in regard to ritual with the audience described by the Chinese envoy to Angkor four hundred years earlier. In fact, the hot-house door closed down upon the T'ai while he was still engaged in evicting the Khmer. The legacy of an Indo-Cambodian atmosphere which he then inhaled may be deprived him of the power in later year to repeal invasions from Burma in the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries.

E. W. Hutchinson.

Notes on Ancient Times in Malaya

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No statement could be more untrue or more unwise than that Malaya has no history; yet it has been, and is being, continually repeated. It is untrue because Malaya, in point of fact, has a history going back to the third century A.D., and a proto-history and pre-history stretching back behind that. It is unwise because its effect is to discourage students from embarking upon what is a most fascinating, though very difficult, subject. Nor is the other statement that the history of Malaya is not worth further investigation, because it has all been done before, any less untrue or unwise. Despite all that has been discovered and all that has been written about the ancient past of Malaya we are still not much further than over the threshold. Now that steps are being taken towards the foundation of a Malayan university and the creation of a spirit of Malayan citizenship, the study of the history of the country becomes a matter of practical, as well as academic, importance; and it must be taught properly in our higher schools and colleges. It is not too much to expect that in course of time Malay, Chinese and Indian students in Malaya will be making their own researches into the sources of ancient history available in their own languages, large quantities of which have not as yet been translated into English.

In 1935 this Journal began the publication of an essay by me entitled *An Introduction to the Study of Ancient Times in the Malay Peninsula and the Straits of Malacca,* and continued it until 1941[1]. The loss of four working years during the Japanese occupation makes it impossible for me to finish that essay as I had projected it; nor would it be necessary to do so now, in view of the recent history by Professor Georges Coedès (272)[1], which has so full a documentation and contains, though in a somewhat summarized fashion, discussions of nearly all the points over which controversy has raged. But, fortunately, all my notes and most of my library were preserved by the Japanese authorities in charge of Raffles Museum and Library, Singapore; and, as there are a number of matters of interest, upon which further facts and views can be added usefully to what Professor Coedès has written, I propose to continue my *Introduction* in the form of the present series of *Notes.*

1 J.R A S. (M.B), vol: XIII, Pt: 2, pp: 70-109; vol: XIV, Pt: 1, pp: 10-71; vol: XV, Pt: 3, pp: 64-126; vol: XVII, Pt: 1, pp: 146-212; vol: XIX, Pt: 1, pp: 21-74.

Keble Chatterton (273, p. 16) has written that the history of the world, its discovery, its trade, and its development is that of travel; but especially travel by sea-routes. None of those sea-routes is of greater importance to the story of mankind than the great one over which commerce passed to and fro between China and the Mediterranean; and in the long chain of that route no link was of greater importance than the stretch of sea which we call to-day the Straits of Malacca. The story of the Malay Peninsula is the story of the Straits of Malacca; its importance in world history is, therefore, obvious. It cannot be studied without also studying the history of China and of the three great peninsulas of Asia, the Arabian, the Indian, and the Indo-Chinese, of which last the Malay Peninsula is but a continuation. So vast is the terrain and so complex the study involved in the re-construction of the story of Malaya that no single scholar could possess all the knowledge necessary. Each searcher after the truth must depend, to a greater or less degree, upon his fellow-searchers—anthropologists, archaeologists, geologists, philologists, epigraphists, palaeographers and historians; sinologists, sanskritists, indianists and other linguists; as well as meteorologists, navigators, and travellers, though these last three classes so far have been strangely neglected.

For the re-construction of the ancient pictures of Malaya a number of ancient toponyms, Greek, Indian, Chinese, Arabic and so forth, have to be identified correctly; and they present great difficulties. If, of course, the geographical, historical, and etymological data co-incide, an identification will be certain; but if the geographical data contradict the others, what then should be the result? It is not too much to say that so far the geographical data have been ignored in favour of the historical and, particularly, the etymological ones; but it is submitted that this is logically wrong. Surely, the true approach should be as stated by Hirth (261, pp: 170-1):—"with regard to these, as to all identifications of names, I wish to say that most of the writers on the subject seem to have been a little rash in declaring identity on the ground of mere similarity in sound. The name of a place ought to be the last thing we should think of. If, after we have recognized a locality by its characteristic features, a reasonable etymology suggests itself for its name in Chinese, the additional evidence it affords is certainly a welcome help; but we should be careful not to jump at linguistic conclusions before having examined the facts underlying them".

It is not too often that we get geographical data with regard to an ancient toponym; but, when we do, these data must be faced, even if it means discarding theories which are generally accepted.

1 Reference numbers continue from the bibliography attached to my *Introduction*, or refer back to it.

At present the whole subject of the ancient history of south-eastern Asia is in danger of becoming stereo-typed by continual repetition of what are in reality only theories as though they were actual facts. No meteorologist, no navigator of sailing craft, could possibly believe that Fa-hien visited the island of Java, because the specific facts which he himself gave show that that view must be wrong. Yet because of an etymological similarity of names it is being repeated over and over again, as a matter of actual fact, that Fa-hien did visit the island of Java in 414 A.D.; and Professor Coedès himself has accepted the view. So too, in the case of Ch'ih-t'u, unless every fact in the Chinese notices concerning that place is discarded, how could it possibly be placed in the north of the Gulf of Siam? Moens (241) has endeavoured to correct previous identifications in the light of geographical data and, though one may not always agree with his new results, surely his process of reasoning is logical and the process which prefers phonetic similarities is illogical. What justification can there be for ignoring a definite statement as to the position in which to look for any particular place? If we are given in a Chinese notice a gnomon reading which points to a place well to the north of the equator, how can we reject that and, because of etymology, locate the place well to the south of the equator? Yet that is done almost universally in the case of Ho-ling.

In arriving at conclusions as to the locality of any toponym on the sea-route there are five basic facts which are most helpful and of which sight must never be lost in considering ancient times. They are:—

(1) periodic winds prevailed over the seas which formed the China-Mediterranean route;

(2) the ancient commercial ships proceeded only with these winds favouring them and never attempted to sail against them;

(3) the periodicity of the winds made entre-pots an economical necessity;

(4) man's imitativeness, and the process known as the diffusion of culture, stamped the ancient commercial ships with a general pattern;

(5) man's conservativeness hardly changed the general nature of the construction of the ancient commercial ships and their sails.

A knowledge, therefore, of the winds and the ships and of general facts of navigation will tell us very much and may prevent us sometimes from adopting etymological speculations. Though the knowledge of the ancients as to the exact facts concerning the

monsoons may not have been as sound as that possessed by European navigators at the beginning of the nineteenth century A.D., the general facts given by the Europeans must have applied in the case of the ancients, while the knowledge of coastal navigation of the ancients may well have been even better than that of the Europeans. A study of European navigational records has seemed to the present writer to be of the greatest value and, as these Notes proceed, use will be made of them from time to time.

The first description of the Malay Peninsula, and the lands beyond, which we possess is that given by Ptolemy, whose geography is generally dated as *circa* 150 A.D. but whose facts are anterior thereto. Pomponius Mela, Pliny the Elder and the Periplus do not take us this far; they leave us at Chryse, though that there were other lands beyond Chryse was known to them vaguely. So far as archaeology has yet gone, it has afforded no certain proofs of Indian penetration into Malaysia or Indo-China prior to Ptolemy, the earliest archaeological finds of definitely Indian remains taking us back only to the art of Amaravati, in southern India, which dates from the second to the fourth century of our era. The earliest Chinese records, as yet translated, concerning the Malay Peninsula date back to the third century A.D., though they contain traditional matter which takes us behind that date. The earliest epigraphical record in south-eastern Asia is the sanskrit inscription of Vo-canh, in the region of Nha-trang, Indo-China, and dates from the third century A.D. This inscription is now considered to relate to the ancient kingdom of Fu-nan, and not to Champa, as previously thought (272, p. 48).

Nevertheless, it seems clear that there were Indian settlements in the Malay Peninsula and elsewhere in south-eastern Asia from the first century at least of the Christian era; and the first Hinduized empire, Fu-nan, can be dated from that century. Its power and wealth were due to the fact that it commanded the Indo-Chinese coastal sea-route. It was the first power definitely known to have exercised sway over the Malay Peninsula, which was called by Ptolemy the Golden Chersonese, and the earliest Chinese name for which was Tun-sun. Ptolemy records an entrepot at each of the northern and southern ends of the Straits of Malacca; and Chinese records corroborate as to the northern one, though they are silent (at all events so far as they have yet been translated) as to the southern. This silence is quite probably due to the fact that Chinese vessels up to this time had not gone further than some transhipment port on the east coast of the Peninsula, or perhaps in Siam.

Definite historical proof of Indian settlement in the Malay Peninsula, therefore, may be said to date from the beginning of the Christian era; but what about the times which preceded that era?

The work of a succession of famous Dutch and French scholars has revealed so strong a connection between ancient India and south-eastern Asia that Indian scholars nowadays describe the whole of the latter region as Greater India. It is only natural that they should have concentrated so much upon this Greater Indian aspect; but there may be a danger of forgetting that the ancient Indians of historical times did not introduce civilization into south-eastern Asia. The point has been stated by the late Mr. R. J. Wilkinson (274, pp: 134-5) in the following words:— "Working on linguistic data only, the great Dutch scholars Kern and Brandes had pointed out years ago that when the Indian traders first came to Indonesia they must have found organized government, the cultivation of sugarcane, bananas, coconuts and rice, irrigation, great skill in working bamboo and rattan, a knowledge of astronomy and navigation and the beginnings of luxuries such as the shadow-play and the *gamelan*-orchestra"; and again (p. 138) "While Dutch scholars have done much to throw light on the past history of Sumatra and Java we British have done far less for Malaya. For this, I fear, the "Greater India" theory has been largely responsible. We have been too ready to believe that two thousand years ago the Peninsula was a waste of jungle and swamp peopled only by wild tribes among whom a few Indians settled and did business. We have been trying to deduce Malaya's early cultural history from occasional Buddhist images, Pallava seals, beads presumably Indian, some rock inscriptions and references to Malaya in old Indian literature. It is not enough. No Hindu and no wild tribesmen can be responsible for the slab tombs, avenues of menhirs (*batu hidup*) at Malacca and carved megaliths at Pengkalan Kempas. There must have been an indigenous civilisation in the Peninsula as well as in Sumatra two thousand years ago; it is for us to emulate the Dutch and learn more about it".

These words of Mr. Wilkinson, concerning which much more needs to be said, form an admirable introduction to the pre-history and proto-history of the Malay Peninsula, though as yet we know lamentably little about them owing to the lack of systematic investigation.

1. Pre-history and Proto-history.

In the passages quoted, Mr. Wilkinson seems to have assumed that there was a sharp-cut division between the Indonesian and Hindu civilizations; but was that so? Was the so-called Indonesian civilization itself not a blend of others? and did not the connection with India go back into lost stretches of time? Indeed, was there ever any period when there was not a nexus with India? It does, at all events, seem to be certain that the pre-history and proto-history of Malaya cannot be brought into proper focus apart from those of India and the rest of south-eastern Asia, the Philippines and the Pacific basin, and of Australia and New Zealand.

As yet we know very little of the pre-history of the Malay Peninsula. Mr. M. W. F. Tweedie, the present Director of Raffles Museum, Singapore, has summarized what little we do know in a valuable paper (275) which contains a good bibliography. His picture, however, should be fitted into the broad conspectus given by Professor Kalidas Nag in 1941 in his *India and the Pacific World* (276) in which he gathers together most of what had been discovered by that date of the pre-history and proto-history of China, Japan, Thailand, the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago, the Philippines and the Pacific basin. The importance of the Malay Peninsula to the history of man becomes more and more clear; and the Malayan Governments owe a duty to the world of science at large which they must discharge. Systematic and prolonged research into the past of the Peninsula must be organized and financed; and the promising beginning, made largely with funds supplied by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, must be continued and enlarged. The Governments of Perak, Kedah and Johore gave a generous example of what may be achieved when they provided the funds which enabled Dr. Quaritch Wales to carry out the archaeological researches upon which he reported in this Journal (268).

The following miscellaneous notes are intended to supplement Mr. Tweedie's paper and Professor Kalidas Nag's book, with which the reader should also study Professor von Heine-Geldern's most important essay in *Science and Scientists in the Netherlands Indies* (277) and his notes on prehistoric research in Indonesia in the *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology* for 1934 (278).

Megaliths. The *batu hidup*[1], to which Mr. Wilkinson referred, have been discussed by Mr. Sheppard, of the Malayan Civil Service, in an interesting paper with illustrations (279); and there are observations upon them by Dr. Linehan and the late Mr. F. N. Chasen[2]. The precise nature of these stones, however, must be regarded as undetermined. They may have been pre-Muslim: they may not. Mr. Sheppard prefers the former view and points to the presence of barrows round them, barrows which on excavation were found to contain no remains or objects.

The graves and megaliths at Pengkalan Kempas, Linggi, Negri Sembilan, are discussed fully by Ivor Evans (280, pp: 81-104) and illustrative plates are given in his book. An admirable illustration of the whole group appears in Sir Richard Winstedt's *History of Malaya* (92, Plate XIX, facing p. 166). Sir Richard describes them as "Menangkabau megaliths, Pengkalan Kempas" and was

1 Or *batu hidop;* meaning "live stones"; also called *batu tumboh,* or "growing stones".

2 In *Third Congress,* pp: 205-6.

inclined to the view that "Probably the Pengkalan Kempas stones were originally menhirs" (92, p. 12). Van der Hoop (24, p. 131) says of them that "it is difficult to determine whether the whole group dates from the Mohammedan period or whether the Mohammedans have here utilized a megalithic monument which already existed when they arrived"; and upon that point cites Ivor Evans.

With the exception of the slab-graves, to which I refer later, no other traces of a megalithic culture have yet been discovered in the Malay Peninsula. The stones at Berbala Lima, near Kota Bahru, in Kelantan, which had been identified by Dr. van Stein Callenfels as being megaliths, turned out upon excavation to be natural out-croppings of rock. The references to them in Sir Richard Winstedt's *History of Malaya* (92, pp: 12-13), though fully justified at the time because of Dr. Callenfels' confident identification, must now be disregarded.

Professor Von Heine-Geldern was of the opinion that the earliest megalithic culture of Indonesia "has come from China by way of Further India, probably between 2000 and 1500 B.C. and has probably been introduced from the Malay Peninsula into Indonesia by peoples speaking Austro-nesian languages. Notwithstanding the many influences and cultural layers of later times it forms up to the present, the main stock of indigenous civilization and must, therefore, be regarded as the most important pre-historic culture of Indonesia" (278, p. 35). He considers that this megalithic culture belongs to what he terms "the quadrangular axe culture", which "is characterized especially by axe-(or rather adze-) heads of quadrilateral cross section, in the Malay Peninsula and in Western Indonesia also by beaked adzes" (ibid:). His views on the megalithic culture are much elaborated in his 1945 essay (277, pp: 148-152) where he puts the earliest date for its introduction back to 2500 B.C. and says (p. 151) "On the basis of van der Hoop's results in South Sumatra and of metal finds in the megalithic graves of the Malay Peninsula and of Java, I had to revise my chronology of megalithic cultures. I came to the conclusion that we had to distinguish at least two, and possibly more, megalithic waves which reached Indonesia at different times." I shall make further quotations from his views when I reach the slab-graves.

Neolithic. It would seem that there was no transitional period from the late neolithic culture to the first appearance of Hindu archaeological remains; and in Malaya, as in South India, there would seem to have been no indigenous bronze age, the neolithic passing straight into the iron. It is thought that the Aryans introduced iron into the Deccan, their name for it being *syāma ayas*, literally "black copper" (281, p. 17). Some have thought that the

true connection of the Malay expression *"lombong Siam"*[1] is with the sanskrit *syāma* and not "Siam": but that is a speculation, though the most ancient of these *lombong* could certainly never have been made by Siamese miners as they antedate by many hundred years the fist incursions of the Thai people into the Malay Peninsula (see 292, p. 145).

The objects of bronze which have been discovered in Malaya would seem to have been importations because it seems impossible to believe that bronze could have been made in the Peninsula for metallurgical reasons. But the existence of a bronze age in Malaya is best stated as Mr. Tweedie states it, namely "improbable (275, p. 9).

Though the Indian remains are present contemporaneously with the neolithic ones, Professor Coedès (272, pp: 7-8) points out that there is no question of a first contact, but that from prehistoric times maritime relations existed not only between the different parts of south-eastern Asia but also between those parts and India. It seems, he says, that between pre-Aryan India and Indo-China and Malaysia there was a community of culture as proved both archaeologically and linguistically.

In his consideration of the neolithic, Mr. Tweedie says (275, p. 5) that "apart from the axes, which are equally suitable for felling trees, the only obvious weapons are two spear-heads recorded by Evans from Kelantan and Pahang"; and this statement calls for a little expansion.

The late Dr. van Stein Callenfels did not consider the stone spear-heads to be neolithic. He says (282, p. 38) "It is true that there are a few stone spear heads from Kelantan in the Perak Museum at Taiping, but their shape indicates that they are not of the neolithic period. I believe them to be copies of iron spear heads at the beginning of the iron age when that metal was still scarce and only available for the chieftains. The practice of copying metal instruments in stone was world-wide".

Mr. Tweedie, as he tells me, omitted deliberately from his paper any reference to the Kedah artifact, to which I am now about to refer, because of his doubts whether it was really Malayan. In 1936 Dr. Callenfels called attention (282) to this implement, an illustration of which will be found in the volume containing his paper. He was in doubt whether it was a big arrow-head or a small spear-head. In 1937 Mr. H. D. Collings in his comments (283) upon Dr. Callenfels' paper treated it as a stone arrow-head, while Mr. McCarthy, of the Australian Museum, Sydney, in the

[1] "Siamese open-cast mine".

paper (284) which he read in 1938 to the Third Congress of Prehistorians of the Far East in Singapore, treated it as a spear-point, since he referred to it in connection with the third class of the types of Australian points, i.e. "round-butted spear-point worked on both surface". At p. 40 of his paper, he says "The now famous point from Kedah, Malay Peninsula, in the Raffles Museum collection is of this type; it is however, more slender than the Java form, and, while the chipping of the implement resembles the Kimberley[1] specimens, it is thicker, and more slender than the latter, and has a longitudinal ridge not present on them".

Dr. Callenfels said of the Kedah point that it "came to light in the course of dredging in the Padang Pelandok tin-mine near Sintoh village in north-eastern Kedah", and that it was presented to him by Mr. J. Kemp, J.P. As Mr. Kemp was managing director of the tin-mine, the evidence as to the provenance of the point seems sufficient. Its remarkable character is shown, in the words of Dr. Callenfels, by the fact that "arrow and spear heads dating back to the neolithic period are known from the Netherlands Indies, but on the continent (French Indo-China, Siam the Malay Peninsula) no specimen has yet been discovered" (282, p. 38), in connection with which passage it will be remembered that its writer had rejected the stone spear-heads from Kelantan as not being of the true neolithic.

Now, there is a remarkable piece of written evidence in connection with stone arrow-heads to which attention has not yet been drawn. Chinese records prove the existence of a state which they call P'an-p'an and of which they show a first embassy in the period 424-453 A.D. (221, p. 269, n. 2). I shall give the reference and discuss the evidence as to this state and its locality in a later note. It is sufficient here to say that it was clearly a *K'un-l'un* state[2] (i.e. Indonesian or Malay) though Hinduized, and that it was undoubtedly situated somewhere on the north-east part of the Malay Peninsula, bordering on the northern frontier of Lang-ya-siu; and it was the state from which the second Kaundinya went to Fu-nan. Professor Coedès (272, p. 47) places Lang-ya-siu as situated across the Peninsula, with access to the sea on the coast, and as being the Lankasuka of the Malay and Javanese chronicles, that is to say, ancient Kedah.

In the notices of P'an-p'an which appear in the *Chiu T'ang Shu* and the *Hsin T'ang Shu* we are told that the arrows used there were fitted with heads of very hard stone and the spears with double-edged iron blades sharpened along both edges, a most interesting

1 In north-west Australia.

2 For a summary of the discussion as to the ethno-linguistic complex to which the Chinese gave the name of *K'un-lun* see Coedes (272, pp: 10-12, 14-15).

piece of evidence as to the blending of the stone and iron cultures. Here we have definite proof that stone arrow-heads were actually used in a place not so far from the Padang Pelandok mine and where, as we know, there were connecting land-routes.

In view of the evidence as to the provenance of the Kedah point, which may well have been a large arrow-head, and in view of the Chinese evidence, I suggest that it may be accepted provisionally as a Malayan artefact despite the fact that nothing similar has yet been discovered, which, after all, is not very strong negative evidence since there has been so little archaeological research.

Melanesoid. The affinities between the Malay Peninsula and Australia have been noted in several connections; and Mr. McCarthy begins his paper (284) with this sentence "It is now generally admitted that many identical traits are present in Australia, on the one hand, and the region comprising Indo-China, the Malay Peninsula, and the Netherlands East Indies, on the other hand".

Professor von Heine-Geldern says (278, p. 50) "Let me only emphasize the important fact that the present forms of indigenous Australian culture must largely derive from the prehistoric Bacson-Hoabinhian civilisations of Further India and Indonesia. The similarity of the stone tools is such as to preclude all doubt".

Mr. Tweedie has very rightly included in his bibliography the paper by the late Dr. Callenfels on the Melanesoid civilizations of Eastern Asia (285), though he avoids carefully the term "Melanesoid" and prefers "cave cultures", even to "Hoabinhian" or "Bacsonian" (275, p. 5). Mr. H. D. Collings in a paper (286), which is not included in Mr. Tweedie's bibliography, attacked vigorously the use of the term "Melanesoid" at all, and Mr. Ivor Evans has supported this attack (287). Mr. McCarthy (284, p. 38) says "I disagree entirely with the proposal that "Melanesoid culture" be adopted in place of the original term Hoabinhian, which was adopted by the Congress at Hanoi in 1932[1]. The Senoi, for example, can not be denominated by a term representing any one of the four physical strains present among them, and the same can be said for the Hoabinhian cultures until the relationship between the industries and skeletal remains is more clearly defined; at present we are not justified in linking the culture as a whole with any one of such types. The use of the term "Melanesoid" is also unsatisfactory in view of the occurrence of the Hoabinhian culture in Australia. I therefore agree with Mr. Collings that the term "Melanesoid" be discontinued".

1 The paper has a misprint "1942", which I have corrected in my quotation, R. B.

Finally, Professor von Heine-Geldern (277, p. 130) says "However, this does not justify replacing the term Hoabinhian (or Bascon-Hoabinhian, as I prefer to call the whole cultural group) by that of Melanesoid Culture, as van Stein Callenfels suggested. This suggestion, which was, at the very least, premature and, moreover, ambiguous, has been rightly criticized and rejected by Collings, Evans and McCarthy".

It is, therefore, suggested that the expression should now be abandoned finally in Malaya; and that in future we use either Mr. Tweedie's "cave cultures" or Professor von Heine-Geldern's "Bacson-Hoabinhian".

The importance of the Malay Peninsula in the history of mankind is shown very vividly in the views of Professor von Heine-Geldern concerning the "Austronesians" i.e. Malayo-Polynesians. He says that Kern's view, derived from philological reasoning, that the Austronesian land of origin was most probably located on the cost of Annam is not borne out by the archaeological facts, which point definitely to the Malay Peninsula (277, p. 140). His opinion is that "the last common homeland of the Austronesian peoples before their dispersal must have been the Malay Peninsula", and (p. 141) that the ancestors of the Austronesians, before they migrated southward to the Malay Peninsula, must, on the archaeological evidence, have come from the Northern Shan States and the middle Mekhong and its tributaries in French Laos. Whether these views are accepted finally or not, they show how important to the world of science systematic research through the Peninsula must be.

Slab-Graves. I pass now to the slab-graves mentioned by Mr. Wilkinson. They are the most interesting and in many ways the most important archaeological discoveries yet made in the Malay Peninsula; and a small literature has built up locally around them, the last contribution to which is Sir Richard Winstedt's paper (287).

At p. 95 of that paper, he writes "Mr. Braddell (J.R.A.S.M.B., XVII, Pt: 1, 1939, p. 147) contends that the Perak graves are on a site chosen as being on the route to Pahang gold-mines and near Perak gold-fields, that the river Bernam must be Ptolemy's Khrysoanas and the miners have been Indians. One can accept his statement as to the presence and attraction of gold on the Perak to Pahang route. But apart from the gold pin in a Sumatran slab-grave, none of the metal occurs in these graves, a rather extraordinary fact unless they have all been rifled. So unless there are found ancient gold-workings near the slab-graves of Sumatra and Java the trade of the dead must be counted unproven"; and he goes on to consider whether the builders of the Perak slab-graves

were Indo-Chinese or Indian, pointing out some grave objections to Mr. R. J. Wilkinson's view that they were probably the former.

The three most interesting problems in connection with these graves are—who built them? what were the builders doing in the places where the graves were found? when were they built?

Quite a number of these slab-graves have been discovered, all near the Bernam, Kruit and Slim Rivers in Perak, and for descriptions of them the reader is referred to the papers by Ivor Evans (288) and H. D. Collings (289), each of which contains illustrative plates. No skeletal remains were found in the graves but in them, and around them, a great deal of broken pottery was found, as well as cornelian, crystal and glass beads, iron implements and bronze objects, and in one of them (that at Changkat Mantri on the Bernam River) a stone bark-pounder with cross hatching. It must be noted that this last was the only stone implement found in or around any of the graves; and it is not necessarily evidence of the neolithic.

Mr. Tweedie (275, p. 10) says "The iron implements differ from modern Malay tools and weapons in being socketed instead of tanged; many are by normal standards very "unhandy" in design and it is hard to say what they were used for. They are found casually as well as in the graves, and are common enough to be familiar, under the name *tulang mawas* (apes' bones), to the Malays, who associate them with a legendary giant ape with sickles in its elbows".

All local archaeologists have found these *tulang mawas* implements impossible to explain as working tools; but the late Mr. V. B. C. Baker, who was manager of the Pahang Consolidated mines and a miner of the highest reputation, has written this[1] concerning them "The old miners in Pahang used carefully shaped timbers, properly "joggled" or joined. One of their implements for shaping the timber was probably the iron socketted tool, now known as "tulang mawas". This was probably held by means of a loop of thick rotan passed through the ferrule or socket of the tool and under the armpit—hence the curious alignment of the ferrule or socket, quite unsuitable for a wooden haft—and hence the legend of the "iron forearm". It was worked from the elbow joint, not the wrist". That seems to be a satisfactory explanation and can be accepted, I suggest.

Let us consider first the questions of who built the graves and what the builders were doing in the surrounding country.

1 J.R.A.S. (M B), vol: XV, Pt: 1, p 30

Sir Richard Winstedt gives me credit for too much in the passage quoted above. When I was considering in the *Introduction* the three rivers which Ptolemy gives in the Malay Peninsula, I rejected Berthelot's identification of the Khrysoanas with the Perak River and would have preferred the Bernam but was thrown off that because of an account of it written by the late Sir Frank Swettenham.

The Bernam, however, was fully restored by evidence and arguments which Dato Douglas gave me in a letter and by his notes (290). He also suggested in a later paper (291) that the name Bernam might be derived from hindustani *bar*, meaning "famous", and *nam*, meaning "name". In this paper, he referred again to his identification of the Bernam with the Khrysoanas and wrote that "the recent find of graves in Slim in the Bernam river valley in which are beads similar to those found at the Indian settlement at Selinsing, would seem to indicate the possibility that the foreigners who came to Malaya in Ptolemy's time were Indians, and that they gave the names, some of which remain to this day". It was Dato Douglas who established the identification of the Bernam as the Khrysoanas; and I merely adopted and agreed with that view.

Mr. H. D. Noone in his paper on the Bernam land-route (292), again, influenced me very much in my acceptance of the identification. In the course of this paper, he wrote that "the peculiar slab-built graves, which seem exclusive to the Bernam area, point to trade settlements which are possibly of Indian origin." Although published later, Mr. Noone's paper was actually written considerably before the article (291) by Dato Douglas. Each of them, therefore, arrived separately at the conclusion that the builders of the slab-graves were *possibly* Indians.

When I accepted the Bernam as the Khrysoanas, I referred also to the slab-graves and to the fact that gold was still being mined in the Bidor area: but I was careful to express no opinion as to who had been the builders of the grave[1]. I cited a passage from a private letter in which Dato Douglas wrote of the Perak River having shifted "its course from Dindings to the present channel and in doing so collected the Kinta, Batang Padang, Bidor and Sungkai Rivers, which I think all were part of the Bernam water-shed at one time". Mr. Noone (292, p. 145) wrote that "to this day Straits Steamship boats of small tonnage can reach Ulu[2] Bernam Oil Palm Estate, which is only a few miles from the slab-grave site of Changkat Mentri. There are beaten tracks through the Ulu Sungkai and Ulu Slim into the Ulu Jelai both of which

1 J R A S (M.B.), vol: XVII, Pt: 1, pp: 146-8.
2 *Ulu* indicates the hinterland of a river.

would bring the Jelai gold by more direct routes than the southern ones into the navigable Bernam, and so to the west coast. The latter track is not without its traditions, and near the pass into Pahang there is a great rock, the Sapor Batu". Mr. Wilkinson (274, p. 143) wrote that "to any one who knows the district it will be evident that in old days communication was easy between Changkat Mentri, the Bernam area, Slim and Sungkai and even to the Batang Padang and Kinta districts. The importance of the sites of the slab-graves needs no further explanation. They stood at Perak's Southern Gate".

I have insisted in the *Introduction* upon the importance of gold and have submitted that it was the search for gold which first attracted the Indians to the Malay Peninsula. No local writer previously had paid any attention to these points. I also drew attention to the fact that the amount of gold to be found in the Peninsula in our modern times has no bearing upon the conditions prevailing at the beginning of the Christian era. I cited amongst others Sylvain Lévi upon the importance of the search for gold in relation to the Hindu expansion into the Malay Peninsula and Archipelago. It is encouraging, therefore, to find that Professor Coedès has taken the same view in his recent book (272, p. 24); and, with that very high authority, I suggest once again to local archaeologists that research in areas where gold either is or was known to have been found will repay their efforts. The proto-historic is every bit as worthy of their researches as the pre-historic.

I would suggest that the absence of gold objects in the slab-graves is not really of much value as negative evidence. It is hardly likely that in the Peninsula local gold-smiths worked the gold found in ancient times: the art history of the country, so far as it is revealed, goes to show that there was little or no local art. The gold found in Malaya was exploited and sent away. The position in Sumatra would have been different, since there we do find a long art history. That Sumatra to the Indians meant gold is clear from its sanskrit name Suvarna-dvipa (Gold Island). Nobody is ever likely to find old gold-workings in Java since the metal is unknown in that island, which was one of the reasons why Ferrand and many others have rejected the identification of Yava-dvipa with the island of Java; but I have dealt fully with all this in the *Introduction*.

That the builders of the slab-graves must have been engaged in mining is, I think, almost certain. In the first place, it seems to be quite certain that in South India the slab-graves and other megalithic tombs belong to a civilization which practised the mining industry (281, p. 17). In the second place, the graves lie in a most important mining district, which must have a history stretching back for nearly 2000 years, since it is still being mined.

In connection with this history the following facts should be remembered:—

(1) Bronze Buddhist statues[1] have been dredged up from deep down in modern tin-mines in Perak—at Pengkalan near Ipoh in the Kinta valley (two); at Tanjong Rambutan in the Kinta valley (one); at Bidor in the Batang Padang district (one); and at Sungai Siput in the Kinta valley (two). These statues are considered to date from the Vth-VIth centuries;

(2) Bronze axes (or adzes) have been found at Tanjong Malim in Perak;

(3) Iron (*mawas*) tools have been found in Perak at Sengat near Ipoh, at Tanjong Rambutan, and at Bengkong in the Batang Padang district.

In connection with the possible megaliths at Pengkalan Kempas and Malacca it should be noted that at one time Naning in the Malacca district was the scene of much gold-mining (69, vol: 1, pp: 259-260) and also up the Muar River at Bukit Raya and in Segamat (69, vol: 2, pp: 164-5); and at Johole (in the Negri Sembilan) at Bukit Chimendras and Taon in Gemenchi, bordering on the eastern frontier of Naning (69, vol: 2, pp: 141-5).

That the builders, in my opinion, were most probably Indians will appear a little later; but it must be noted that Dr. Quaritch Wales has expressed the definite opinion that they were not of Indian origin but were Indonesians (268, pp: 56-7) and he says that a comparison between the Malayan and South Indian slab-graves suggests that, if there is a common ancestor, it must be remote.

This brings us to the last question—when were the graves built? Were they pre-historic or proto-historic? My answer is that they seem to have been proto-historic.

Sir Richard Winstedt has written "But for the bronze drums from Indo-China, one would *guess* the grave builders came from British India, especially as 100 A.D. saw Indian influence strong in the Malayan region" (287, p. 98).

He must have had in mind the dating system for bronze drums of Dr. Callenfels (293) with which Professor von Heine-Geldern has expressed agreement (277, p. 146); but it must be noted that French archaeologists disagree completely (294 and 272) from this dating. This is not very material since the only bronze drum-

[1] For summary see Quaritch Wales (268, pp: 50-52).

head found in Malaya comes from Pahang, having been got from the Tembeling River; none have as yet been found in the areas round the Perak graves. And it may be noted that, judging from the decadence of its decoration, the Pahang drum might have been very late.[1].

Dr. van der Hoop (24, p. 131) has written of the Perak slab-graves that they "are built in the same way as those in the Pasemah. They are somewhat longer and narrower, however, and composed of granite slabs"; and that "Evans judges these graves to date from between the late neolithicum and the Hindu period. This agrees, therefore, with our finds in the Pasemah". At the time when these views of Evans and van der Hoop were expressed, the further finds at Slim, described by Mr. H. D. Collings (289), had, of course, not yet been made.

Professor von Heine-Geldern (277, p. 148) says of iron that "it is probable that its general use started only after the establishment of the first Hindu colonies in the Archipelago (first or second century A.D.?)" and later in the same passage he says of the cist graves discovered by van der Hoop in the Wanasari region, West Java, that "they may be tentatively ascribed to the first centuries of the 1st millenium A.D." At p. 150, he says "It will be seen that all the stone cist graves and slab built graves of South Sumatra, Central and East Java contained glass beads and metal, bronze, gold, copper or iron. The same was the case in similar graves that have been investigated in the Malay Peninsula. From these facts we may infer that the use of such graves was introduced in Indonesia not earlier than the Dongson period".[2] At p. 143, he says that it is possible that the use of stone cist graves "continued in Sumatra into the historic period, as was indeed the case in Java". His view is that the Dongson culture reached the Archipelago not earlier than about 600 B.C. and not later than some time during the second half of the first millenium B.C.

Dr. van Stein Callenfels and Dr. Stutterheim both thought that the custom of burial in stone cist graves might have been introduced by the earliest wave of immigration from South India: but von Heine-Geldern suggests China, where similar grave forms occur during the Han period (pp. 151-2) and he considers that "direct Chinese influence in Indonesia goes back at least to the early Han period, that is, at the very latest to the 1st century B.C." (p. 147).

1 See the illustration in Winstedt's *History of Malaya*, Fig: 10, p. 15, and compare with the French and Sumatra drums.

2 By which he expresses "the whole of the Bronze Age culture of Further India and Indonesia", taking "Dongson" in the same way as "Hallstatt" or "Latena" in Europe, i.e. from the first site where the particular culture was recognized (277, p. 143).

The Han period covers 206 B.C. to 220 A.D. Thus, it coincides practically with the Andhra period, which is taken as from 230 B.C. to 225 A.D. (281, p. 47). The powerful Andhra kingdom stretched across the Deccan between the Godavari and Krishna (Kistna) rivers: above it, on the east coast of India was the Kalinga country and south of it were the Cholas on the east coast, the Cheras on the west, and the Pandyas at the southern end of the Indian Peninsula. All were in sea communication with Western Asia and Egypt. China was in communication with northern India by the land routes through the Gobi; and southern India was in sea communication with Indo-China and perhaps the extreme south of the China but it does not seem that Chinese vessels had yet reached India.

The first Andhra capital was at Amaravati on the lower Krishna but about 100 A.D. another capital was established on the upper Godavari at Pratishthana, modern Paithan. Amaravati gives it name to a form of art in southern India from roughly the the second to fourth centuries A.D., which influenced very greatly the art of various parts of Further India.

The best means available at present by which to date the Perak slab-graves would seem to be afforded by the beads which were found in them. At present, we have finds of beads at the Tanjong Rawa settlement at Kuala Selinsing, Perak; in the Slim graves, Perak; in the Changkat Mentri grave, Perak; at Kota Tinggi in Johore; and one from the Gua Bintong near Bukit Chuping in Perlis, which State is a continuation of the Kedah alluvial plain; while a number of glass objects were discovered by Dr. Quaritch Wales in Kedah, and glass beads of which some would seem, however, to have been late but others coincided with Kuala Selinsing types (268, pp: 30, 32, 34, 38). What Dr. Quaritch Wales says about beads (268, pp: 56, 60-1, 67-8) needs some further consideration.

I have already referred in the *Introduction*[1] to Mr. G. B. Gardner's finds on the Johore River and to his paper (182) concerning them. The remarkable things concerning these finds were (1) the high percentage of Roman beads, viz:— 20 per cent (2) the discovery of one Hittite bead of 700 B.C., one glass bead similar to those made in Italy about 700 B.C., and two glass beads of Phoenician or early Cypriot type (3) the discovery of some eighty early Indian stone beads. It was these finds which led me to accept Berthelot's identification of the Johore River as being Ptolemy's Palandas river and of Kota Tinggi as being Ptolemy's town of Palanda; and Dr. Quaritch Wales has supported me (268, p. 67). He considered (p. 68) that "the carriers of the

[1] J R A S (M B), vol: XVII, Pt: 1, p. 148.

Roman beads are likely to have been Indians". But Mr. Gardner was also of opinion that many of the beads which he found were not imported but locally made. Dr. Quaritch Wales considered (p. 68) that "the culture of the slab-grave builders and of such people as ultimately founded the Kuala Selinsing village is essentially Indonesian, though no doubt the Indonesians did not remain unmodified by their contacts with the Indian settlers and untimately came to thrive in the Perak region more than elsewhere in the Peninsula as a result of the presence of advanced Indian cities there which afforded them protection".

I think that in connection with Malayan bead-finds we have at least three different sets to consider (1) very ancient ones, imported (2) a series (Johore, Kuala Selinsing and slab-grave) which might have been imported or manufactured locally as well (3) a newer series, probably all manufactured locally. Attached as an Appendix to the paper by Mr. H. D. Collings (289) on the Slim graves, there is a report by the leading authority on ancient beads, Mr. H. C. Beck. Sir Richard Winstedt summarizes this report by saying "Mr. H. C. Beck found that Mr. Collings' collection of beads as a whole (was)[1] so like the Kuala Selinsing and Johore beads that he would allocate all to the same period i.e. between 1 and 400 A.D."

That places the slab-graves (I assume that *all* are roughly of the same period, though that question has not yet been considered) squarely in the Hindu period, proto-historic or historic.

I wish now to call attention to some remarkable discoveries at a site on the outskirts of Pondichéry in French south India, which will throw considerable light upon the subject. Mons. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil wrote a preliminary note upon them before actual excavations were made (295) and, after those excavations were made and a quantity of Arretine pottery, datable to about 1 to 50 A.D., had been discovered at the site, Mr. R. E. M. Wheeler contributed a paper about them (296).

Following Warmington (34, p. 107), Jouveau-Dubreuil accepted that Ptolemy's *emporion,* or emporium, ought to be translated not merely by "market" but by "Roman market" or better "Roman factory" (i.e. in the same sense as "factory" was used by the old East India Company). Ptolemy gives two such emporia at the north and the south of the Straits of Malacca, namely Takkola and Sabana. He also gave three inland towns, Kalonka, Konkonagara and Tharra, the positions of which are so variously stated in the different versions of his Book VII that it is impossible to be precise as to their location. The best edition, however, of Ptolemy's Book

1 Omitted by error in the print.

VII is admittedly that by Renou (56) on which I worked in the *Introduction*[1]; and the positions are given there as

Kalonka	162°E.	1°20′N.
Konkonagara	160°E.	2°N.
Tharra	163°15′E.	120°20′N.

The mouth of the Khrysoanas is given as 159°E. and 1°N. and Ptolemy says that it springs in a mountain-crest, flowing at first as a common stream with the Palandas and Attabas rivers but separating from them at 161°E. and 1°20′N.

Berthelot places Konkonagara on the Khrysoanas, which he considered to be the Perak, at perhaps Kuala Kangsa, and Tharra for which he gave 162°E. and 1°20′N. possibly in the basin of the Pahang (53, p. 404). As I have said, I prefer the Bernam for the Khrysoanas; but clearly Konkonagara, a definitely Indian name, must have been somewhere along the Khrysoanas and I suggest somewhere in the slab-grave region.

Jouveau-Dubreuil calls the Pondichéry site Arikemodu but Wheeler says that that name does not seem to be known and calls it by its modern name of Virampatnam. It is two miles south of Pondichéry, which Jouveau-Dubreuil confidently identifies as Ptolemy's "Podouke, emporion", and Wheeler provisionally accepts. Wheeler agrees that on "the fragmentary evidence at present available the site qualifies sufficiently for the status of *emporium*".

Amongst the objects found in the excavations carried out in 1941-2 were some graffiti in a Brahmi script ascribed by Dr. B. C. Chhabra on epigraphical grounds to the period from 200 B.C. to 200 A.D., and also an extensive series of beads made from quartz, amethyst, topaz, agate, jasper, cornelian and glass, together with unworked and partially worked stones. "The site was very clearly a focus for the semi-precious stone trade and related industries. One type of bead in particular is significant: the so-called "collared barrel" which is distributed widely in India and is found also in the eastern Mediterranean area" (296, pp: 92-3).

Jouveau-Dubreuil mentions no beads but he says that most of the glass objects found at the time when he saw the site were of a very special shape, exactly like those found in extreme abundance on the Phoenician coast of the Mediterranean from the beginning of 500 B.C. Dr. A. Aiyappan, of the Madras Museum, on being shown them, immediately recognized the shape of these ob-

[1] J R A S (M B), vol: XIV. Pt: 3.

jects as identical with similar ones found at Amaravati, where glass of the same type was found. Jouveau-Dubreuil, accordingly, dated the Pondichéry site as in the first and second centuries A.D., which is, of course, exactly the period of Ptolemy. He considered that the site was that of a manufacture of objects in glass by Indians working under the supervision of Romans. Wheeler says that it is clear that the stratum, from which sherds of imported Roman pottery, notably amphorae and red-glazed Arretine ware, and at any rate some of the beads came, was accumulating not later than 50 A.D., and perhaps upwards of half a century later. He says also that an identical complex of bead-forms and stones occurs on two sites in the State of Hyderabad, these being dated definitely by finds of coins of the Andhra period (which he gives as late B.C. to 250 A.D.) in association with the bead industry. Wheeler says that "archaeologically, the type-fossil of the period is the bead, and it is on a careful study of bead-forms that South Indian archaeology of this phase is most likely to make its first advances".

It may, then, well be that in Malaya there was also a bead industry where local (Indonesian) workmen manufactured under the supervision of Indians who had learnt the art in south India; and in view of Ptolemy's two emporia at Takkola and Sabana it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that Romans also frequented the Peninsula, in which case the finds of Roman beads becomes easier to understand.

During the years 1940 to 1945 the Ecole Francaise d'Extrême-Orient in Indo-China has achieved many most remarkable results, which are described in a recent brochure.[1] From our purely Malayan point of view the most interesting of the new finds are those made at Oc-Eo, an ancient town situate some 25 kilometres from the coast of the Gulf of Siam in the province of Chaudoc in the Transbassac. A large number of finds at different sites in this province were made, which will enable us now to build up the ancient history of Fu-nan, previously known only from Chinese records and a few sanskrit inscriptions. Aerial reconnaisance had revealed at Oc-Eo a maritime town, with sea-communication through a port connected with it by a canal. Polished stone axes, some of which resembled others discovered by Mr. Ivor Evans at Kuala Selinsing, were discovered here, together with thousands of beads, in crystal and cornelian as well as other substances, of which some were "Roman" beads. Bronze and iron objects were discovered as well as a number of leaden amulets with Brahman symbols on them. But quite the most remarkable and most interesting object discovered was a large cabochon in *pâte de verre* with the face in profile of a bearded man with braided hair and wearing a Scythian cap. This was "clearly a Sassanid effigy of about the middle of the IVth

1 *L'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient de 1940 a 1945*, Saigon, N.D.

century A.D. when a king of Iranian stock was reigning over Funan". Objects of a Roman character were also found, such as a cornelian intaglio with a clearly Roman bust upon it and a gold medallion with the effigy of one of the Antonines and a Latin inscription of which only the letters AVREL.. are still legible. Another find portrays certainly Antoninus the Pious and bears a date corresponding to 152 A.D. These finds will clearly link up with the earliest "Roman embassies"[1] when they have been properly considered and with the "Roman" lamp found at P'ong Tuk in Siam. Sanskrit inscriptions also were found, which date back palaeographically to the IIIrd or IVth centuries A.D. One must await a full description of the Chaudoc discoveries but it is clear that they are of first importance and will have to be considered in relation to Ptolemy's emporia and cities in the Malay Peninsula. Incidentally, it would seem that M. Paul Lévy has now written a book concerning Ptolemy's geography, the thesis of which is that the Golden Khersonese was not the Malay Peninsula but the Burmese deltas and that Cattigara must be looked for not in Tongking but in Cochin-China in the region of Cape St. James. It will be interesting to see how M. Lévy arrives at such results or how he compresses Ptolemy's 14 degrees of latitude (i.e. 700 geographical miles) between Sada, where the ships arrived on the east coast of the Bay of Bengal to Sabana the most southerly point which he gives on the Khersonese. It would seem that, following the custom of so many others, he must have preferred to ignore Ptolemy himself in his identifications.

At the end of his paper (284) Sir Richard Winstedt refers to Professor Otley Beyer's pre-historic discoveries in the Philippines and regrets the absence of accounts of them. Professor Kalidas Nag (276, pp: 72-83) gives much information about them, and the Philippines generally, in his book; and, while I was in Madras during the Japanese occupation of Malaya, Professor Nilakanta Sastri most kindly had typed out for me a paper[1] by the eminent American anthropologist, Professor Roland B. Dixon, in which he discussed Professor Beyer's discoveries, which he himself had examined in Manila in 1930. I quote the following passages from my type-script, as there seems to be no copy of the original in Malaya:—

"Now both the iron and glass objects are similar to and in some cases identical with the pre-historic glass finds in the south of India. These occur in the dolmen tombs and urn burials which are found by the hundreds of thousands, and which almost certainly ante-date the historic Chera, Chola and Pandyan Kingdoms, whose

1 It is doubtful if they were real embassies; their dates were 120 and 166 A.D.
2 Ptolemy's degree of latitude was 50 geographical miles.

1 *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, vol*: 69, 1930. pp: 225-9.

history goes back to the beginning of the Christian era or before. As finds of similar glass beads and bangles have recently been made in the Malay Peninsula, in dolmen tombs in Java, and in North Borneo, the inference is inescapable that we have clear evidence of a trade contact between the northern Philippines and southern India, running well back into the first millenium B.C. The extensive trade and colonization and later conquests of the South Indian Kingdoms, in Sumatra and Java as well as in Indochina in the early centuries of the Christian era, are of course well known. This new material, however, seems to make it clear that this was far from being the beginning of such contacts, but rather the last stages in an association reaching as far as the northern Philippines, which had begun many centuries before. In Chinese historical sources, there are a few references to maritime traders bringing typical Indian products to China as far back as the 7th century B.C. These accounts have generally been regarded with incredulity or strong suspicion at least. In view of this evidence from the Philippines the probability of these accounts is greatly increased, with consequences for the history of Chinese culture which are obvious.

"A new chapter seems thus to be opening in the early history of southern Asia and Indonesia. So little serious attention has yet been paid to the pre-history of the whole of southern India, that the course of its development and the origins of its culture are still virtually unknown. That the knowledge of glass-making reached it from Western Asia is extremely probable, either by way of the sea-trade with southern Arabia, Mesopotamia and Egypt, or possibly overland. That southern India becomes a way-station between Western Asia and the Philippines in the diffusion of one cultural trait at least."

Professor Dixon concluded his paper with the following paragraph:—

"With the discovery of the ancient cultures of the Indus Valley at Mohenjodaro and Harappa, a new era in our knowledge of the origins and developments of the Indian culture has been begun; with the recent archaeological discoveries of Dr. Anderson and Dr. Li in China, we for the first time have begun to get a glimpse into the early stages of growth of Chinese culture. The finds made by Professor Beyer during the last four years in the Philippines, have similarly opened up for us a wholly new vista, which not only carries our vision in one sweep back perhaps to palaeolithic times, but shows us clearly that even this remote fringe of the old world was reached by cultural streams, some of whose sources lay in western Asia, and whose influence was felt here perhaps as early as the beginning of the first millenium B.C."

The net result of all the above leads me to put forward the opinion that our Malayan slab-graves must be dated, at all events provisionally, from the beginning of the first millenium A.D. and that the builders must be considered, again provisionally, to have been South Indians. Further research into our ancient Malayan sites may clear the matter up finally.

In conclusion, I would call the attention of Malayan readers to the much regretted deaths in 1945 of Messieurs Henri Maspero, Paul Pelliot, Victor Goloubew and George Groslier and in 1943 of Mlle. (Dr.) Madeleine Colani. Their names will live for ever in the annals of research in southeastern Asia and be as widely mourned in Malaya as in the lager world of science outside.

(to be continued)

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The Birthday of Sir Stamford Raffles

By the courtesy of Mr. P. A. B. McKerron, recently arrived home, I have seen the account of the ceremony attending the restoration to its former site of the statue of Sir Stamford Raffles. I noted that this was actually planned to take place on his alleged birthday, 5th July, but for the greater convenience of the public it was deferred to Saturday, 6th July.

It is curious that confusion of dates seems to be associated with Raffles. It will be recollected how much difficulty was experienced in fixing accurately the date of founding of Singapore.

In the case of his birthday, confusion has also arisen. The date of 5th July for his birth appeared originally in the Memoir of Lady Raffles. But when she refers to his death she states that that took place on 5th July, the day before he completed the age of 45 years! Boulger, like various monuments, followed Lady Raffles without noticing the discrepancy. Egerton and Coupland on the other hand (without comment) state that he was born on 6th of July. That I think, is certainly the correct date and in fact Raffles himself regarded it as his birthday and held birthday celebrations on that date as the copy of the diary of Major Travers, in my possession, clearly shows. How then has this confusion arisen? A solution has occured to me which I think may well be the right one. It will be recollected that Raffles was born at sea and it so happens that at that period a day at sea was reckoned from noon to noon and not, as at present and as always ashore, from midnight to midnight. If therefore (and this I cannot prove) Raffles was born before noon on 6th July by shore reckoning, he would have been born on 5th July by sea reckoning and his birth would have been entered in the Official Log under date 5th July.

C. E. WURTZBURG.

The Old Church on The Malacca Hill

Originally called *"Nossa Senhora da Graca"*, built in 1521, and successively known as *"Nossa Senhora da Madre de Deos"*, *"Nossa Senhora do Monte"* or *"de Oteiro"*, *"Nossa Senhora da Annonciada"*, and finally as the *"Church of St.-Paul."*

by

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(translated from the French by Mrs. L. Elkins)

Immediately after the capture of Malacca by the Portuguese, in 1511, d'Albuquerque and his captains held a council and decided that the fortress which they intended to build should be situated at the mouth of the river, on the left bank, on the very site occupied by the royal town.

As a defence against enemy forays they first of all constructed a strong enclosure consisting of a palisade strengthened by a moat. Within this enclosure, at the foot of a hill, the fortress was erected. (1) "And," adds his son and biographer, Bras d'Albuquerque, "because Afonso Dalboquerque was very much devoted to Our Lady, he ordered the men to build a church to which he gave the name of *Nossa Senhora da Annonciada.*" (2)

Fr. Schurhammer, S. J., makes here the timely remark that the text of João de Barros, (3) "the most trustworthy of all Portuguese historians", "supposes that there was no church or chapel on the hill of Malacca before 1521. And this seems to follow also the *Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque* (edit. Lisbao, 1884-1936), in which no mention is made of a church on the hill. Albuquerque speaks only of the parish church which he built near the fortress at the foot of the hill." (4)

It is therefore clear that the church of *Nossa Senhora da Annonciada* built by d'Albuquerque cannot be the old church whose ruins can still be seen on the hill at Malacca, although it is called by that name in the plan of the Fortress drawn by Emmanuel Godinho de Eredia. (5) Since the Dutch occupation it has been known as the *Church of St. Paul.* We owe this church to the Jesuits who built it, from 1566 (or 1567) to 1590. On the site of a small *ermida* or chapel which was constructed by the famous Navigator Duarte Coelho, (6) in fulfilment of a vow made to the Mother of God.

Barros is the first historian to mention this primitive ermida. He writes that in 1518, at the time of the siege by Mahmud, the king chased from Malacca by d'Albuquerque: "on the hill which commands our Fortress, where Duarte Coelho built an *ermida* (7) called *Nossa Senhora da Graca,* Jorge Botelho de Pombal, and the Portuguese *casados* (8) established in the district known as Batu China, were placed for the defence of the hill."(9)

The cordial commercial relations with the Chinese merchants in Malacca which existed ever since d'Albuquerque initiated them in 1511, were fostered by the voyages to Canton of Jorge Alvares, (10) of Rafael Perestrello, (11) and, above all, of Fernão Peres d'Andrade, (12) chief Admiral of Malacca, came to an abrupt end through the blundering of Simão Peres, brother of the latter. By his haughtiness and his exaggerated pretentions, he alienated the sympathies of the newly made friends. The Portuguese were excluded from the coast of China; from 1521 to 1547—date of the *Assentamento* (13) (treaty) concluded with Leonel de Sousa,—the Chinese ports were barred to Portuguese trade.

When Duarte Coelho arrived in Canton, from Malacca, on June 25, 1521, in company with another merchant of the latter town, he found that the three ships commanded by Simão Peres d'Andrade were being attacked by a Chinese flotilla. Two days later, the Chinese admiral, with his fifty junks, attacked the five Portuguese ships. He sustained such severe losses, however, that he was forced to retreat. There was a short respite, and then the fight was renewed, and continued for forty days until Ambrosio do Rego, with two more ships arrived from Malacca. The Portuguese held a council of war, and decided that, thanks to the unexpected reinforcement, they could try and force their way through the enemy fleet and escape from the bay in which they were bottled up. It was at this moment that the Chinese renewed the offensive, and a hot action followed. Barros writes: "Duarte Coelho, who was not only a brave cavalier but also an excellent Christian, specially devoted to Our Lady, noticed that the fight was taking place on the 8th. of September, 1521, the day of the feast of the Nativity of Our Lady. He, therefore, requested that every one should invoke her in the hope that help might be granted in her Name. As she is wont to do, in favour of those who invoke her in their pressing needs, Our Lady came to their aid. A heavy storm sprang up, taking us on the poop and throwing the enemy into violent dismay, even sinking some of their ships, so that Duarte Coelho and his convoy were able to return to Malacca where they arrived on the 21st October. In remembrance of this, he erected a chapel (*casa*) in honour of Our Lady on the summit of the hill commanding the Fortress. The hill was thenceforth called the *Hill of Our Lady,* in commemoration of the miracle which the Holy Virgin had wrought in his favour." (14)

So runs the Chronicle of Barros on the subject of the church on the hill at Malacca. There is no doubt of the truth of his record, for, according to the very just remark of Fr. Schurhammer, Barros is the most reliable of the Portuguese historians, the more so, as he wrote during the lifetime of St. Francis Xavier.

What exactly was that *ermida?* of what was it made? It was but a small building the materials of which must have contained but a small percentage of laterite, if available; or, in its absence, *"taypa"* (15) may have been used in the construction of the foundation and the pillars. Perhaps it was even a simple erection of timber like the *Ermida da Madre de Deus,* built later by Bishop Don Jorge de Sousa da Santa Luzia on a spur of Bukit China. All that can be said is that, after it had stood forty-six years, in spite of ceaseless repairs, the *Casa de Nossa Senhora da Grace* was so completely ruined that the Jesuits, to whom it belonged, decided its demolition to build, in its place, the great church which still exists today.

As years went on, the humble edifice erected by Duarte Coelho became a spot dear not only to the pious Portuguese population living in houses crowded at the foot and on the slope of the hill under the protecting guns of the Fortress, but also to the merchants and mariners held in the Malacca port by the unfavourable monsoons. In fact, we learn from Fernão Mendes Pinto, that, in 1540, whilst in pursuit of the pirates who had pillaged his cargo, Antonio Faria de Sousa and all his crew, then in the port of Mutipinão, recited the Litanies of Our Lady with great devotion and vows of rich offerings for the decoration of the Chapel of *Nossa Senhora do Oteiro.* (16)

When, at the beginning of 1550, Malacca received the news of the happy dèbuts of St. Francis Xavier at Cagoshima (Japan), the Captain of the Fortress, Don Pero da Silva da Gama, an intimate friend of the saint, a man full of zeal for the propagation of the Faith, considered it his duty to celebrate, by public rejoicings and with great solemnity, the success of the apostle of those distant islands.

Therefore, on Ascension Day, (17) a procession composed of the Civil Magistrates, the Clergy of the town and the Captain of the Fortress leading his soldiers, left the Parish Church of *Nossa Senhora da Annonciada* and climbed the hill to the little *ermida,* to thank Our Lady for the happy landing of St. Francis in Japan on the day of her triumphal entry in Heaven. All present assisted at a solemn high Mass celebrated by the Vicar General. In the evening, four Japanese, sent to Malacca by Xavier, "that they might see themselves how great and prosperous were the nations which professed the faith of Christ," received the Sacrament of Baptism.

In the following century, when the Jesuits had replaced the humble *Casa* of Duarte Coelho by a more dignified edifice, this devotion to the Virgin of the *ermida,* henceforth oftener known under the title of *Nossa Senhora da Madre de Deus,* or *Nossa Senhora do Monte* or *de Oteiro,* was as ardent as ever. On the 22nd March, 1630, Nuno Alvares Botelho, Governor of the Indies, who had the previous year annihilated a powerful Achinese fleet besieging the Fortress, captured a *pataxo* (light Dutch ship) and sent it to Malacca with all the crew. The prize was received "to the sound of the bells of the victorious city which, immediately, organised a great procession to the Church of the Society of Jesus, where was given a solemn benediction of the Most Blessed Sacrement, in thanksgiving to the Divine Magesty for the blessings showered at that time on India." (18) About the same time, 80 Portuguese prisoners from Jacatra (Java) whose ransom had been paid by the "City of the Holy Name of God in Amachau" (Macau) arrived in Malacca. As soon as they disembarked at the quay of the Little Port, at the river mouth, they went in procession to thank Our Lady of the Hill (*Nossa Senhora do Oiteiro*) *for whom all have a great devotion.*" (19)

This veneration of the Old Portuguese of Malacca and the East Indies for the primitive *ermida* and, later, for the church which succeeded it, did not have its origin solely in the love of the Mother of God which is inherent in the hearts of all Catholics. They loved *Nossa Senhora do Monte,* in particular, because it was associated, in their minds, with the name of the great saint Francis Xavier, apostle of the Indies. The ruins which remain are equally dear to us for the same reason. They are not only of historic value but they arouse in us memories of a most glorious past in the annals of the modern apostolate.

In the course of his journey to the Moluccas, in 1545, St. Francis Xavier stayed at Malacca. As a result of the first visit of the great missionary, *Nossa Senhora do Oteiro* emerged from the shade, and henceforward occupied a leading position in the religious history of the Far East and "Insular Asia" (Oceania). On being urged by the inhabitants, the saint agreed to establish in the Fortress a Residence of the Company and a School. Immediately on his return to India, in 1548, to start the enterprise he sent Fr. Francisco Peres and Roque de Oliveira. (20) The two religious arrived on the 28th of May of that year, and were first installed in a poor house near the "Hospital of the Misericordia". But the inconvenience caused by the existence of the school in such a neighbourhood decided the inhabitants to transfer it to the summit of the hill of *Nossa Senhora* where houses were bought near the *ermida.* A short time afterwards the *ermida* itself was given by the Bishop of Goa, Don Frei João d'Albuquerque, (21) to the Society of Jesus. In his notice on the *Church of St.-Paul,* Fr.

Schurhammer mentions that the Jesuits were already in occupation in June 1549. The instructions to Bravo, dated 23rd June of the same year were, indeed, followed by an annotation saying that they "were given to me by the Blessed Fr. Master Francis, eve of Saint-John's feast, at night, in the chapel of *Nossa Senhora do Monte* where he used to sleep before he went to Japan." (22)

Based on the information of the Fr. Visitor, Alexander Valignani, (23) Fr. Francisco de Sousa could write in all truth: "This College (meaning the Residence) of Malacca originated in the Church of *Nossa Senhora do Oteiro*, given us by the clergy, and some houses in the vicinity presented to us by the town." (24) Whenever the saint stayed at Malacca in the course of his voyages to the Moluccas (1545-1547), to Japan (1550-1552), and to China (1552) he loved to preach in the little *ermida* and even rested there for a short time at night. (25)

The first news of the victory over the Achinese in the Perlis river, on Sunday 6th December 1547, (26) was announced by Xavier from the pulpit of the Parish Church, whilst the battle was still in progress. This miracle of second sight "which the people of the country," according to Pinto, "usually called the miracle of the *Achens*", (27) took place in the church of *Nossa Senhora da Annonciada*, the future Cathedral, built by d'Albuquerque. However as there were some who still doubted the news of victory, Xavier decided, that evening, to confirm it. He, therefore, preached a second sermon in a neighbouring *ermida* (28) which was none but *Nossa Senhora do Oteiro*. "In it he described anew the battle, with a wealth of details still greater than in the morning, which excited in the hearts of the hearers such a confidence that all their fears vanished." (29)

When he was preparing to leave for China, in 1552, St. Francis Xavier, for the last time asked for the hospitality of Our Lady in this sanctuary which he loved so well. But it was with a wounded heart that he left the Fortress. The Captain, Don Alvaro d'Athaide, brother and successor of Don Pero da Silva da Gama, opposed the departure of Diogo Pereira, (30) a rich Malacca merchant and friend of the saint, though the latter had been officially nominated ambassador to China by the King of Portugal. At the same time he refused to recognise the dignity and powers of Apostolic Nuncio granted to the saint by the Pope. The jealousy and cupidity of Don Alvaro thus brought to nothing the plans for an apostolate in the greatest Empire on earth, plans which were very dear to his heart. The impious behaviour of the new Captain and his adherents, which went so far that they insulted him publicly in the streets, forced Xavier to take extreme measures. When he had come down to the Little Harbour near which stood the *Fâmosa* (Fortress) and the Parish Church, he turned "facing the main

door of the church, which was opposite him", and, on his knees, prayed for his enemies. "Then rising, he took off his shoes", and "struck them against a stone as if shaking off the dust." (31) He then got into the *manchua* (31a) which took him to his boat in the Main Port of the *"Ilha das Naos"*. The sain't gesture has rightly been considered as an appeal to Divine Justice, not only against Don Alvaro, but also against the Portuguese city, which had been turned into a Babylon of the Orient by the profligate inhabitants. (32)

Soon after he had arrived in Sancian, on the 21st October, Francis Xavier wrote to Francisco Peres, whom he had left in Malacca as Superior, directing him "to leave Malacca and get ready as soon as possible to embark for India." (33) In a last message to the Superior, dated 12th November, the saint instructed him as to what action he wished to be taken so far as the Residence and the Chapel or *Nossa Senhora do Oteiro* were concerned:—"A day or two before you start," he wrote, "I think you should ask Vincent Viegas (33a) to take charge of our house in the city, and of the little chapel in the suburb attached to it, dedicated to Our Lady the Mother of God. Ask him, then, to allow you to commit these two houses of the Society to his care and custody. And, lest, in the course of time, either he himself or any other in his name, should think of acquiring any right of property in these two places, you must put in his hand the copy of the deed of gift by which the Bishop has made over these two buildings, in regular legal form, to the Society of Jesus in perpetuity: and at the same time you must get Vincent Viegas to give you an acknowledgment declaring that he takes these two houses under his charge and protection simply as a trust, and for their preservation; and that he is ready to restore them to the Society when required to do so. You must take with you the original of the Lord Bishop's deed of gift and diploma, that they may be sent in the safest way from Cochim to Goa, to be kept in the latter town in the Archives of Saint-Paul You must not continue wasting your labours, which, as things are, may be far better employed elsewhere, on a town so ungrateful and unworthy of your help, as has for some time been the case." (34)

These words, said Francisco de Sousa, recall "the terrible sentence pronounced by God against Babylon: "Curavimus Babylonem et non est sanata. Derelinquamus eam." (We have attended Babylon, but she is not healed. Forsake her." (35) They give a dreadful significance to Francis' action on leaving Malacca.

On Sunday, the 27th November, about 2 o'clock in the morning, (36) on the beach of Sancian, Father Master Francis Xavier surrendered his soul to God in a miserable little hut made of boughs, his only assistant being his faithful Chinese servant, Anto-

nio de Santa Fe. By the care of this faithful servant, the body of St. Francis, untouched by the corruption of the tomb, was brought to Malacca, where it arrived on the 22nd March, 1533.

Although there were no Jesuits left in the town, the inhabitants, as if they wished to make amends for their treatment of the saint, arranged a triumphal procession for the body, which has been so miraculously preserved. Bearing candles in their hands, the inhabitants descended to the Little Port and, from there, following the principal streets of the town, the funeral train made its way to the *Ermida of Nossa Senhora do Monte,* bearing the body of Father Xavier. All the nobility, (with the exception of Don Alvaro), the Vicar General and his Clergy, the Preachers Friars of the Convent of Saint-Dominic, all took part in the procession. An imposing concourse of people, in which Christians and heathens elbowed each other, soon formed, and it was said that never before had such a multitude been seen in Malacca. (37)

Was it not clearly indicated that the "Hermitage of Our Lady of the Mount which had always been his home in Malacca, and from which he had departed for China nine months and twenty-two days before," (38) should be the last resting place of the apostle? At the summit of the hill, the coffin was opened, and the people marvelled on seeing the holy body which appeared as though still animated by the breath of life. The usual prayers were then said, and the mortal remains of the saint were interred in the choir of the *ermida* with no other ceremonies than these used for the burial of a priest. A pious hand placed a silk cushion at the head of the grave. According to a Portuguese custom the body was placed uncoffined in the bare earth. (39) Bartoli and Maffei say: "The grave was dug so straight and small that, on forcing the body into it, the flesh of one of the shoulders was lacerated and fresh blood again flowed freely. Notwithstanding this sight, the earth was actually pressed down and stamped upon with the feet, to the injury of the body; so that it would seem as if Malacca was destined to outrage him, both in life and death." (40)

Lucena writes that, while on his way to the Moluccas, Father João da Beira called at Malacca and had the tomb opened, so that he might verify the reports of the miraculous preservation of the body. He found the cushion under the head and the veil protecting the face soaked in fresh blood, which had flowed under the weight of the earth pressed down, according to custom, by trampling after burial. (41)

On the other hand we have a letter written in 1554, in reply to an enquiry from Father Manoel Teixeira, S.J. In this letter, Antonio de Santa Fe mentions that only the nose was flattened, and he says that this was caused by the rammers used by the black

slaves to level the soil. (42) Further Francisco Lopes d'Almeida, a resident of Cochim, who saw the body at Malacca before its departure for Goa, deposed, in 1557, that when he had seen the corpse, it was in perfect condition, "except that the tip of the nose was contused, due to percussion in the act of burial." (43)

The damage caused to the remains of the saint has undoubtedly been exaggerated by Lucena, Bartoli and Maffei, especially the last two. All things considered, the concordant evidences of Antonio de Santa Fè (44) and of Francisco Lopes d'Almeida, who themselves saw the body before its transfer to Goa, has an incontestable authority which we cannot ascribe to the accounts of the other historians quoted. The witnesses' accounts should be preferred.

In the course of the excavations of *Nossa Senhora do Monte* made in 1925, a brickwork vault was unearthed at the entrance of the sanctuary; it was immediately reported to be the place where the body of St. Francis Xavier had rested. A learned Jesuit, whose work on the history of the Portuguese East Indies had acquired an indisputable authority, heard of this discovery. In 1931, he drafted two memoranda, (45) one on the Church of Saint Paul itself, and the other on the site of the saint's tomb, and proved by documents in his possession that the identification was erroneous. It was not known, then, either in Malacca or elsewhere, that the primitive *Ermida,* in which the body of the saint had been placed, when it was brought from Sancian, had been pulled down, in 1566 or 1567, when the existing church of Saint-Paul was erected on its site by the Jesuits. In other words, it was believed that the church of Saint-Paul was the one built by Afonso d'Albuquerque in 1511, and that St. Francis Xavier had used it as the centre of his apostolic work in Malacca. But as the building, erected by Duarte Coelho, has disappeared leaving not the least trace, no attempt can be made to identify the site of the saint's resting place in the existing church. Nothing remains which can authoritatively identify it. All that can be said is that Xavier was interred in the choir (*capella*) of the primitive *ermida*. As to the site of this *ermida*, which is now included within the present church, nobody can now determine it with certainty; and it is improbable that it ever will be identified. It should suffice us to know that the tomb, in which the saint's body rested, was dug in the choir of the little chapel raised by the gratitude of Duarte Coelho. The place of the burial is affirmed by two eye-witnesses: Antonio de Santa Fé and Francisco Lopes d'Almeida, the former in his letter of September 1553 to Father Manoel Texeira, and the latter in his deposition of 1557. Further, Bartoli and Maffei on their side confirm these two witnesses in their statement: "Xavier was buried at the foot of the door that lead to the sacristy (Schurhammer's translation). (46) It follows that the choir of the ermida is meant. We may quote here from an English translation of Bartoli and Maffei by Father

F. W. Faber, D.D.,: "The sacred corpse was taken out of the case and buried in the naked earth *outside the church.*" (47) Doubtless the honourable translator's work was influenced by the prejudice against the population of Malacca evidently felt by the two Italian Jesuits. In truth, the latter could not forget the insults which had been heaped on St. Francis Xavier by Don Alvaro's clique, before the last journey to China and, in defiance of all justice, they made every inhabitant of Malacca share indiscriminately the responsibility and the odium. This feeling in the two biographers explains their prejudiced accounts of the funeral proceedings in the chapel of *Nossa Senhora do Monte*. Further, their judgment of the facts themselves are unreliable, because they credit the inhabitants of Malacca with deliberate intent to injury, attributing this to a contempt for the saint which was certainly never felt by the people. They take a malicious pleasure in making the worst of customs which, while not reprehensible in themselves, were repulsive to the Italian mind.

After he had caused the corpse to be exhumed, and verified the incorruptible state in which God had preserved it, Father João da Beira could not make up his mind to return it into its old resting place. By his directions, it was inclosed in a coffin, trimmed with velvet, prepared by the saint's close friend, Diogo Pereira. As soon as the favourable monsoon should come, it was intended to transport the body to Goa, (48) "Malacca," remark Bartoli and Maffei, "being evidently unworthy of such a treasure." (49) Fernão Mendes Pinto, in his *Peregrinacam,* says that "for this reason, when the monsoon began to blow, the blessed body was carried in solemn procession, escorted by members of the nobility, to a boat which had been expressly prepared. It was then taken on board a ship belonging to a certain Lopo de Loronha (Noronha) which was about to sail to India." (50) Neither Pinto nor Francisco Lopes d'Almeida mention that the body had already been transferred from the grave to a coffin, on the night of August 15th. The former writes: "He was buried in the Hermitage and remained there nine months, that is to say, from the 17th of March to the 11th December 1553. On that day, the blessed body was taken from the earth and placed on a bier prepared by order of Diego Pereira. From the Hermitage of Our Lady it was borne in solemn procession etc. . ." (51) In the same way, Francisco Lopes d'Almeida says in his deposition: "The body was borne to the church of Our Lady of the Mount (as was the wont in regard to persons of great standing), it was buried in the chapel in a kind of grave where it lay hid, so to say, for five or six months.. and when the fitting moment for sailing to India came, the grave was opened, so that the bones might be transported to Goa. On opening the tomb the whole body was found to be intact and fresh, just as it had been laid there." (52) That Pinto and Francisco Lopes d'Almeida should have passed over this detail in silence, even taking it for

granted that the body was not placed in a coffin until the time of the departure for Goa, does not surprise us, for like their contemporaries they were not aware of the secret exhumation which had taken place on the night of the previous 15th August.

The order which Xavier gave to Father Francisco Peres was strictly obeyed. In January 1553, the Jesuits left Malacca and, thenceforth, only missionaries en route to the Moluccas and Japan, were to be seen from time to time in the empty Residency, waiting for the favourable monsoon to blow before continuing their journeys. Although none of the Fathers lived there, nevertheless the Society was the recognized owner of the Residency and the *Ermida*. (53) In 1554, Father Master Belchior Nunes Barreto was amongst the missionaries awaiting further passage. He had temporarily resigned his office, as Provincial, which he had handed over to Father Balthasar Dias. He was en route from Goa to Japan with seven other religious of his Order, amongst whom was the future author of the *Peregrinacam*, who had recently been admitted to the Society as a Lay Brother. Belchior Nunes disembarked at Malacca on the 5th June; but owing to grave disorders caused by the deposition and arrest of Don Alvaro d'Athaide de Gama, he was not able to continue his journey till April 1st 1555, the following year.

Francisco de Sousa, in his *Oriente Conquistado a Jesus Christo*, says that Father Belchior's voyage took place a year earlier, i.e., in 1553, but by referring to the dates, of the events which happened before, it will be seen that he is in error, for St. Francis Xavier was buried in *Nossa Senhora do Monte* in March 1553, and his remains were taken to Goa in December of that year. The journey was made in two stages, one to Cochim and the second to Baticala, and the body was received in Goa by the Father Provincial Belchior Nunes himself, in March 1554,—the 17th according to Pinto, the 18th according to Francisco de Sousa. (54) Moreover, we know that one of his fellow-travellers, as far as Malacca, was "Don Antonio de Noronha, (55) who had been nominated Captain of the Fortress, and was proceeding to Malacca to to take up office" as successor of Don Alvaro d'Athayde.

During his stay in Malacca, Father Belchior saw clearly that the Society would have to raise the interdict imposed by St. Francis Xavier, and, therefore, to reopen the Residency. While awaiting the arrival of a Father officially empowered to do this, he gave Brother Luis Frois special instructions to reopen the little School which had been founded seven years previously by Roque de Oliveira (56).

Father Balthasar Dias left Goa for Malacca in April the following year (1556). He was received with extraordinary joy, writes

Francisco de Sousa. "He was venerated and respected by everybody, as if he were a second Francis Xavier and they gave him, too, the title of *Sâo Padre* (the holy Father). Four years later Balthasar Dias was recalled to Goa, and died there in 1571. (57)

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Catholicism had now made great strides in the Far East, thanks to the activities of the Jesuits and of the Sons of St. Dominic who had founded a monastery in Malacca, in 1549. (58) It became, therefore, necessary to establish the ecclesiastical hierarchy on a wider basis. The diocese of Goa now stretched from the coast of Mocambique to the confines of Asia and Oceania, and could no longer be administered by the single Bishopric created, in 1534 by Paul III. That is why the same Pope raised Goa to an Archbishopric with suffragan sees at Cochim and Malacca, at the request of Queen Catarina and the Cardinal Regent, Don Henrique. Don Frei Jorge de Sousa Santa Luzia (59) of the Order of the Preachers Friars (Dominicans), and first Bishop of Malacca, could not, however, take possession of his See till after 1560.

Father Christovâo da Costa, who commenced the erection of the existing church of *Nossa Senhora do Monte,* on the site of the primitive chapel, was then Rector of the Jesuit Residency. Although only forty years old, the *Ermida of Nossa Senhora da Graca* needed continuous repairs. Father Lourenco Peres, in a letter to the General of the Jesuits, dated Malacca, 2nd December 1566, wrote: "It is highly venerated because it is very ancient. *It is a very little chapel* and is falling into ruins little by little. *Therefore we ought to build a new one.* When Father Christovâo da Costa was rector, we began the repairs which we are, even now, continuing." (60)

Malacca had enjoyed peace ever since the great siege of 1551, which had been victoriously sustained by Captain Pero da Silva da Gama against the allied forces of the King of Johore, the Queen of Japara, (61) the petty Kings of Perak, Pahang and Marruaz. (62) It seemed, therefore, a very favourable time to erect a new church. There was no suspicion, then, that the Fortress was on the point of passing through the most troubled period of its history, a period comparable only to the first years of its occupation when Mahmud, resolved to reconquer Malacca, harassed the town by incessant attacks, and nearly starved the inhabitants by maintaining an almost continuous blockade (1512-1526). It is, therefore, not to be wondered at if the construction of the present church of *Nossa Senhora do Monte,* though commenced in 1556 or 1567, was not completed until 1590. It is certain that the lengthy period taken to build the church was largely due to the various sieges which followed one after another for thirty years. Let us briefly recall them.

Don Leonis Pereira, the Captain of the Fortress, held the Achinese at bay from January 20th to February 25th, 1568. This siege, according to do Couto, was one of the most glorious ever sustained by the Portuguese in the East Indies.

Two years later, in 1570, an armada coming from India under Luis de Mello da Silva, found the Achinese anchored in the Rio Fermoso (Batu Pahat River), whence they were blockading Malacca before besieging it with their land forces. Luis de Mello disloged them and put them to flight. During the engagement, the enemy lost 1,200 killed and 300 prisoners.

In 1573, the Achinese again tried to blockade the Fortress. Their plans were disturbed by Tristão Vas da Veiga, who was sailing to the Sunda Straits with the new Captain of Malacca, Don Francisco Henriques, on board. Tristão vas da Veiga refitted as best he could the old ships rotting in the port, and inflicted a heavy defeat on the Achinese anchored in the mouth of the Muar River.

In October, 1574, Tristão Vas, on his return from the Sunda Straits and the Moluccas, found Don Henriques dead, and that Malacca had been defending itself for three months against the attacks of the Japara Javanese who were besieging the town. He saved the city a second time, and barely 5,000 of the enemy army of 15,000 are estimated to have escaped massacre, and returned to their island.

In January 1st, 1576, the Achinese—always the Achinese,—again battered at the ramparts of the Fortress. The besieges were in a desperate position as their supply of powder were running low. Tristão Vas da Veiga, who had remained in Malacca, as Captain, at the request of the population, ordered the artillery to cease fire, so as to reserve the small supply of powder for the expected supreme assault of the enemy. The sudden silence of the Portuguese cannon astonished the foe, and, suspecting that some subtle trap, which they could not fathom, was being prepared for them by the terrible Vas da Veiga, they took fright and, when Malacca was on the point of falling into their hands after a seventeen-day siege, hastily decamped.

Don João da Gama transferred the command of the Fortress to Roque de Mello on August 19th, 1582, and on the same day, the Achinese, on their way to some villainous business in the Straits, passed Malacca and could not refrain from a hostile demonstration, luckily without any consequence.

Malacca endured a severe blockade during the captaincy of João da Silva (1584-1587) from the forces of the King of Johore, the famous *Rajale* ou *Ragale*, as he was called by the Portuguese. His real name was Alli Jalla Abdu'l Riayat Shah. In 1585 he

engineered a descent on the *Ilha das Pedras* (Pulo Upeh) which lies in front of the town, and finally, on the 6th January, 1587, laid siege in force to the Fortress. He suffered such heavy losses from the Portuguese arms, however, that he speedily gave up an enterprise which brought him such poor results. Don Paulo de Lima Pereira, who arrived from Goa that year, in command of a fleet sent to help Malacca, decided that he would punish the proud Rajale and meet out to his capital the fate meant for Malacca. Johore was accordingly entirely destroyed. As to the unfortunate João da Silva, he was so affected by the sight of the sufferings endured by the population of Malacca, for three years, that he became insane.

So then the erection of the new *Nossa Senhora do Monte* proceeded amidst the tumult of battles and the whistling of bullets which more than once covered the walls with scars and even broke off whole bits of masonry, thus forcing the labourers into Sisyphean labour. The church was rendered vulnerable by its position on the summit of the hill, above the Famosa and the *Santiago* bastion, the more so, as during sieges, cannon were placed in its neighbourhood, which attracted the return-fire of the enemy artillery. Do Couto mentions that, in 1551, whilst the Constable (63) of the Fortress was arming an *espera* (64) before the door of *Nossa Senhora do Monte,* he was hit in the head by a bullet from a bombard "and killed on the spot". (65) During the same siege the Javanese, before making a decisive attack, invaded a house on the beach, and asked an old Malay woman "for the path leading to the hill on which was the *Irmida da Madre de Deos.* They intended to take possession of this as the height commanded the whole neighbourhood, and, from there, they thought they could subdue the Fortress (66) The enemy considered that the *Hill of Nossa Senhora* played a very important part in the defence of the place.

Antonio de Quadros, (67) Provincial of the Jesuits, who stayed at Malacca about this time, on the occasion of a visitation to the Moluccas and Japan, gave his full approval to the project of replacing the *ermida* of Our Lady by an entirely new church. During his stay he had time to see the state of dilapidation into which the little *ermida* of Duarte Coelho had fallen, dilapidation so great that there was no hope of preserving the chapel. Francisco de Sousa says: "In the Residency of Malacca, in the year 1567. *we build a new church.*" (68) According to the letter from Father Lourenco Peres, already quoted, (69) the future edifice was to measure: "110 palmos long, 46 broad, and 39,5 high." However it was impossible to complete it that year. For this reason, Don Belchior Carneiro, Patriach of Ethiopia (70) on calling at Malacca, on his way to Macau to take up his post as Administrator of the Missions in China and Japan, handed to Don Frei Jorge de Sôusa Santa Luzia, Bishop of Malacca, the relic which he had brought for the sanctuary under construction. This relic, the head of one of

the Eleven Thousand Virgins who, according to the legend, suffered martyrdom at Kolhn, in Germany, with St. Ursula, was received by the Bishop, in full pontifical robes, on the beach, "and was carried in very solemn procession to our College (the Residence) while salutes were fired by all the artillery of the town and the ships anchored in the port." (71)

At the beginning of the next year, the arrival of the Achinese led to the work on the church being suspended as the *Hill of Nossa Senhora* had to play its part in the defence of the Fortress. Don Diogo Fernandes de Calcada was deputed to hold this important point. An *espera* was already in place there, but Don Leonis Pereira, Captain of the Fortress, had two more guns mounted there: *an aguia* (72) and a *camello* (73) of large calibre. (74) An observation post was also established on the hill from which could be seen the enemy crafty stratagems, preparing for the final assault, to force him to retreat. (75)

As soon as the Achinese had disappeared under the horizon, and the rejoicings on the occasion of the visit of the King of Johore, now an ally of the Portuguese, were at an end, the building yards came to life again and the work proceeded so well and uninterruptedly that, as early as January 2nd 1569, Father Christovão da Costa was able to write from Malacca, to the General of the Jesuits, in Rome, that before the end of 1568, the roof had been finished: "it is not only very great, but also very beautiful: both the building and its situation, for it is in the midst of the town and in the highest place from which one can see a great part of the sea and the land." (76)

We have told the story of the long series of sieges and blockades from which Malacca suffered at the hands of its turbulent neighbours, Acheh in particular. We will not return to this nor to the strategic rôle played by the *Hill of Nossa Senhora*. We may mention here, however, that in 1574, Tristão Vas da Veiga, in order to ensure defence against an attack on the sea coast, reinforced the artillery on the ramparts, and "ordered that in the sacristy (vestry) of the new church should be placed more cannon commanding the sea, from which their provisions and munitions must come. This would also ensure that the inhabitants would have, in time of siege, a place to fish, so that they could fight the famine with which they were then always menaced. The last siege by the Javanese had left the fields uncultivated and in a state of complete neglect, so that neither meat, nor vegetables, nor fruit were to be had." (77)

In the course of these battles, the new *Nossa Senhora do Monte* had suffered many grave injuries from the incessant bombardments, so that repairs were continually necessary. This is to be seen clearly in the report of the Father Visitor Valignani, dated 1579,

in his *Summary of the Province of Goa:*" We have in Malacca . a very beautiful spacious church without a tower, *the choir of which has not been finished while the sacristy is only half done.* (78)

The church was not considered finished until the tower, spoken of by Valignani, was built. This tower does not seem to have been envisaged in the original plan, since, in order to ensure the solidity of the sacristy which supports its weight, it was necessary to erect a huge square pillar in the middle of the sacristy which is almost as large as the sanctuary itself. In accordance with the custom of the time, the tower was furnished with a clock. It also served as a watch-tower for the Fortress. (79) Van den Broeck, who passed through the Strait of Malacca, in 1618, says in his Memoirs "When passing by the town of that name, we anchored near enough to be able to tell the time by the clock-dial." (80)

At length the day came when Don Pero Martinz, S. J., second Bishop of Funai, Japan, could write in his annual letter of 1590: "In Malacca the church and tower have been finished." (81)

All that has been written above, on the subject of the total reconstruction of *Nossa Senhora do Monte,* goes to prove how untenable and false is the theory which has tried to make headway during the last fifteen years or so. This theory holds that the frontage and the end of the nave of the present church are those of the original *ermida* of Duarte Coelho. This would mean that the Jesuits were content to build a new choir and fit it to what remained of the old nave. (82) Well and good! But the harmony between the different parts of the building, manifest as soon one enters the edifice, even to untrained eyes, does not plead in favour of this theory which, in any case, is not confirmed by any documents. The more *Nossa Senhora do Monte* is examined, the more clearly is seen the unity of the plan. The eye searches in vain any faults or that lack of proportion which is discernible when new and old are jambled together. It is quite evident that St.-Paul's Church was planned on a manner which had not to take into account any building already in existence, which it might be desired to preserve.

To wind up this little essay in archeological romance, common sense forces us to acknowledge that the present frontage cannot possibly be that of the *"very small chapel"* spoken of by Father Lourenco Peres in his letter of 1566, already quoted, to the General of the Jesuits. Only ignorance and lack of reflection or judgment can explain, though it does not excuse, such a bizarre theory put forward. The documents brought to light by Father Schurhammer are of too high a value to be lightly thrown into the waste paper

basket as worthless. It is on those documents, which are in the possession of the Society of Jesus, that this short essay has been based.

The eminent Jesuit concluded his memorandum on St.-Paul's Church by drawing the only possible conclusion after the study of the documents he had brought to light: "From all this we gather that the actual church of the Mount was begun about 1565 under Father Christovão da Costa who was Rector (of Malacca) from 1561, and it must have been completed in 1590. *It stands on the place of the first chapel"* built in 1521 by Duarte Coelho. (83) It is regrettable that the anonymous author of the theory we have denounced, and published in the *Historical Guide of Malacca* (2nd edit., 1936) was not in possession of the Schurhammer documents or, if he were, that he did not consider it good to use them. History is written with the aid of documents, and not under the inspiration of imagination. A historical work which shows bias is no longer historical but simply a fairy story.

The Jesuits took advantage of the respite, granted them by the enemy between two sieges, to build their church. They not only built their church, but, under the supervision of their Visitor, Father Valignani, who was then in Malacca, they also built, in 1578, a new and large house able to accommodate at least six Fathers, in permament residence, and give shelter to missionaries in transit, whose number grew greater with the growing needs of the Missions. (84) "In the year 1576," writes Francisco de Souza, "the status of College was given to the Residency in Malacca, and it was the fifth College of this Province after those of Goa, Cochim, Bacaim, and Margão or Rachol. It acknowledged as its founders the Serene Kings of Portugal." (85) "What is remarkable," notes Father Gomes Vas, concerning this building, in a letter to the General, dated from Malacca December 8th, 1579, is that "it is of stone." (86)

Hardly had the Jesuits completed the construction of their church and of their College, when new enemies appeared in the Southern Seas: first the English, in 1592, soon followed by the Dutch. Frederic van Houtmann landed at Acheh in 1599 with the intention of establishing commercial relations with the King. Barely could his expedition escape total destruction. Far from being disheartened, the *Beggars of the Sea*, now knowing the route to the Indies, despatched flotilla after flotilla. They soon became a far greater danger to the Portuguese than the native princes and princelings had ever been, because of their better arms.

Malacca was besieged by Cornelisz Matelief de Jonghe as early as 1606. "The artillery from the Fortress fired first, but a single cannon ball weighing 27 Amsterdam pounds penetrated the *White Lion*," (87) "whilst the most effective shot from our side was the one that hit St. Paulus Church, *so named by the Dutch*: Albuquerque dedicated it to Our Lady of the Annunciation belonging to the order of the Jesuits." (88) A powerful *Armada* arriving from Goa, on the 29th August, under the command of the Viceroy, Don Martim Afonso de Castro, forced Matelief to re-embark his soldiers and artillery. "This siege," according to Pyrard de Laval, "lasted for the space of three months and nineteen days." (89) Don Martim Afonso de Castro died of dysentry, at Malacca, on 3rd June of the following year. Father Manuel Xavier, S. J., says in his *Compendio de Todos os Viso-Reys e Governadores do Estado da India* that "he rests in the sanctuary (*capella mor*) of the Jesuits Church." His tombstone was not found when Maj. C. E. Bone made excavations at *Nossa Senhora do Monte*.

Malacca suffered greatly during the first siege by the Dutch, particularly the district south of the Fortress. The Bishop, Don Christovão de Sa, informed the King of Portugal that the Cathedral,—formally *Nossa Senhora da Annonciada*, now *Nossa Senhora da Assumpcão*,—threatened to collapse, as it had been very heavily damaged by a land-slide on the hill. (90) That *Nossa Senhora do Monte*, which commanded the ruins, and received from the Dutch the first ball, "the most effective shot", came off better than the neighbouring buildings, appears improbable. It is the less likely because the approach-works of the Dutch were violently shelled, not only from the bastions of *São Domingos*, *São Tiago* and *Madre de Deus*, but also from the *Cloister of St. Paul* or Jesuit College "in the cemetery of which they (the Portuguese) had erected batteries." (91)

The various sieges sustained by Malacca, particularly the last, had made the strategic importance of the *Hill of Nossa Senhora* very plain. As Matelief wrote: "From there all the surrounding country can be shelled." (92) "From the summit, the besieged could observe everything which happened in the trenches (of the enemy), unless their palisades were extremely high." (93) Further they had been able to thwart very easily the progress of the approach-works of the besiegers towards the commercial city and the side defended by the small fort of the Eleven Thousand Virgins. (94)

In Valentyn's opinion, the Fortress was well protected. A river, difficult to cross, with numerous very strong bestions and thick walls, made its defence easy. (95) Yet its system of fortification was far from being completed. When Emmanuel Godinho de Eredia wrote his *Declaracam*,—he himself being one of the maintenance-engineers employed on the Fortress,—the only de-

fences on north and part of the south side were wooden palisades. These protecting curtains ran from the Gate of *São Domingos* to the bastion of *Madre de Deus,* and another series from the Gate of *São Antonio* to that of *São Tiago.* (96) Between the last two named Gates, the ground was marshy and rightly considered a sufficient natural defence. Therefore no haste was made in the construction of ramparts built solidly of stone or *taypa.* Lhermite le Jeune, in a letter written after the siege of 1606, says of Malacca: "It is strongly fortified and will, as far as can be seen, always remain so because, being surrounded by a marsh, famine is the only thing to be feared." (97)

Towards the close of the previous century, the King (Philip II of Spain and I of Portugal) had commanded João Battista the Milanese, Chief-Architect for the fortresses of Portuguese India, to modify the plan of the Fortress of Malacca. Eredia says: "He (João Battista) redrafted the plans of the Fortress taking in more ground by a new trace for the wall on the south-east side in the flat lands which extended from the bastion of *Santiago* to the bastion of *São Domingos* and replacing the earth walls by new walls constructed of stone and mortar for the whole distance; but this defence-work was never executed." (98) And why so? Was it because Julio Simões, (99) who succeeded João Battista, did not approved of the plans? or had he better plans? The fact is that it was proved, once again, that the best is the enemy of the good; and so, matters remained in *status quo.* There was uneasiness in Madrid, however, concerning the state of the works so necessary for the security of the Fortress, especially after the "heretics" (the Dutch) arrived on the scene.

The King Philip wrote to the Viceroy, Don Martim Afonso de Castro, on the 18th January, 1607, impressing on him the necessity of completing the fortifications of Malacca. (100) The following year, he wrote still more emphatically: "The most important matter in these countries, the one above all upon which you must always keep an eye, is the preservation of the defence of the Fortress of Malacca." (101) Instructions followed. The King had informations, from various sources, as to the dilapidated state of the Fortress of Malacca, as a result of the siege of the Dutch, and was also informed by a letter of the deceased Viceroy, de Castro, of the necessity for the construction of a fort on the *Ilha das Naos* (Pulo Jawa), for the protection of ships at anchorage. In 1610, therefore, two years later, the King gave orders for works of repairs and constructions which were necessary "to be carried out with all due care." (102) As Malacca was not the only strong place in the East Indies which had suffered from the carelessness and neglect of its Captain-Governors, the King, in 1611, issued the following decree: "Henceforward there will be, in that state (of Portuguese India) an officer who will act as *Provedor* (Superintendent) of all the said

fortresses. He will have the general direction of all the works therein and also take charge of their artillery. On his visits of inspection he will be accompanied by an engineer, so that reports on the conditions in which they stand may be made." (103) The office of Superintendent and Inspector General of all the fortresses in Eastern India was bestowed on Antonio Pinto da Fonseca, and, on 7th November, 1611, he embarked on the *São-João-Evangelista,* a galleon specially placed at his disposal. (104) On his way, he stopped at Monbaca to inspect its fortress and so did not arrive at Goa until September, 1612. (105)

It has not been possible to trace the precise date of the arrival of Antonio Pinto da Fonseca in Malacca. He was certainly there in April 1615 because Bocarro mentions his name amongst those of the officials who received the Governor of Manila, Don João da Silva, on his visit to Malacca. During this visit the latter was seized with a pernicious fever to which he succumbed after an eight-day illness. (106) It was either in that year, or the following, that da Fonseca succeeded Diogo de Mendoca Furtado in the office of Captain General of the famous Land-and-Sea Forces of Malacca. (107) He had, therefore, a part of the first importance to play in the defence of the town during the five-month siege by the Achinese, in 1629. The enemy was eventually constrained to evacuate his positions at the Franciscan Convent, or Little Malacca, (108) on Bukit China and the Hill of São João (Bukit Pipi) beyond Ilhir, by the arrival of the Governor of India, Nuno Alvares Botelho, (109) at the head of a large fleet augmented, a little later, by that of the King of Pahang. The Achinese fled in haste to the mouth of the little river Pongor, where their fleet was anchored. They suffered a crushing defeat, as their formidable *armada,* of 236 galleys, together with the 20,000 men it carried, was practically annihilated. (110)

The only military work which we know to have been carried out by Antonio Pinto da Fonseca, in the Fortress of Malacca, is the small fort of the Eleven Thousand Virgins (*Onze Mil Virgens*). Don Miguel de Noronha, Count of Linhares, the Viceroy, received a letter from the *Provedor,* in 1633, in which he announced that the fort would be probably completed in the following January, after which da Fonseca reckoned he could start the construction of the fort projected in the *Ilha das Naos.* (111) If we can believe Pedro Barreto de Resende, who wrote a description of the Fortress, only the foundations had been laid in 1535. (112)

The question of the fortifications of Malacca kept the Jesuits in great alarm. Two Royal Letters, one dated 29th March, 1629, and the other 28th February, 1630, commanded "that a fort be erected on the site occupied by the College of the Jesuits, and that another piece of ground be given to the said Fathers for their

establishment." (113) The execution of this order would have meant, sooner or later, the probably complete destruction of *Nossa Senhora do Monte,* whose tower, of a height of nearly 100 feet, commanded "a view of almost 8 leagues out to sea". In case of war the tower would have formed an excellent target for the enemy. God did not allow the destruction of this monument which is all that remains to us of Portuguese Malacca. We do not know the reasons which caused the King to reverse his decision, nor the date on which this was done. The Jesuits were not compelled to leave the place which had been the cradle of their Society at Malacca, and doubly dear to them by reason of its memories of St. Francis Xavier.

Antonio Pinto da Fonseca died at Malacca, on the 27th December, 1635, after an unbroken stay of twenty years. This is a record for an official of the Fortress. His body, as is proved by the discovery of his tombstone (114) during the excavations conducted by Maj. Bone, was lain in the church of *Nossa Senhora do Monte* from which, six years before, he had well-nigh 'expelled' the Jesuit Fathers. On this point, we give a personal opinion only, without committing ourselves to a rash judgment; but we suspect that it was Pinto da Fonseca who instigated the royal measures which would have resulted in the eviction of the Jesuits from their College and their church.

He had been preceded to the tomb by the Governor of India, Nuno Alvares Botelho, who had remained in the Southern Seas, after the Rio Pongor victory, in order to hunt the "execrated Dutch". During a cruise in Sumatra waters he encountered, on the 16th May, 1630, a ship carrying supplies of gun powder for the Dutch forts. One of his ships managed to board, but, in the course of the ensuing action, the sails of the enemy vessel caught fire. Seeing that the Portuguese boat could not disengage herself, Nuno Alvares went on board to direct operations. At that moment a spark fell into the Dutch stores of powder: both ships blew up. The Governor was among the killed. As he had been a good friend to the Jesuits and very devoted to the Society, his corpse, which was found amidst the wreckage, was taken to *Nossa Senhora do Monte.* His biographer, Father Manoel Xavier, says: "The procession arrived at length at Saint-Paul's (the College), where a rich catafalco had been prepared by the Fathers. The body was laid on this, surrounded by innumerable tapers and candles of the finest white wax. The insignia of the Governor were placed around the catafalco. A large black pennon emblazoned with the arms of the deceased, with it points touching the body, hung from the highest point of the ceiling. At his feet, on the ground, and all along the walls were placed the banners he had taken from the enemy—English, Dutch, Achinese. The venerable Chapter, and the Religious Orders then intoned the Office for the Dead. Then

Luis d'Azevedo, the Rector of the College, of the Society, preached on the text: *'Quomodo cecidit potens qui salvum faciat proprium suum Israel.'* (Mach. 9, V. 18).(115) When the service and the sermon were finished, the body of Nuno Alvares Botelho, Member of the State Council of His Majesty, Governor of India, etc., was lowered into the tomb prepared in the sanctuary." (116) His tombstone has never been found.

As we see, several persons of high ranks are sleeping their last in the shelter of the vaults of *Nossa Senhora do Monte*. Amongst them we may mention the names of the following three, whose tombstones have either been recovered during Maj. Bone's excavations, or been found lying neglected on the earth in the nave, and saved from oblivion and certain destruction by the Malacca Historical Society:—

(1)—In 1565: Francisco Goncales and his wife Magdalena Trindada (doubtless named for Trindade). (117) For a number of years Francisco Goncales had acted as churchwarden (*Mordomo*) of this church of *Our Lady Mother of God*. He died on the 20th March, about a month after the celebrated siege by the Achinese. We know already that the *Ermida*, or *Casa*, built by Duarte Coelho, was sometimes called *Nossa Senhora Madre de Deos*. Care must always be taken, however, not to confuse this with the Franciscan Monastery Church, on Bukit China, which bore the same title. To quote only two historians, do Couto and d'Andrada, do not use any other name when telling the story of the Javanese who asked the old Malay woman to show them the path leading to the *Irmida da Madre de Deos* during the siege of 1551. (118) St. Francis Xavier, too, as we have seen already, in his letter from Sancian, to Father Francisco Peres, dated 12th November, 1532, uses the same title of *Our Lady the Mother of God* when speaking about the little *Ermida*.

(2)—In 1598: Don Pero Martins (Martinez ou Martiz), second Bishop of Funai, now Orta, (Japan), of the Society of Jesus. He was on his way from Japan to Goa "to hold a consultation with the Viceroy, to try and devise some means of finding a remedy for the calamites of his Church", that is, to induce the Taikosama to cease persecuting the Christians, but died on the 17th February at the entrance to the Straits of Singapore, and was buried in Malacca in *Nossa Senhora do Monte* on the 20th of that month. His tombstone lay neglected in the nave of the church. (119)

(3)—Date unknown: Don Miguel de Castro, the youngest of the three sons of Don Jcão de Castro, Viceroy of India. (120) "During the reign of King Don Sebastião, he went to the Indies and died as Captain of Malacca." (121) A fleet left Goa on 20th April 1575 to go to the help of Malacca; "Don Miguel de Castro left with this fleet to take up his post as Captain of Malacca, for which he held the royal commission, embarking on the *Santa Cruz*." (122)

We do not know the year of his death which must have taken place before 1577, for in that year, according to Francisco de Sousa, Ayres de Saldanha was in charge of the Fortress. (123)

Let us mention another tombstone, now in Christ Church, Malacca, which was originally in *Nossa Senhora do Monte*, as the inscription it bears proves it. It is that of Bras Concales, or Goncalves, (124) "who was churchwarden of the church *"casa de Nossa Senhora,"* and died on Easter Sunday . ." The date is missing. No doubt the stone, as we have it now, is in a mutilated state.

Most of the tombstones belonging to the Portuguese epoch have disappeared. Some of them were destroyed by the Dutch, others sawn up or broken under the hammers of inconoclastic stonecutters. For a long time, years passed by without any attention being given to the monuments of that era. Alas! only once were they noticed, when the English blew up the picturesque walls and bastions which surrounded Malacca; which entailed the "enormous expense of 260.000 rupees." (125) To-day, thanks to the Malacca Historical Society, public interest is beginning to awaken. We can now feel certain of the preservation of the remains of the buildings put up in Malacca by the *hidalgos* who came here from the Tower of Belem on the banks of the Tagus, or by merchants with jolly red faces who came from the marshy towns of the Low Countries, and have been immortalised by the brush of Rembrandt.

The page inscribed in the annals of the Portuguese military splendours of Malacca by Nuno Alvares Botelho was to be the last. With him went to the tomb a story of epic combats in which victories outnumbered defeats. Yet a few years remained—years of peace, but full of miseries; and the Fortress, till then inviolate, fell into the hands of the Dutch. On the 14th January, 1641, after a siege of six months, the enemy entered through a breach made by their cannon in the bastion of *São Domingos*. The defenders were driven from one bastion to another, and finally sought refuge behind the walls of the Old Fortress (*a Famosa*), opposing a desesperate resistance to their attackers who lost heavily. Vain bravery: surrender was inevitable. The Dutch flag now flew on the proud donjon of the *Famosa* where, for 130 years the wind had fluttered the banner of the Kings of Portugal. Nothing but ruins remained of Malacca. Then fortifications at the foot of the Hill of Nossa Senhora had been completely destroyed by the battering of the artillery. The destruction had been so complete that during the last days of the siege, the only defence of the town was a battery of huge cannon, which had been dragged (126) to a platform at the top of the hill, and which completely destroyed the district of Tranqueirah or Bandar Malakka, which had been occupied by the enemy. (127)

After the surrender of the town, "the respectable inhabitants and their families were left peaceably in their houses, but were ordered to carry all the gold, silver, jewels and money which they possessed to the *Church of Saint-Paul.*" (128) This name, imposed by the Dutch, is that by which the Church of *Nossa Senhora do Monte* has been henceforth known. (129)

Justus Schouten, the Commissioner sent by the Dutch East India Company, in his report on his visit to Malacca, speaks of the tower of *Nossa Senhora* as being about 100 feet high and solidly built. He also mentions the three altars in the church, the chief one dedicated to St. Ignatius of Loyola, one to the Eleven Thousand Virgins, and the third to the *Bom Jesus*—all very richly decorated. (130) He says: "The beautiful church towers (sic) and the Monastery of Saint-Paul are damaged in many places" (131) Nevertheless he suggests that "the towers of Saint-Paulus could be made into a dominating stronghold which would serve as a safe retreat in time of need and could guard the road and the fields." (132) Finally he expresses the opinion that the church itself could "be used (for our reformed Christian Religion) only Feast days because it is situated on a hill and it is difficult to hold daily services there." (133) And this was done

In his book, *Voyages et Missions*, Father Alexandre de Rhodes, S. J., who happened to pass through Malacca in 1646, on the day on which the Dutch celebrated the anniversary of the capture of the town, wrote: "I was grieved to the heart thinking of the beautiful town it was when I saw it twenty-three years ago, when I stayed for nine months in our College on its pleasant hill, and contrasted it with this terribly changed city. Alas! our church, consecrated to the glorious Mother of God, where the great St. Xavier preached so often, and where he worked such wondrous miracles, is now used for heretic sermons . . Nothing hurt me so much as to hear our old College bell ringing for the detestable services of these heretics." (134)

It is probable that *Nossa Senhora do Monte* was used by the Calvinists as a place of worship until 1753, when Christ Church, near the Stadthuys (Town Hall), was built. (135) As it was no longer of any use to them, the Dutch abandoned it to wind and weather. Little by little the roof fell in, and the jungle made haste to cover the Dutch tombstones which had almost ousted those of the Portuguese.

If the plan proposed by the Commissioner Justus Schouten about making use of the church of *Nossa Senhora* was carried out, there are grounds for believing that his proposal for the use of the church tower was never put into execution. In 1663, twenty-two years after the capture of the town, Gauthier Schouten wrote:

"There is a tower, or Bell tower, (136) on a hill within the walls, which can be seen from quite a distance. We climbed it up and found the tower in decay. We could scarcely keep our footing on the top floor and were afraid it would collapse under us; it seemed so terribly old and dilapidated." We can not say with certainty at what date the Dutch pulled down the tower to a level with the church as a measure of safety. In any case, the state of dilapidation in which it was found by Gauthier Schouten, when he ascended it in 1663, would hardly lead one to think that it was left standing till 1741, though this is asserted by the author of the article on 'Saint-Paul's Church" in the *Historical Guide of Malacca*. (137) The tottering tower was a standing menace to the Hollanders, as it carried with it a threat of an extremely inconvenient interruption to their sermons. One can hardly believe, therefore, that they would wait for three quarters of a century before removing the danger.

On the 27th December, 1730, Father Gaetan Lopes, writing from Lisbon to the General of the Jesuits in Rome, says: "Of our Church and College, there is hardly anything left but the pillars. Where our College formally stood, there is at present a Dutch fortress. On the high point there is a place for a flag-staff." (138) This document is very likely correct as far as the College is concerned, but it is certainly false concerning the church.

Thus the beautiful College built by the Visitor Alexander Valignani had totally disappeared before 1730, whilst *Nossa Senhora do Monte*, shorn of its tower, remained erect as we see it today, a sombre stone mass burned by the rays of the sun, emerging from the luxuriant green of tropical verdure.

Nossa Senhora was built of blocks of laterite, probably drawn from the quarries at *Ilha das Pedras*, (Pulo Upeh) (139) The building is rather heavy in appearance, of no particular style, and bare of any exterior ornementation.

There is a lintelled door-way in the middle of the facade. This door is flanked by two windows and surmounted by a third, all likewise with a lintel and discharging arch (arc de décharge). At the summit, near the roof, there is a small ox-eye. In the nave, with the exception of the first, which has a lintel like those of the facade, all the windows are narrow, arched, and pierced in the upper part of the walls. Around some of the windows, where the plaster-work has held well, some mouldings are yet distinguishable. A little beyond the middle of the nave there are two side doors, of medium size, one opening to the north, and the other to the south.

The sanctuary is rectangular, narrower than the nave, and covered by a stone vaulted ceiling. It opens up by an arch in the Manueline style whose panels are cut deep in the laterite as well as the bases and capitals of the slusters of small columns by which it is supported, (139a) On the Gospel side of the altar there is a door, or rather a sort of vaulted passage, which gives access to the outside. On the Epistle side, two doors lead to the sacristy, the centre of which is occupied by an enormous square pillar. It would seem that this pillar was erected as an after-thought, when the construction of the tower had been decided upon, for it was held that the walls could not sustain its weight, though the walls of the sacristy and those of the sanctuary were much thicker than those of the nave, as they had to bear the outward pressure of the vault. Another thing to notice in the sacristy is a ramp, or slope, to enable a gun to be raised to the height of a window-opening facing south. Holes were bored in the piers of this window through which cables were passed to moderate the force of recoil whenever firing took place.

During the excavation made by Maj. Bone, he found *azulejos*. (140) in very good condition. He also brought to light some fragments of glazed earthenware tiles, with metallic reflections on the enamel, resembling the ornamentation which produces such a beautiful effect in Arab architecture. One of the fragment showed a little cross in deep green which, it is surmised, probably formed part of a Maltese cross. It is supposed that *azulejos* were introduced into Spain by the Moors, where they have been manufactured since the 14th century. May we conjecture, from these finds, that part of the walls of the choir of *Nossa Senhora* were adorned with these azulejos? We know that azulejos constituted the most important part of the decorations of monuments in the Baroque style so favoured by the Portuguese in the East Indies?

Such is the history, in an abridged form, of the old church of Malacca, based on documents brought to light by Father Schurhammer, to which we have added explanatory excerpts from old Portuguese historians.

The first building was a tiny *Ermida* or *Casa* erected in 1521 by Duarte Coelho, and dedicated by him to *Nossa Senhora da Graca,* which name appears to have been soon changed for that of *Nossa Senhorra Madre de Deus.* Towards 1566, or 1567 (according to Francisco de Sousa), as the chapel had fallen into ruins and was no longer sufficient for the needs of the Jesuits, the rased it to the ground and built the present large church on its site which was designated as *Nossa Senhora do Monte* or *do Oteiro* to distinguish it from *Nossa Senhora da Assumpcâo* at the foot of the hill. In their

Annual Letters, the Jesuits simply call it *"a nossa Igreja"* (our church). It was not considered as finished until the day of the completion of a tower which was erected beside the choir, on the sacristy (1590).

As soon as the Dutch had captured Malacca, they substituted the name of Saint-Paul for that of *Nossa Senhora*. As a matter of fact, the name of *Saint-Paul* really belonged to the Residence or College of the Jesuits, who were also called Paulists in the East Indies, that being the name of their great College at Goa. The name of the saint was less offensive to Calvinist ears than the abhorred title "Mother of God". Even to-day, on account of the habit acquired during the Dutch regime by the inhabitants of Malacca of calling that church by the name of Saint-Paul, it is always referred to by the population under that name. However as long as the Fortress remained in Portuguese hands, its official title was *Nossa Senhora da Annonciada* the name given to the church built at the foot of the hill by Afonso d'Albuquerque. It is not known when, or under what circumstances, the names were altered, as for a long time the old church was regarded as contemporaneous with the Fortress, that is, dating from 1511. Could it not be possible to fix, at least approximately, the time and the reason when *Nossa Senhora do Monte* took the name of *Nossa Senhora da Annonciada*, and when the latter became *Nossa Senhora da Assumpção?* Was an error made?

Diogo do Couto is the only one of the old Portuguese historians who, as far as we know, used the title *"Nossa Senhora da Assumpção"* when writing of the Parish Church, either before or after it became the Cathedral. But he uses it only once, in his Decada VII., when writing of the creation of the Archbishopric of Goa. (141) He says: "Pope Paul IV. decreed that the churches of *Santa Cruz*, at Cochim, and *Nossa Senhora da Assumpção*, in the city of Malacca be converted into Suffragan Sees of the Archdiocese of Goa." Now, in the Bull *'Pro Excellenti Praeeminencia'*, dated 4th., February 1557, which created the diocese of Malacca, the church elevated to the rank of Cathedral, though it is the same one mentioned by do Couto, is called by its original title of the *"Annonciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary."* (142) We search in vain for any explanation of the discrepancy between the two texts, that of do Couto and that of the Bull. We give the facts as they are, remarking, however, that do Couto cannot be accused of error, for during the many stays the successor Barros made in the Fortress of Malacca, he was able to acquire an exact and extensive knowledge of the point in question. The topographical details which he gives of Malacca and of its environs, as well as the minute description which accompany the accounts of the facts he relates, produce the impression of his being an ocular or a well informed witness. He knew Malacca by reason of his residence there. When he gives

a new title to the Cathedral, we should be careful not to assume an error on his part. When he calls the Cathedral "*da Assumpcâo*", surely he is not making mistake. (143) One of his contemporaries, Emmanuel Godinho de Eredia, himself a native of Malacca, confirms the correctness of his statement.

In Chapter I of the 1st Treatise of his *Declaracam*, Eredia, after enumerating the buildings within the walls of the Fortress, adds that there was there "five churches, namely, the *Cathedral of our Lady of the Assumption* with its Chapter and Episcopal see,.. the *Church of Our Lady of the Annonciation* in the College of the Company of Jesus, on the top of the hill." (144) This passage not only confirms the correctness of the title used by do Couto for the Cathedral, but also shows that the name, which it originally bore, had been actually and officially transferred to the church on the hill. We do not know the date of this transfer, nor when the name of the Cathedral was changed, but we believe we can say that it had been done long before. When the *Descobridor* was born (16th. July 1563), the humble *casa da Madre de Deos* was still in existence. It is improbable that Eredia retained any memory of the old building, as it completely disappeared under demolishing picks about 1565-1566. The new church, on the other hand, was well known to him. He had seen its foundations laid and its walls rise. The work of construction, continually interrupted and tirelessly renewed, was still going on in 1576 when, at the age of thirteen, he went to Goa to complete his education in the College of the Jesuits. (144a) Eredia does not mention any change of name having been made by the Jesuits who built the church, which he would, doubtless, have done, had such been the case. This very silence of Eredia leads us to believe that the change took place at a period far anterior to his time. He does not appear to have known anything about it; and for him, the Cathedral was always *Nossa Senhora da Assumpcâo:* and the Jesuits church, the one on the hill, *Nossa Senhora da Annonciada*. Besides, in writing his *Declaracam*, the *Descobridor* does not make any pretensions to the name of historian. It was enough for him to be a geographer describing the land as it is, such as it appeared to him.

He often heard in his infancy, and took pleasure in relating to us, the manner in which the sainted Bishop, Don Frei Jorge de Sousa Santa Luzia, put an end to the damage done to the people of Malacca by the *"Banuas Sylvestres"* of the country—that is the wild *Jakun* who came at night, metamorphosed into tigers, to attack the people in the streets. Don Frei Jorge, at first prescribed public prayers in the Cathedral. Then, "after the High Mass and after the procession at the feast of the Assumption of Our Lady, Patroness of this Fortress, he solemnly excommunicated these tigers." Thenceforward the wild beasts ceased their incursions and left the

population in peace. (145) This remarkable event, which was spoken of for many a long year, took place, according to Eredia, on the 15th. August, 1560; but the true date, however, was a year later, in 1561.

This account absolutely proves that, from about 1560, at the time when the first Bishop of Malacca was taking possession of his see, the patronal feast of the Fortress, and, consequently, that also of the parish church and Cathedral, was kept on August 15th., Assumption Day of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The documents which would enable us to pursue our investigations to an earlier period, and thus fix the exact dates which interest us, cannot be found. The field, therefore, is widely open to hypotheses. Father Schurhammer puts forward an hypothesis which we have not the least hesitation in accepting. He reminds us that, in 1512, d'Albuquerque asked King Don Manuel, for the church he had built, "for a retable of the Annunciation (Cartas. I. 53), in 1515, for ornaments, books, organ, bells, clerics (3,137). Only one difficulty: He calls the Church *'Nossa Senhora da Annonciation.* At Eredia's time, this was the title of the *Saint-Paul's Church,* whilst the title of the Parish Church was *Nossa da Assumpcão.* Probably the King sent a retable of the Assomption instead of one of the Annonciation, and the title of the parish church was accordingly changed already at the time of Albuquerque, or shortly after his death, viz: when the retable came." (146)

Don Manuel, we may be sure, wished that the church erected by the conqueror should not only be a hymn of praise to the Mother of God, but should also commemorate from generation to generation the remembrance of the glorious day of the great victory over the Moors. As Malacca was taken by the Portuguese on the feast of the Assumption, nothing was more natural than to dedicate the Parish Church of the new Fortress under that title in preference to any other.

In 1641, Justus Schouten writes in his report that the Cathedral, which he calls, we do not know why," *of the St. Martyrs"* "was the principal temple of the Bishopric and was dedicated to the Assumption of the Virgin Mary (as Patroness) because the city had been captured from the Moors on that feast day. "It was", he adds, "a beautifully built cross-shaped church, of large dimensions, situated at the foot of the hill, on a raised ground at one end of the castle (*a Famosa*). It had eight altars, namely, *the high altar of Nossa Signora da Assumpcão* etc." (147)

Valentyn does not consider the Cathedral to be the church built in 1511. He must have read Portuguese historians, at least Bras d'Albuquerque, and so he takes the church on the hill, which he must have heard called *Nossa Senhora da Annonciada,* for that

built by d'Albuquerque when he erected the *"Famosa"*. This is the reason why, in his account of the siege of 1606, he writes that the most effective shot of the Dutch fleet was that which struck the *Church of Saint-Paul,* so called by the Dutch. He carefully specified that "Albuquerque had dedicated it to Our Lady of the Annunciation, and that it belonged to the Order of the Jesuits."

It is certain that the texts of Eredia and of Valentyn, as well as the plans of the Fortress left by the former, have largely contributed to the error which, for a long time, considered the church known as *Church of Saint-Paul* (so called by the Dutch when they captured Malacca) as being the *Nossa Senhora da Annonciada* erected by d'Albuquerque. The above two writers are perhaps the only ones responsible, though unknowingly, for this extraordinary imbroglio.

Besides, Father Schurhammer, himself, shared in the common error. In fact, he wrote, in his notice on *'The Church of Saint-Paul'* (1931): "The Church named *Nossa Senhora do Monte* was dedicated to Our Lady of the Annonciation (Annunciacão).... This church was built by Afonso de Albuquerque as also the Fortress.....As far back as 1512, Albuquerque asks the King for 'retable for the church of the Annunciation' (Cartas de Albuquerque, 1884, T. I. p. 53) The Parish Church, Nossa Senhora da Assumpcão, was probably already built by 1515, because it was this year that the first parish priest, Afonso Martins, arrived."

The change of names of the two churches in the Fortress is an indisputable fact. Whilst Schouten regarded the church built by d'Albuquerque as the Cathedral, for Valentyn it was that which dominated the crest of the hill, since it had retained, so he believed, the title given by the 'terrible Governor'. Valentyn, however, never called *Nossa Senhora do Monte* a Cathedral; but the editors of the *Historical Guide of Malacca* have committed that inexplicable error. In fact, on page 36 of that brochure, they even show a plan of the old church on the hill with this caption 'Plan of the Cathedral of Our Lady of the Mount'. The anonymous author of the Chapter on 'Saint-Paul's Church' (loc. cit., p. 28) has not fallen into this error: "The Church on the hill," he writes, "soon became too small; and, in 1515, was built the Cathedral of Our Lady of the Assumption, at the foot of the hill, close to the *Famosa*. We must remark, by the way, that the reason given by the author, in justification of the erection of the Cathedral, is doubly amusing. It implies, first of all, that the Portuguese population increased with incredible rapidity, which could not have been the case considering the troublous times through which they passed in those days; and, secondly, that the Portuguese built, with all speed, a Cathedral, forty-two years before the Pope had established an episcopal see at Malacca.

Ignorance, partiality and preconceived notions weave legends which, like spider-webs cling to history and disfigure it, when they do not destroy its worth altogether.

Presbytery of the Church of Saint-Terese,
Gajah Berang, Malacca, March 1945.
R. CARDON.

Before bringing this paper to a close, I must tender my most heartfelt thanks to Mrs. L. Elkins for the valuable help she gave me in taking upon herself to translate it from the original in French, a kindness which enables me to publish this paper without delay. The only care left to me was the translation of the notes following the paper.

NOTES

(1) *Correia*: *Lendas*, t. II, I, Cap. XXIX.

(2) *Commentarios* (Hackluyt Soc. edit.), t. III, p. 51

(3) *Barros De Asia*, Dec. III, Liv. VI, Cap. II, (edit. 1777).

(4) Schurhammer, S. J.—*Letter* to Fr. J. Francois vicar of the church of Saint-Francis-Xavier, Malacca. Dated: Roma, 23 Nov., 1937.

(5) *Declaracam*: *de*: *Malacca*: *e*: *India*: *Meridional*: *com*: *o*: *Cathay*: em: iii: Tract: ordenada: por: Emanvel: Godin: ho: de: Eredia: dirigido: a: S: C: R: M: de: D: Phel. Rey de Ispa. N.S.—Fabrica: da: Cidade: de: Malaca: intramuros. Anno 1604.

(6) Duarte Coelho discovered Cochinchina eighteen years after the coming of the Portuguese to India. "To commemorate this event, he erected on the shore, as a "padrao", a cross bearing the date of this occurrence together with the name of the discoverer." (Frei Jacinto de Deos: *Vergel de Plantas e Flores da Provincia de Madre de Deos dos Capuchos reformados*. 1690.)

(7) "Ermida" = small temple, small chapel. (Nouveau Dictionaire Portugais-Francais, dedie a l'Academie de Lisbonne, par J. I. Roquette, Paris, 1856).

(8) *"Casado"* = a married man. In the Portuguese East Indies, the white population was divided into two classes, the "soldados" or soldiers, forming the more numerous and also the more miserable class of the two, and the "casados". The latter could be distinguished from the "soldados" because of their wearing a mantle. The casados were not compelled to join in military expeditions abroad, and, Pyrard tells us "when they desire to go, it is a great dishonour to them on account of their wives they leave behind The soldiers like not to see married men shipped along with them, being apprehensive, lest they should inadvertently, and without intending any offence, address to them some indecent language, such as they use among themselves. A married man would be gravely insulted by such words." (*Pyrard's Voyages*, (Hackluyt Soc. edit.), vol. II, p 125

(9) Also known as *Bathocina*, or Bukit China.

(10) From a letter to the king, written by Jorge d'Albuquerque, Captain of Malacca, and dated 8th Jan., 1515, we know that Jorge Alvares was the first Portuguese who landed in China. He sailed from Malacca in May, 1513, on board a trading-junk of the king of Portugal, as a facteur (*feytor*). He reached Than Men, an island which was afterwards named by the Portuguese *Tamao*, *Tamou*, and also *Veniaga* (mal. = *berniaga*, to trade) which is named *Tai Mong* on the maps of the British Admiralty. He was given a friendly reception by the Chinese, and, there, he erected a *padrao*, or stone pillar, bearing the coat-of-arms of Portugal and topped by a cross. He, very likely, returned to Malacca in the first half of 1514. The future ambassador to China, who died in the prisons of Canton after the break of the friendly relations between Chinese and Portuguese, Tome Pires, has mentioned this travel of Jorge Alvares in the list he wrote in Dec., 1513, or in the beginning of 1514, of the ports where the portuguese ships called to as far as that time. Jorge Alvares went again to China in 1517 and in 1519. He died there at the time of his last voyage, in 1521, when he was in command of one of the ships of the *Armada* of Fernao Peres de Andrade and was buried near the *padrao* he had erected in 1513. In his Decada III, Liv. VI, Cap. II, Joao de Barros has made the name of Jorge Alvares immortal.—Cf.: *Expansao Portuguesa*, vol. I, Cap. XI: *A expansao portuguesa atraves do Pacifico*, por Armando Cortesao, pp. 163-166).

(11) In the beginning of 1515, Rafael Perestrello, an Italian, sailed from Malacca in a junk of a certain Kling (*Kalinga*) trader, Pulate, with 10 Portuguese companions, according to Castanheda (*Historia do Descobrimento e da Conquista*, Liv. III, Cap. CXLIX), with thirty, according to Correia (*Lendas*, T. II, p. 474). He was back in August or September 1516, bringing with him a rich cargo which literally dazzled the whole town of Malacca; and he announced that "the Chinese wished to live in peace with the Portuguese and that they were a very good people."

(12) Fernao Peres de Andrade was one of the captains who took a prominent part in the capture of Malacca. In a letter to the king, dated Cochim, 20 Aug., 1515, Afonso de Albuquerque says that "he was left with his ship as *Capitao Mor do Mar* (Admiral) of the *armada* of Malacca. He had a very important share in the sea battles against Mahmud's *laksamana* who was intrenched in the Muar river, and against Pate Quetir chieftain of the Javanese of Upe after the beheading of Utimuteraja by order of de Albuquerque. He also inflicted a crushing defeat at sea on Pate Onuz, a prince from Java who attempted to wrest Malaca from the Portuguese and then returned to India, leaving the command of the Malacca fleet to Antonio de Abreu just back from his expedition to the Molucas. In 1515 we find him again at Malacca where he had been sent by the new Governor of India, Lopo Soares de Albergaria, to bring to China the apothecary Tome Pires as ambassador. He left Malacca on the 17th June, put in at Tamao on the 15th August and, about the end of September, arrived at Canton. In September, 1518, Fernao Peres de Andrade set out for Malacca, leaving the ambassador Tome Pires who had just received the authorisation to go to Pekin to discharge his mission at the court of emperor Wu Tsung. In april, 1519, Simao, brother of Fernao Peres, set sail to China, and there, behaved himself in such an arrogant manner with chinese officials that the latter decided to break off the friendly intercourse they had set up as early as 1509 with the Portuguese when Diogo Lopes de Sequeira arrived in Malacca. The death of the emperor Wu Tsung afforded them the occasion to drive them out of China. It was then that the events we record here took place.

Diogo do Couto mentions the presence of Fernao Peres de Andrade, still in active service, at the siege of Malacca by the Achinese, in 1573. When Tristao Vas da Veiga proposed to launch an attack on the fleet of the enemy which was lying at anchor in the mouth of the Muar river, many "fidalgos" volunteered to accompany him: "The first", says do Couto, "and the most illustrious among them was Fernao Peres de Andrade, a well known gentleman and chevalier who happened to be here (at Malacca) at all the sieges and battles which were fought against the king of Acheh, the Javanese, and gave proof of his gallantry." (*De Asia*, Dec. IX, Cap. XVII). At the siege of 1574, by the Javanese, Fernao Peres played again a prominent part in destroying the stockades they had erected at the entrance of the Malacca river. (ibid., Dec. IX, Cap. XXVII).

(13) "It is indisputably to Lionel de Sousa, *capitao mor* of the portuguese merchant fleet in China, that the Portuguese are indebted for the opportunity which was given them to re-start trade openly with the people of Canton. On the 15th Febr., 1547, Leonel de Sousa was authorized making two voyages to China. He, surely, availed himself of this occasion to help his country to get a share in the profit. (*Torre do Tombo.*—Chancelaria de D. Joao, liv. 15, fl. 23 V). This eminent Portuguese concluded an *Assentamento*, or accord, with the Chinese authorities of the Kuang Tung, by which trade could be carried on henceforward with official sanction
In fact a new era dawned for the Portuguese in China. They still continued to go to Sancian (as they called it) and Lampacau where they had carried on a clandestine trade. As long as the accord, negociated by Leonel de Sousa was not duly signed, they were obliged to stay far off the coast so to avoid the watch kept by the chinese war-junks; but, as soon as the

Assentamento was concluded, they began to come to Macau as at a permanent trading-place."—(J. M. Braga: *O Assentamento de Leonel de Sousa*, Boletim Eclesiastico da Diocese de Macau, Jan. de 1940, No. 430).

(14) Barr. Dec. III, Liv. VI, Cap. II —"Since that time, the hill was known under the name of "Ooteiro de Nossa-Senhora em Malacca", the hill of Our-Lady in Malacca. (*Manoel Severim de Faria*, in *"Indices das cousas mais notaveis desta obra"*, going with *"De Asia"* de Barros e de do Couto, and *"Vida de Joao de Barros."* Lisboa, M. DCC. LXX. VII
Bocarro, Chronicler-in-chief of the State of Portuguese India, when describing

(15) In his description of the "City of the Name of God" (Macao), Antonio the famous fortress of Sao Paulo, built by the Jesuits as a refuge in case of an attack by the Hollandese, writes as follows about *taypa*: "The Fortress of Sao Paulo is on a prominent hill which dominates the whole City, on the top of which is built a wall, measuring 20 spans at its base, made of granite as far as 6 spans high above the ground, after which it is composed merely of earth mixed with straw, and beaten so strongly with pestles that it becomes exceedingly strong and even better than stone in its ability to resist bombardment, since it does not loosen so easily. Walls made of this earth and lime are so durable, that as all the houses in the City (of Macao) are built of it, they have great difficulty in opening spaces for windows when they are finished, which they do by means of iron picks, with excessive toil and moil "—(C. R. Boxer: *Macau Three Hundred Years Ago*, as described by Antonio Bocarro in 1685, and now translated with an Introduction and Notes. T'ien Hsia, Apr., 1938, vol. VI, No. $, p. 295).

In Malacca, the *Tranqueira*,—after which the quarter of the town, along the sea-shore, was named,—was built with this *taypa*, in 1535, when D. Estevao da Gama, captain of the Fortress, replaced the old and worm-eaten wood palisade which, till that year, had served as a rampart. "In order to have this work finished rapidly," Castanheda tells us, "D. Estevao was continually on the spot, congratulating those who worked hard and giving them food at the cost of the Royal Treasury. To complete this work he spent only 300 crusados and moreover it got it finished within thirty days. Had he done otherwise, he would not have done it for less than 30,000 cruzados The wall was at least of the height of a man and, in some places, higher than the height of two and even three men." *Historia do Descobrimento* etc Liv. VIII, Cap LXXIX). The volunteers whom D Estevao employed for the construction of the Tranqueira were, according to Correia (*Lendas*, Liv. III, Cap. CXV) the inhabitants of that part of the town, the *Quelys*, or Indians from South India.

(16) Fernao Mendes Pinto: *Peregrinacam*, Cap XXXXVIII.

(17) Francisco de Sousa, the historian of the Jesuits of the Province of Goa in his *Oriente Conquistado a Jesus Christo* fixes the feast on Ascension day. On the other hand, Casimiro Christovao de Nazareth, in his *Mitras Lusitanas no Oriente* (T. II, p. 253), fixes it on the 15th August, feast-day of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin like Lucena (*Historia da Vida do Padre S. Francisco de Xavier*, Liv. I, 7, c. 15), Charlevoix S. J (*Histoire du Japon*, I, 228) and some other authors. Francisco de Sousa gives the description of the morning celebrations in the church of Nossa Senhora de Outeiro and adds "the most gratifying part of this feast was the baptism conferred on four japanese gentiles" by the Vicar General "on the day of the Ascension of Christ". We think safer to adhere to the text of Francisco de Sousa though C. C. de Nazareth's opinion be backed by authors generally held as reliable. We do not see indeed any reason why D. Pero da Silva da Gama and the Vicar General should have postponed to Assumption day, that is four months later, the religious rejoicings which were to celebrate the good news of the safe arrival of Xavier in Japan and his first missionary successes.

(18) Pe, Manoel Xavier, S. J.: *Victorias do Gouernador da India Nuno Aluares Botelho,* 1633., fl. 31.

(19) Pe. Manoel Xavier, S. J.: ibid., fl 30.

(20) At firat, St. Francis Xavier hesitated to open schools because such a work, as the instruction of youth, was not mentioned in the Bull of the canonical institution of the Society of Jesus, issued by Pope Paul III. Finally, and for very similar reasons as St. Ignatius of Loyola solved, just about the same time, the same problem in Europe, Xavier decided on the creation of such schools in India. In these schools, either portuguese or vernacular, the children learnt to read and write suitably their own language. They were also taught their religion and were formed to habits of christian life. Sometimes a Father or a lay Brother would teach latin. But generally, the Jesuits assumed only the management of these institutions, leaving to lay teachers the care of teaching children. After five or six years of attendance the children could leave the school, having a perfect knowledge of their religion, being well trained in the practice of Christian life and quite prepared to lay the foundations of a really Christian home.—(Cf. J. Castets, S. J.: *The Portuguese Missions of Goa, Cochim and Ceylon,* Pt. II. In *Examiner,* Bombay, May, 20, 1922, vol. 73, No. 20).

(21) Lucena: *Historia da Vida do Pe. S. Francisco de Xavier,* t. II, liv. VI, Cap II, p. 309-310.—Franc. de Sousa: *Oriente Conquistado,* Pte. I, No. 46.

(22) Schurhammer, S. J.: *The Church of St.-Paul.* Ms.

(23) Father Alexander Valignani (or Valignano), S. J. "one of the most eminent superiors who ever had the Eastern Asia Missions" (Wessels: ibid.) was born, in Dec. 1539, at Chieti (Italy) of an illustrious family. Being but nineteen years old, he graduated as a Dr. in law. He first held the office of Secretary of cardinal Altemps and then, on the 29th May, 1564, entered the Novitiate of the Society of Jesus. Immediately after his ordination to the priesthood, Father Everard Mercurian chose him as Visitor and Vicar General for the East. On the 23rd March, 1574, he left Lisbon with forty other religious of his Order and arrived in the Indies where he visited Malacca and Macao. He remained in this last city for ten months, till about 1578, and the following year, arrived in Japan where he stayed until the 20th Febr. Then he set sail from Nagazaki with an embassy of young Japanese noblemen who were going to Portugal, Spain and Rome. As Provincial he took charge of all the missions of Japan, from 1585 to 1588. His return brought him about the time of the great persecution of Taikosama. He had brought with him from Europe a printing press and a staff of workmen to cut Japanese characters in relief. With his press, a certain number of works, either translated from latin or written in the vernacular language by missionaries, were published. In 1592, Valignani was back in Macao. There he founded the College of St.-Paul for the special training of missionaries for Japan. On the 5th August, he returned to Nagasaki till Jan., 1603, when he left Japan for good. In 1598, D. Pero Martins, the second bishop of Funai, who was en route to Goa, died in the Straits of Singapore, His coadjutor, D. Luis de Cerqueira, to whom he had previously given the order, when passing through Macao, sailed, accompanied by Father Valignani, for Japan. Next September, D. Luis called his missionaries to a general meeting. Father Valignano attended this meeting at which severe sanctions were adopted against portuguese merchants and Japanese who were carrying on slave traffic, though it had been forbidden again and again by the Taikosama. Christian Daymio (noblemen) and the portuguese merchants not only complied with the decisions of the bishop, but even released their slaves. After thirty-two years of intent and fruitful labour in the mission-field, Valignani died on the 15th Jan., 1606, in Macao where he had retired. "So great was the veneration of the most illustrious personages for this eminent religious that the king of Spain, Philipp II and the cardinal of Austria used to write to

him every year to ask for his advice. Even his words were of great weight with the Sovereign Pontiffs."—(Fr. L. van Hee, S. J.; *Homenagem de Reconhecimento a Macau*, Boletim Eclesiastico da Diocese de Macau—from the Bulletin de l'Union Missionaire du Clerge, Apr. 1937, p. 156; C. Wessels: *Hist. de la Miss d'Amboine* (1546-1606), p. 94;—Leon Pages: *Histoire de la Religion Chretienne au Japon, depuis* 1598 *jusqu'en* 1651, etc.; *I Part., Texte*, p. 131; *II Part.*, Annexes, p 231-33)

(24) Fr. de Sousa: *Oriente Conquistado.*, Pte I, No. 45.

(25) Schurrhammer, S. J.: *The Church of St.-Paul*, History from authentic documents, Ms.

(26) F. M. Pinto: *Peregrinacao* gives the date as "4th December" *Les Voiages Aventureux* (traduction Francaise du Sieur Bernard Figuier): Ch. CCVII, p. 909.

(27) F. M. Pinto: ibid.

(28) Freyre de Andrade: *Vida de Joao de Castro*, p 276

(29) Couto: *De Asia*, Dec. VI, Liv. V, Cap. II.

(30) To make up for the harm D Alvaro had done Diogo Pereira in preventing his going to China with the quality of ambassador, D. Sebastiao, grand-son and successor of king D. Joao III, gave orders to the Viceroy D. Francisco Coutinho, Count of Redondo, to appoint again Diogo Pereira as ambassador to China and Captain to Macau. The Viceroy arrived in India in 1561, bringing with him presents for the Chinese emperor, and he sent them through Gil de Gois, brother-in-law of Diogo, to Macau where the latter was at that time Diogo was given the option between the office either of ambassador or of captain of Macao. He preferred the captaincy. In 1569, the colony, which then numbered 900 Portuguese maintained him in this charge which he held to the general satisfaction till 1587. As for the embassy, it never left for China. The mandarins of the Celestial Empire objected to it under the pretext that ambassadors and retinue were paltry-looking, indeed, and unworthy of being admitted in the august presence of the son of Heaven. Diogo Pereira had a brother, Guilherme, who was twice sea captain of the voyages to China. If we except the Viceroy, he was the only Portuguese to keep up the largest establishment in Golden Goa His table-service was of gold and silver. He was the richest merchant of the time. He died in Diogo's house just when he was on the point of leaving for Lisbon to get married. He left Diogo an estate of 200,000 cruzados.

(31) Xavier had already done the same thing in one of the islands near the Moluccas. "The inhabitants (of Rosalea, i.e. Nousa-laut) were leading such barbarous and unclean life that Xavier could confer baptism to only one child. When he left, he shook off the dust from his feet, because, he said, he would not carry away with him even that from a place which derived so little profit from the preaching of the Gospel."—(Wessels: *Hist. de la Miss. d'Amboine* (1546-1605), and F. M. Pinto (transl. Bernard Figuier (1646), Ch. CCVI, p. 943-944).

(31a) *Manchua* = a small boat.—Castanheda says that D. Paulo da Gama, in 1534, rushed to the aid of Simao Sodre who had been assailed by the Johorites, near *Pulo Grande* (now Pulo Besar) and that some forty people set out with him on board *manchuas* which were so small that in each of them there was room only for two or three persons. It was in this sea-fight that D. Paulo, captain of Malacca (1533-34) lost his life.

(32) Yet, in his *Histoire des Papes depuis la fin du Moyen Age* (trad. de l'Allem. par A. Poizat), T. XI, p. 548, Louis Pastor says "that in the voluptuous city of Malacca there were, about 1548, many people who approached the Sacraments every eighth day; by 1550, the town was almost wholly converted."

(33) Coleridge, S. J.: *The Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier* T. II, p 548

(33(f)) Vicente Viegas had succeeded Afonso Martins, the first Vicar in charge of the parish church of Malacca.

(34) Coleridge, S. J. ibid, T. II, p. 558

(35) Franc. de Sousa: *Oriente Conquistado etc.*, Pte II, Conquista I, Divisao II, (1575-1585), No. 1, p. 57-58.

(36) *Letter of the Chinese Antonio de Santa Fe* to Father Manoel Texeira at Goa, according to the copy discovered in the Library of the Ajuda by Father Cros, S. J. This date is the one given by the only person who witnessed St. Francis' death. It is accepted by Cros in his *Life of St. Francis*, published about 1906. Up to that time, other biographies, even Father Ribadaneira's S. J., the first in date, said the that saint died on the 2nd December; hence the reason why the celebration of the saint's feast was fixed on that day. "Later on, in 1663, and apparently at the request of the Order (of the Jesuits), the feast was transferred by Alexander VII from the second to the third of the month The Roman Breviary, while still retaining in its lessons the date of the death on December 2nd, places the feast itself on the 3rd. Alzog (or his translator) apparently misled by the date of the feast, actually places the death of St. Francis on the 3rd. (*Univ. Hist. English trans.*, Vol III, p 468) Other writers, however, give the usual day (December 2nd)." (The Examiner, Bombay, Febr., 24, 1906, Vol. LVII, p. 95-96). Father Cros vindicates his use of the date 27th November, the date given by Antonio de Santa Fe. Under the initials J. C. he wrote in *The Examiner*, (March 10th, 1904),:" It (Antonio's letter) was written to meet a request made to him by Fr. Manuel Teixeira of Goa; and Antonio's answer did not reach Goa before 1560. But meanwhile an interested account of the saint's sickness and death had been officially published by the order of the famous governor of Malacca, D. Alvaro Attaide who thought it to be his interest to veil, as much as possible, his past ill-treatment of the saint and slur over the fact that he had had some hand in his death. Of this Attaide, however, a Portuguese viceroy of the Indies, Don Alphonso de Noronha, used to say that "Attaide had killed Master Francis twice: once in Malacca by himself, and once at Sancian by his men." The public belief being thus formed by the official report and the many biographies of the saint already published, biographies which looked as if they gave the report a character of veracity, Fr. Texeira, on receipt of Antonio's letter dared not to publish it: he only wrote a side-note on the copy he had of the *Life* by Ribadaneira, and of which he was making use, that the account of the death, given in the book, did not tally with Antonio's account, though the latter was the only one that had kept company with the saint till his death and burial. "As for the letter it was deposited in the archives of Goa, there to wait for a better opportunity for publication. From this original several copies were taken, which seem, however, to have been known only to two Jesuits—to Fr. Goncales (d. 1619) author of a very valuable history of the Jesuits in India (unpublished) and to Fr. Barradas, collector of documents on St. Francis Xavier. Both of these Fathers remarked that the document had been tampered with, so far as dates were concerned: the 2nd December having been substituted for the 27th November wherever Antonio's original mentioned that date." (J. C. ibid.)

(37) Bartoli & Maffei: *The Life of St. Francis Xavier* (transl. from the Ital. by Fr. F. W. Faber, D.D., p 294-95

(38) F. M. Pinto: *Voiages Adventureux* (transl. Bernard Figuier) p. 979-80.

(39) Lucena: *Historia da Vida do Padre Francisco de Xavier*, T. IV, Liv. X.

(40) Bartoli & Maffei: ibid., p. 294-95.

(41) Lucena: ibid., T. IV, Liv. X, Cap. XXVIII, p. 399.

(42) Antonio de Santa Fe, as quoted by Fr. Schurhammer in his notice, ms. *The Site of the Tomb of St Francis Xavier*, 1931

(43) Schurhammer ibid, 1931

(44) Antonio de Santa Fe also called *Antonio the Chince* (chinese) came from the East as a slave boy to Goa where, in the College of St-Paul, he was instructed in the Catholic religion and for eight years educated to become a catechist Alone he attended St Francis Xavier on his death-bed at Sancian At that time Antonio was twenty years old After he had accompanied the body of the saint to Goa he retired in Macau There, Valignani, then Visitor of the Jesuits, met him and, in his letters, he vouches for the character of Antonio, whom he always considered as a very respectable man and a very good christian

(45) Schurhammer *The Church of St Paul* Ms—*The site of the Tomb of St Francis Xavier* Ms These two notices were written in 1931 On the request of Sir Richard O Winstedt the notice on "The Church of St-Paul" was published in the Journ, M B R A S, Vol XII, Pt II, 1934, p 40-43

(46) Schurhammer *The site of the Tomb of St Francis Xavier*

(47) Bartoli & Maffei *The Life of St Francis Xavier* (transl Faber), p 294-295

(48) Lucena *Historia da Vida do Padre Francisco de Xavier* T IV, Liv X, Cap XXVIII p 399

(49) Bartoli & Maffei ibid

(50) F M Pinto *Voiages Adventureux* (transl Bernard Figuier), p 970 980

(51) F M Pinto *ibid*

(52) Schurhammer *The site of the Tomb of St Francis Xavier* Ms

(53) Francisco de Sousa, S J *Oriente Conquistado*, Conquista III, Divisao II (1564-1574), No 40 p 194

(54) Fr de Sousa ibid, Pte II p 260 —The date of 18th July, given by M Edw Reis in his interesting essay *Ensaio critico sobre a digressao piedosa que fez Fernao Mendes Pinto*, published in 'Boletim Eclesiastico da Diocese de Macau", Julho, 1930, Ano XXXV, No 424, must not be regarded, in my opinion, as the date of the arrival at Malacca of Fr Belchior Nunes and his companions There was no need of four months at sea to go from Goa to Malacca

(55) D Antonio de Noronha, son of the Vicerov D Garcia and Captain of Malacoa from 1554 to 1556

(56) Francisco de Sousa *Oriente Conquistado, Conquista III, Divisao II*, Pte. I, p 260

(57) Fr de Sousa *ibid*, Conquista III, Divisao I, (1564-1574), No. 40, p. 194. The author gives an extensive notice on the life and works of this holy jesuit Father in Malacca

(58) "In 1549, Father Gaspar da Cruz, one of the founders of the Congregation of the Oriental Indies (Santa Cruz, at Goa), went farther to the East and founded a Convent at Malacca" (Biermann, S J *Les Missions des Dominicains Portugais en Indochine*—Zietschrift Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft XIeme ann, 4eme livraison, 1931)

(59) Don Frei Jorge de Sousa Santa Luzia was a native of Aveiro (Portugal) where he entered the Order of St Dominic in the Roval Monastery of Nossa-Senhora da Misericordia Sent to the Acores, he received there his appointment as first bishop of Malacca Consecrated in Lisbon on the 6th January, 1556, he embarked on board the "Algaravia", one of the ships of the Armada of 1559, under the command of Pero Vas de Sequeira With

the same fleet going to India, was the historian Diogo do Couto, then 15 years old (Couto: *De Asia,* Dec. VII, Liv. VIII, Cap. II). For two and half years, Don Frei Jorge governed at the same time the archidiocese of Goa and the diocese of Malacca, pending the coming of the Metropolitan, Don Gaspar de Leao Pereira. Then he left Goa to go to his bishopric. Immediately he sent to the Solor and Timor islands Frei Antonio da Cruz and some other Dominican Fathers. The excommunication which he pronounced on the tigers haunting Bukit China from where they used to go into the town to devour the unfortunate inhabitants, was an event which was talked of for a long while at Malacca. Godinho de Eredia mentions it in his *Declaracam,* (Chap. XV; Journ. M B R A S , vol VIII, Pt. 2, April, 1930, p. 41). Don Frei Jorge fought against vice and people of evil life. Once a woman made an attempt at poisoning him, but the holy bishop, by a special permission of God, discovered her wicked purpose He ordered the cook to throw away the proffered delicacy, "called by the people of the land *Sericaya*", a sort of custard made of the *anona squammosa* fruit, which, even now, is well known and much appreciated by the people of Malacca, and thus escaped death. In the government of his diocese, he showed great kindness to the poor and an untiring zeal for the conversion of gentiles and Muhammedans. Don Frei Jorge retired, in 1576, in the Convent of St Dominic at Goa where he lived some more years, teaching theology until his death which took place on the 18th January, 1579.

(60) Schurhammer: *The Church of St-Paul,* Ms.

(61) At a later period, the Dutch built Batavia on the site of Japara

(62) Probably Bruas, in the actual kingdom of Perak. Also spelled "Barvas" by Bocarro, *13 Dec.*, Pte I, capit. XLIV: and "Barruas" by Francisco de Sousa, *O Oriente Conquistado,* p. 205.

(63) The Constable (port: *condestavel* and *condestabre*) was the *Mestre* or Master of heavy artillery, either in a fortress or on board a ship. In the portuguese army, the gunners (port: *bombardeiros*) formed a corps quite apart from the soldiers (port.: *soldados*) As there were no gentlemen in this body, gunners did not enjoy the same consideration which was granted to soldiers or men-at-arms. The gunner was considered a specialist, a mechanic, whose services were taken on hire for a determined time. However he was given higher pay than the ordinary soldier Most of them were recruited amongst foreigners, chiefly Germans. In 1639, the Mestre-gunner or Constable at Malacca was a British. (Cf. *Travels of Peter Mundy* (edit Hackluyt Soc., Vol. III, Pt. I, Relat XXIV, p 140-1)

(64) The *espera* ou *esfera* was a heavy piece of cannon which could throw iron balls of 12 lbs. weight. One of the *esperas* of the king of Acheh, at the siege of Malacca in 1568, threw balls of 14 *arrateis* or lbs. weight (1 *arratel* = 16 ounces).

(65) Couto: *De Asia,* Dec. VI, Liv. IX. Cap. VIII.

(66) Couto: ibid., Cap. IX.—Francisco d'Andrada: *Chronica do Muyto Alto e muyto poderoso Rey Dom Joao o III deste Nome,* Pte. IV, Cap. LXXX.

(67) Franc. de Sousa: *Oriente Conquistado* etc. Pte II, Conquista I, p. 194.

(68) Fr. de Sousa, ibid., Pte. II, Conquista III, (1564-1574), No. 16, p 176

(69) Schurhammer: *The Church of St.-Paul,* Ms.

(70) A Brief of Pius V., dated 2nd Febr., 1566, "*Ex litteris charissimi*" had intrusted Don Belchior (or Melchior) Carneiro, of the Society of Jesus, with the spiritual care of the Christians in China and Japan. The prelate had been consecrated Bishop of Nicea, at Goa, on the 15th December, 1560, to be the second coadjutor, with future succession, of Doan Joao Nunes Barreto, Patriarch of Ethiopia. D. Belchior, who had been waiting

in vain for an occasion to enter into his Patriarchate of which he was now the titular, owing to the decease of Don Nunes Barreto, accepted to go to Macao, not as its bishop since the See of "China" was created only on the 23rd January, 1576, but, if we can put it so, as Vicar Apostolic of China and Japan, both which formed, as it were, a diocese without fixed boundaries. At the coming of bishop de Sa, in 1581, to the See of Macao, Don Belchior retired to the College of the Jesuits where he died, in 1583. He was buried in the chancel of St.-Paul's church at Macao. On his tombstone, is engraved the following epitaph, which, because of its ambiguous wording wrongly led some historians to consider Belchior Carneiro, as the first bishop of Macao: HIC JACET REVERENDISSIMUS DOMINUS D. MELCHIOR CARNEIRO. SOCIETATE (sic) JESU AETHIOPIAE PATRIARCHA ET PRIMUS MACAENSIS EPISCOPUS OBIIT ANNO DOMINI 1583. (Here lies the Very Reverend Lord Don Melchior Carneiro, of the Society of Jesus, Patriarch of Ethiopia and first Bishop of Macao. He died A. D 1583.)

(71) Francisco de Sousa: *Oriente Conquistado etc.*, Pte. II, Conquista III (1564-1574), No. 16, p. 170.

(72) *Agnia* (eagle). Heavy piece of cannon which could throw iron balls of 30 *arrateis* (lbs) weight (Siege of Malacca by the Achinese in 1568).—(Cf. Couto: Dec. VIII, Cap. XXII.

(73) The *Camello* (camel) was a cannon of big calibre; the most powerful were called *camellos de marca major*. When Pero Mascarenhas turned out Mahmud from Bintao (Rhio isl.), in 1526. he captured 300 bronze cannon *"de camellos ate meios bercos"* i.-e., of big and small calibre (Couto: Dec. IV, Liv. II, Cap. I) In the heavy artillery which was landed by the king of Acheh, when he laid siege to Malacca, in 1568, were two *camellos de marca maior*. In 1587, when D. Paulo de Lima destroyed the town of Johore. the Portuguese captured on *basilisko* Mauresque, one *serpe* (snake) of 23 palms in length, one *leao* (lion) and one *camello de marca maior* (camel of big calibre). (Couto: Dec. X, Liv. IX, Cap. XII). *Camellos* formed also part of the armament of big portuguese ships and were under the supervision of the constable, and not of the captain who was only in charge of the flying artillery placed in the castles and the tops. (Cf. Couto: Dec. VI. Liv. V, Cap. II and Liv IX, Cap VII)

(74) Couto, *De Asia*, Dec. VIII, Cap. XXII.

(75) Couto: ibid.

(76) Briefe aus Ostindien, Augsburg, 1795, II, 309-310 (In Schurhammer: *The church of St.-Paul*, Ms.

(77) Again, the ensuing year, he placed on the hill guns which inflicted on them serious losses and nullified their repeated attempts at rescuing the artillery from the portuguese ships they had sunk between Ilhir and the *Ilha das Naos* (Pulo Jawa).—(Cf. Couto: Dec. IX, Cap. XXVII).

(78) Schurhammer: *The Church of St.-Paul*. Ms.

(79). Schurhammer: ibid.

(80) Van der Broeck: *Ses Voyages au Cap Vert, d'Angola et aux Indes Orientales* (In *Recueil des voiages des Hollandais*, T. IV, p. 427.

(81) Schurhammer: ibid.

(82) Here is what the creator of this amazing theory writes under the veil of anonymity: "The Facade (frontage), half of the church, the windows and walls up to the side doors inclusive, were allowed to remain as they were. The old sanctuary and vestry were demolished; the walls of the nave were extended and three windows put in of a similar style to the arch of the sanctuary .. " May I take the liberty to point out that the arch of the chancel is of the Manueline style (portuguese Renaissance) while the

"three windows" are absolutely bare of any archaeological ornament which would allow of their being ascribed to any definite style. All that can be said about them is that they are semi-circular like the other windows in the part of the nave which, according to our author's theory, was left untouched by the Jesuits. No source is given from which the author derived his theory.

(83) Schurhammer: *The Church of St.-Paul*, Ms.

(84) "This year, 1578, Valignano built a beautiful building able to accommodate twenty persons" (letter from Fr. Mathaeus Lopes, Macao, 29 November, 1578.—In Schurhammer: ibid.) In *Oriente Conquistado* Francisco de Sousa reproduces the information about the new College which Valignani himself sent to Rome. He says that "sometimes there are as many as eight Jesuits in the house. Every year the College receives 300 pardao (*pardoes*) which are barely enough to defray a third of the expenditure: because owing to the wars, living is dear in Malacca. Thanks to the Portuguese population of the Fortress, they succeed however in coming off well. It has not yet been possible to comply with the wish of the King who would like to have at Malacca a College with 60 Religious permanently. They would, in fact, be without work as well as without sufficient means of living. First of all let us get rid of Acheh, then, and only then, shall it be possible, with a community of 20 or 25 members to establish a College which shall stand as the head for all the countries of the South."—(Franc. de Sousa: ibid., Pte. I, No 45).

(85) Franc. de Sousa: ibid., Conquista III (1575-1585), p. 206

(86) Schurhammer: *The Church of St. Paul*, Ms.

(87) Matelief le Jeune (1605-1608). *Relation du Voiage de Matelief le Jeune, Admiral Hollandois, aux Indes Orientales, en qualite d'Admiral d'onze vaisseaux, pendant les annees* 1605, 1606, 1607, & 1608. (*In Recueil des Voiages qui ont servi a l'etablissement et au progres de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales formee dans les Provinces Unies des Pays Bas, T. III*, p. 213.

(88) *Valentyn's Description of Malacca.* (Journal S B R A S , No. 15, p 133

(89) Pyrard had no part in the defence of Malacca where he went only in October 1608. "Being then at Goa with the Portuguese, I was a soldier in many of the armies that they equipped there, chiefly beyond the coast where Goa is, to the island of Ceylon, to Malacca, Sumatra, Java and other islands of Sunda and the Moluccas, and was paid like the rest. For they are wont to equip many ships and galiots to send to Malacca, and as far as the Moluccas, to conduct their merchantimen in security; and also for an escort to such as traffic in China and Japan. Wherefore I shall describe here what I have observed in all those parts: where I have halted, sojourned and fought."—*Pyrard's Voyages*, (edit. Hackluyt Soc., Vol II, Chap X, p. 140).

(90) *Documentos Remettidos da India ou Livros das Monçoes*, Vol. I, Documento 56, p. 159.

(91) Matelief le Jeune: ibid. (ut supra, No. 87), T. III, p 253.

(92) Matelief le Jeune: ibid. p. 253.

(93) Matelief le Jeune: ibid, p. 254.

(94) Matelief le Jeune: ibid., T. III, p. 254 This small bastion had probably taken the place of the turret, or *cubelo*, about which do Couto talks in his account of the siege by the Achenese, in 1568. (*Dec. VIII, Cap* XXII) and to which, very likely, was given the name of Bastion of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, after Don Belchior Carneiro, Patriarch of Ethiopia, had made Nossa-Senhora do Monte the gift of the skull of one of these Martyrs. According to the *Report* by Justus Schouten, there was in that church a side-altar dedicated to the Eleven Thousand Virgins (Journ. M B R A S.,

Vol. XIV, Pte. I, January 1936, p. 91) It seems, therefore, that the Portuguese of Malacca had a special devotion to these holy Martyrs. Matelief le Jeune, in 1606, mentions this bastion "which is square and has been made these two or three years and carefully constructed (*a pierre et a chaux*), is named *As Onze mil Virgines* (sic). It stands between (the bastions of) Madre de Deos and San Jago (sic)." He adds that "the Admiral (of the Dutch fleet) having placed a battery of two pieces of half calibre along the sea-shore, this bastion was beaten down in no time" It was rebuilt, in 1634, by Antonio Pinto da Fonseca, as stated by the Viceroy Don Miguel de Noronha, Conde de Linhares, in his *Diary*. In 1641, when the Fortress was stormed by the Dutch, the small bastion of the Eleven Thousand Virgins was the third to fall into their power after those of S. Domingo and Da Madre de Deos (Cf. *Valentyn's Account of Malacca*, Journ. S B R A S , No. 22, p. 230)

(95) *Valentyn's Description of Malacca*, J S B R A S , No. 15, p. 137-138.

(96) Emmanuel Godinho de Eredia: *Declaracam*, Chap. I, (transl. by J V Mills), J M B R A S , Vol VIII, Pt. I, p 18

(97) *Letter of James Lhermite to his father*. Recueil des Voiages qui ont servi a l'etablissement etc., T. III, p. 601.

(98) Emmanuel Godinho de Eredia: *Declaracam* (transl. by J V Mills, B.A. (Oxon). M C S (Journ. M B R A S , Vol. VIII, Pt. I, Chap. I, p. 18

(99) Couto: *De Asia*, Dec. XII, Liv. II, Cap. I.

(100) *Documentos Remettidos*, vol. I, Doc. 25, p. 90.

(101) *Documentos Remettidos*, vol. I, Doc. 67, p. 211.

(102) *Documentos Remettidos*: vol. I, Doc. 114, p. 338-339.

(103) *Documentos Remettidos*, vol. II, Doc. 168, p. 21.

(104) Faria y Sousa: *Asia Portugueza*,, T. III, No. 195, p. 550 (edic. 1675).

(105) Pe. Manuel Xavier, S. J.; *Compendio Universal* (O Oriente Portuguez, vol. XIII, 1916, p. 319).

(106) "Among those who came to welcome him, he (Joao da Silva, Governor of the Philippines) met and recognised Antonio Pinto da Fonseca, who had come to Malacca with the dignity of Superintendent and Inspector General of the Fortresses of this State (of Portuguese India) conferred upon him by His Majesty, and with whom he had served a campaign in Flanders." (Bocarro: *Decada* 13@, Pte. II, Cap. XCVI.)

(107) Bocarro, op. cit., Pte. II, Cap. CLIV

(108) Malacca was completely invested by land. The Achinese occupied, among other strategical positions, the hill of S. Joao (Bukit Pipi) and Bukit China. In his book *Victorias do Governador da India Nuno Alvares Botelho* which gives at length a narrative of incidents of this siege, Pe. Manoel Xavier, S. J., says (verso of folio 9): "The enemies, after they had taken the Monastery of *Madre de Deos*, cried victory they sent two galleys with letters to their king to bring him news that they were already masters of Little-Malacca (*Malacca Pequena*) as they used to called the hill of *Madre de Deos*", i.e., the spur of Bukit China on which stood the Church and the Monastery of the Franciscans.

(109) As long Nuno Alvares Botelho remained at the Court, he bore the name of Pereira; this is proved by the letters from the King himself. But after the death of his elder brother, he had to give up the name of Pereira for the family name of Botelho. This change was the cause that, at his nomination as Governor of India under the name of Pereira, officials refused to acknowledge him as being the man designated in the Royal Letters. He, therefore, deferred the matter to the King, appointed two deputies, Lou-

renco da Cumha and Goncalo Pinto da Fonseca, entrusting them with the management of the State, and went to help Malacca which was then threatened by Acheh. (Cf. Pe. Manoel Xavier: *Compendio de todos os Viso-Reys e Governadores do Estado da India;* in *O Oriente Portuguez*, vol. XIV, 1917, Nos, 1 & 2, p. 11.

(110) PLAN OF THE SIEGE LAID BY THE ACHINESE BEFORE MALACCA (1629).—Amongst the maps and plans reproduced at the end of the *Historical Guide of Malacca*, 2nd edit., 1936, the editors have included a map whose original is kept in the British Museum. This map belongs to the Sloane Collection and is classified "Ms. 197". To the readers of the *Guide*, it is presented as a "Presumed Sketch of a proposed scheme for the fortification of Malacca by the Portuguese". So the editors have repeated the same mistake they made in the first edition of 1924, the former "*Malacca, Town & Fort*". About this supposed portuguese plan, we, in a brief essay on "*Portuguese Malacca*" (J M.B R A S , vol. XII, Pt. II, August, 1935, p. 15) wrote as follows " . the said plan is nothing more than the Plan of the siege of Malacca, in 1628, by Iskandar Shah King of Acheh, and gives a sketch of the positions occupied by the Achinese: *Tranqueira do dachem* (= rampart of the Achinese) along Bukit China), and "*do dache*" (at the foot of St.-John hill, Banda Hilir). "*Dachem*" as in Castanheda, Liv. VI, Cap. L: De como el rey *Dachem* etc, In this plan all the cannon of the palisades are pointed against the town (for its defence?) and the top of the Convent of the Mother of God is destroyed by cannon." What we wrote, in 1925, we maintain it today after further information in hand. The date '1628', however, should give place to '1629'.

If we peruse the account of the siege of 1629, as it is reported in Pe. Xavier's *Victorias*, and, at the same time, examine the plan published in the *Guide*, we are struck by the concordance of the text of *Victorias* with the particulars we notice in the said plan, so much that you would believe the one to be complement of the other and that they were made to go together. Yet it is not so. The plan belongs to a manuscript which is a copy taken of the *Lviro do Estado da India* as Pero de Resende, secretary of the viceroy Don Antonio de Noronha, wrote it, according to the original version by Antonio Bocarro, Chronicler of India and entitled *Livro das Plantas de todas as Fortalezas, Cidades e Povoacoes do Estado da India Oriental*, etc." According to Major C. R. Boxer, Resende's version is more complete in many respects than the one written by Bocarro. Besides the 48 coloured plans joined to the latter, there are 8 more drawn with quill-pen, and signed: "*Petrus Berthelot primum Cosmographicum indicorum imperium faciebat anno Domini* 1635" which may be translated, I suppose at any rate, in this way "Peter Berthelot, first Cosmographer of the India Empire drew (this map) A.D. 1636.

Peter Berthelot, born in 1600, at Honfleur (France) started as captain of a privateer. In 1619, he was made a prisoner in the East Indies by the Dutch. He escaped from Batavia and, in 1625, offered his service to the Portuguese navy, at Malacca. As First Pilote, he brought to Malacca, besieged by the Achenese, the relief-fleet under the command of Nuno Alvares Botelho (1629). Though raised to the rank of Royal Cosmographer of India, he entered the Carmelite Order, in 1634, and suffered martyrdom at the hands of the Achinese, on the 29th November, 1638. On the 25th March, 1900, Frei Denys of the Nativity (it was the name he had assumed as a religious) was enrolled among the Blessed by Pope Leo XIII. (Cf. also: Armando Cortesao: *Cartografia & Cartografos Portugueses dos seculos XV & XVI*, p. 96 & 101).

(111) *Diario do Conde de Linhares*—634. Copia de relacao das nouas de Malaca e China—*Historia*, ser. b, vol. II, p. 23.

(112) W. G. Maxwell (Sir): *Barreto de Resende's Account of Malacca.*—Jour. S B R A S , No. 60.)

(113) Casimiro Christovao de Nazareth: *Mitras Lusitanas no Oriente*, T. II, Bispado de Malaca, p. 235.

(114) Epitaph of Antonio Pinto da Fonseca: S. DE. ANT: PINTO DA FONSEQVA COMENDADOR DA ORDEM DE SANTIAGO PROVEDOR GERAL DAS FORTALEZAS DA INDIA CAPIAM GERA DE MAR E TERRA NAS PARTES DO SUL FALECEO AOS 27 DE DEZEMBRO DE 1635—(Arms) Grave of Antonio Pinto da Fonsequa Commander of the Order of St. James, Superintendent General of the Fortresses of India Captain-General of the Sea and Land in the Parts of the South. died on the 27th December, 1635.

(115) Quotation faulty owing to misprints; should be restored as follows *"Quomodo cecidit potens qui salvum faciebat populum Israel"*, Cap. IX, v. 21 "How is the mighty man fallen that saved the people of Israel." (Douay Bible).

(116) Pe. Manoel Xavier, S. J. *Victorias do Gouernador da India Nuno Alvares Botelho* (1663 edit.) verso of fol. 33 and verso of fol. 34

(117) Epitaph of Francisco Concalez and of his wife Magdalena Trindade: ESTA SEPURA E DE FC. GLZ E DE MADALENA TRINDADA SUA MOLHER QUE FOI MORDOMO DESTA CASA DE NOSSA SNRA MADRE DE DEOS MUITOS ANNOS HO QUAL FALLECEO AOS 29 DE MARCO DE 1568 ANOS—PATER NOSTER—This is the grave of Francisco Goncalez and of Magdalene Trindade his wife. He was Churchwarden of this house of Our Lady the Mother of God for many years. and died on the 29th March, 1568—Our Father.

(118) Couto: *De Asia*, Dec. VI, Liv. IX, Cap. IX; d'Andrada: *Chronica do Rey Dom Joao III*, Pte. IV, Cap. LXXX.

(119) Epitaph of Don Pedro Martins: HIC JACET DOMINUS PETRUS SOCIETATIS JESU SECUNDUS EPISCOPUS JAPONENSIS OBIIT AD FRETUM SINGAPURAE MENSE FEBRUARIO ANNO 1598.—Here lies Don Peter of the Society of Jesus, second bishop of Japan He died in the Straits of Singapore in the month of February 1598.—Don Pero Martins (abbrev.: Miz), Provincial of the Jesuits at Goa, was nominated to the see of Funai in Japan to succeed Don Sebastiao Moraes, S J. first titular of this See, which had been created by Pope Sixtus V, in 1588, by the Bull *"Hodie Sanctissimus"* of the 17th February. D. Sebastiao could not take possession of his bishopric as he died at his arrival at Mozambique, on board the ship which was bringing him from Portugal to Japan. Don Martins was consecrated at Goa, in 1595, by the Archbishop D. Frei Aleixo de Menezes, assisted by two dignitaries of the Chapter. He first took charge of the see of Macao whose bishop, Don Leonardo de Sa, had been captured, in 1586, by the Achinese, when coming back from the Third Provincial Council held at Goa. Set free only in 1596, he died at Macao on the 15th September of the same year. Don Martins landed on Japan on the 14th May 1596. The Taikosama having let loose persecution against the Christians, the new bishop decided to return to Goa to acquaint the Viceroy with the sad state of his diocese. He died when en route, on the 17th February, near Pedra Branca, at the entrance of the Straits of Singapore. His body was brought to Malacca and buried in the church of the Jesuits, on the 20th of the same month. "His death," wrote the Viceroy to the King, "is a heavy blow, for he was a very learned and virtuous prelate, and by his example he had always given satisfaction."—(Casimiro Christovao de Nazareth: *Mitras Lusitanas no Oriente*, Pte. I, p. 89.—Pages: *Histoire de la Religion Chretienne au Japon, depuis 1598 a 1661*, II partie, *Annexes*, p. 41-42—Pe. Manuel Teixeira: *Bishops e Governadores do Bispado de Macao*, Bol. Eccles. da Diocese de Macao, No. 438 (special), pp. 235, 236 and 237.—Pe. M. M. Variz: *Portugal Missionario e a Diocese de Macao*, Bol. Eccles. da Dioc. de Macao, No.?, p. 774 —Jose de Jesus Maria: *Asia Sinica e Japonica* (editada pelo Maj. C. R. Boxer, Bol. Eccles. da Dioc. de Macao, Agosto de 1940, Ano XXXVIII, No. 436, p. 123-24.).

(120) Epitaph of Don Miguel de Castro: S. DE. DO. MIGEL DE CASTRO F DOVIZOREIDO IOAO DECASTRO MOREU SENDO CAPITAO DESTA FORTALEZA—Tomb of Don Miguel de Castro son of the Viceroy Don Joao de Castro. He died when he was Captain of this Fortress.—The first translation of this epitaph was given by the Rev. Fr. A. da Silva Rego. vicar of the church of St.-Joseph in Singapore.

(121) Jacinto Freyre de Andrade: *Vida de Joao de Castro*, p. 276.

(122) Couto: *De Asia*: Dec. IX, Cap. XXIX.

(123) Franc. de Sousa: *Oriente Conquistado* etc. Divisao II (1575-1585) p. 210.

(124) Epitaph of Bras Goncalez (or Goncalvez): SEPVLTVRA DE BRAS GLZ MORDOMO QVE FOI DESTA CASA DE NOSA SRA FALECEO DGO P (ascoa?) (X*: Handbook to Christ Church, Malacca, 1936).—Tomb of Bras Goncales (or Goncalvez) who was Churchwarden of this house of Our Lady. He died on Easter (?) Sunday.

(125) '(In 1807, the fort, valued at 700,000 dollars, was destroyed by order of the British Government. at the enormous expense of 260.000 rupees."—(Newbold: (*British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca*, vol. I, p. 126).—"The expense of this destruction, which was close upon 70,000 l., will give a very good idea of the extent and durability of the ancient fort."—(John Cameron: *Our Tropical Possessions in Malayan India*, p. 362.)

(126) Pinheiro Chagas: *Historia de Portugal* (edic. popul. e illustr.) T. VII. Cap. XIX, p. 510.

(127) *Valentyn's Account of Malacca.* J S B R A S , No. 22, p. 225.

(128) *Valentyn's Account* etc., ibid., p. 231.

(129) *Valentyn's Description of Malacca*, J S B R A S , No. 15, p. 133.

(130) *Justus Schouten's Report of his visit to Malacca*, J M B R A S , vol. XIV, Pt. I, January, 1936, p. 91.

(131) Justus Schouten: ibid., p. 112.

(132) Justus Schouten: ibid., p. 129.

(133) Justus Schouten: ibid., p. 131.

(134) Pere Alexandre de Rhodes, S. J.; *Voyages et Missions.* Pt III, Ch I It is surprising to see that, in spite of his two stops at Malacca, on his way to Cochinchina and back, the eminent missionary did not know that the actual church of Nossa-Senhora, that he saw, was not the primitive church in which St. Francis Xavier preached and prayed.

(135) X* : *Handbook to Christ Church*, 1936.—Not in 1741, as pretends the author of the article "Church of St.-Paul" in the *Historical Guide of Malacca*", p. 3.

(136) *Voiage de Gauthier Schouten aux Indes Orientales* (1663). Dans Recueil des Voiages qui ont servi a l'etablissement et au progres de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales etc., vol. VII, p. 1 (MDCCVII).

(137) *Hist. Guide of Malacca*: Church of St.-Paul, p. 3.

(138) Schurhammer, S. J.; *The Church of St.-Paul*, Ms.

(139) "The city of Malacca which was named "Fortaleza de Malacca" from the principal building it contained, *viz.* the "fortaleza" or fort, was surrounded by very strong fortifications, the walls of which built entirely of iron-stone, were an admirable work, indeed, for that epoch, and were certainly an object of pride to the men who had built them, as well as a security to the soldiers who fought behind their shelter. A large quantity of the iron-stone used was brought from "Pulo-Upeh"; hence the name by which this island was known in Portuguese times "Isla de Pedras" (*Ilha das Pedras*). I once had the curiosity to visit this island and, as it was low tide. I

annex, the adjoining school, were commonly alluded to as "College of Saint-Paul" by the people of Goa.

(145) E. Godinho de Eredia: *Description of Malacca and Meridional India and Cathay* (transl. J. V. Mills, B.A. (Oxon), M C S , (Journ M B R A S , vol. VIII, Pt. I, Apr. 1930, p. 41). Frei Joao-Baptista Lucarelli de Pisauro (or Pizarro) who founded the Franciscan Monastery on a spur of the Bukit China, above the Prigi Raja, relates at length, in a letter written in 1592, the trials he went through during his passage from Macao to Malacca and how he established a Convent in this town. It was in 1581, not long after the annexion of Portugal by King Philipp II of Spain. In the Portuguese Indies public opinion was hot against "Castillans", and Frei Joao-Baptista, though an Italian by birth, got his ample share in the ill-treatment that the latter had to undergo from the Portuguese. In Malacca, the popula called him "a Spaniard" and made life a burthen to him. The poor Friar, to stop the outcry, came to a decision: "I resolved to go to a hillock about one mile far from the town where there were no inhabitants for fear of elephants and a kind of cats (tigers, panthers) which were said to roam there: to a place where the precedent bishop (Don Frei Jorge de Sousa de Santa Luzia) had dedicated a church (ermida) called *Dydio* (de Deos) and which had been destroyed by enemy soldiers; the Bishop (D. Joao Ribeiro Gayo) made it a present to me by private deed." (Pe. Man. Teixeira: *Fundacao do Convento da Madre de Deos em Malacca;* Bolet. Ecles. da Dioc. de Macau, Juho 1938, Anno XXXVI, No. 423, p. 250-51). Frei Joao-Baptista's account is confirmed by Fr. Jacynto de Deos who says that, "prevailed upon by the entreaties of the Malacca people who wished to have in their town a Franciscan Convent, Joao-Baptista yielded and began the construction of this Convent in an "ermida" which was called "da Madre de Deos" (of the Mother of God), outside the walls of the town "in a place whose coolness and seclusion were as many incentives to prayer and meditation." *Descripcao do Imperio da China Excerpto do Vergel etc.,* p. 239-240). It is very likely that the said "ermida da Madre de Deos" had been erected on the very spot from which, on the 15th August, 1561, Don Jorge had fulminated against tigers a solemn excommunication. and as a monument to perpetuate the memory of this eventful ceremony. The ermida was destroyed during one of the numerous sieges which followed each other from 1561 to 1581.

(146) Schurhammer: Letter to the Rev. Fr. J. Francois, Vicar of the church of St. Francis Xavier, Malacca; dated Rome, 23 November, 1937.

(147) *Justus Schouten's Report* etc., Journ. S B R A S , vol. XIV. Pt. I, Jan , 1936, p 89-90 —If the high altar of the cathedral was dedicated to "Nossa-Senhora da Assumpcao, it is more than likely that its reredos represented this scene. Thus the hypothesis suggested by Fr. Schurhammer would be confirmed in some measure.

Vol. XX. Part II.

Journal

of the

Malayan Branch

of the

Royal Asiatic Society

December, 1947

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1947

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The
Malayan Branch
of the
Royal Asiatic Society

Patron:
His Excellency the Right Honourable Malcolm MacDonald, *P.C.*,
Governor-General, Malaya.

Council for 1947

Dr. W. Linehan, *C.M.G., M.A., D.Litt., M.C.S.*,	*President*
The Hon'ble Engku Aziz, *Y.M., D.K. C.M.G.*,	*Vice-Presidents*
Dato R. St. J. Braddell, *S.P.M.J., M.A.* ..	
The Rev. Father R. Cardon	
Mr. Anker Rentse	
Mr. P. J. D. Regester, *O.B.E.*	*Councillors*
Mr. B. A. Mallal	
Mr. R. E. Holttum	
Mr. H. Schweizer	
Mr. Hsu Yang Tsiao	
Mr. M. W. F. Tweedie, *M.A.*	*Hon. Secretary and Hon. Treasurer*
Mrs. G. J. Scott	*Ass. Hon. Secretary*

[Mr. C. A. Gibson-Hill, *M.A.*, acting June-December in place of Mr. Tweedie (on leave).]

Editorial.

At a general meeting of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society held in the Raffles Museum on Friday, September 26, it was decided that as from October 1st. 1947, the price of copies of ordinary issues of the Journal should be $5.00 each to non-members. The revised prices apply to all stocks of back numbers held by the Society, in addition to Journals published after October 1st. Bound copies of Sir Richard Winstedt's History of Malaya are now $8.50 to non-members.

A communication has been received from Mr. T. Harrison, Curator of the Sarawak Museum, Kuching, giving the authors of the paper *Two Brunei Charms*, for which an appeal was made in the last issue of this Journal (Vol. 20, pt. 1, p. vii). The paper is printed in this issue, pp. 48—59, with an introduction by Mr. Harrison.

The Government Printer (Malayan Union) is reprinting Sir Richard Winstedt's *A History of Malaya* published J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. 13, pt. 1), by arrangement with the author and the Society: the Society will receive a hundred copies.

Information has been received which makes it apparent that there is no chance of recovering the copies of Vol. 5, pt. 3 (1927), which were taken from the Raffles Museum during the Japanese occupation. The Japanese removed the complete stock of this issue, and it is therefore no longer obtainable from the Society. It was devoted to the text, in Jawi, of the Tale of Trong Pipit, with an introduction by Sir Richard Winstedt. The form of the text makes reprinting expensive, and it is unlikely to be undertaken in the near future.

Title-pages and indexes for Volumes 18, 19 and 20 are published with this issue, which forms the second and last part of Volume 20.

C. A. Gibson-Hill.

23-10-47.

ANNUAL REPORT

of the

Malayan Branch, Royal Asiatic Society

for 1941

Membership. The number of members at the end of the year was 508, compared with 496 at the end of 1940. The roll consisted of sixteen Honorary Members, three Corresponding Members and 489 Ordinary Members, Three Ordinary Members resigned during the year. Death claimed four, including Sir Ong Siang Song, K.B.E. Rigid enforcement of Rule 6 (Members who have failed to pay their subscription by the last day of June are suspended from membership) resulted in the lapse of several memberships, some of which it is hoped will be revived.

The following fifteen members were elected during the year:—

Berwick, E. J. H.	Mohd Suffian bin Hashim
Broodbank, A. J. B.	Sahgal, P. K.
Burdett, Basil	Spare, G. H.
Chu Chit-Chien	Stewart, Mrs. N. I.
Green, R. T. B.	Thambiah, S.
Hunt, Mrs. E.	Watson, Mrs. E.
Meyer, A. G.	Wickens, P. O.

Wolters, O. W.

Annual General Meeting. The Annual General Meeting was held at the Raffles Museum on Feb: 28th.

Journals. The Journal for the year (Vol. 19) consisted of three parts. The first two of these were of miscellaneous character, and contained twenty-three articles by fifteen authors. The third was devoted to a Malaysian Bibliography, prepared by Miss Padma Daniel, assistant in the Raffles Library.

Finance. Subscriptions for the year amounted to $1,941.12. The printing, blocks and separates for the first part of Volume 19 of the Journal cost $1,441.49. The bills for the second and third parts did not reach the Society until January 1942, and the bank balance at the close of the year was therefore $3,662.86.

F. N. CHASEN,

Hon. Secretary (1941-42).

MALAYAN BRANCH, ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

Receipts and Payments for the period February 14th, 1942, to December 31st, 1946.

RECEIPTS.

Balance at Mercantile Bank at 14th February 1942	$3,642.86	
Petty Cash in hand at 14th February 1942	14.32	
		$3,657.18
scriptions:—		
For the year 1941	$ 12.00	
For the year 1946	402.00	
For the year 1947	18.00	
For the year 1948	6.00	
For the year 1949	6.00	
For the year 1950	6.00	
		$ 450.00
Life-members		150.00
of Journals:—		638.50
tribution Singapore Government:—		350.00
rest of Investments:—		1,363.65
		$6,609.33

PAYMENTS.

Printing:—		
Journal Vol. 19 Part 2, 1941	$1,080.00	
Art Plates	192.00	
Blocks	260.10	
Plates	89.10	
Separates	294.30	
		$1,915.50
Journal Vol. 19 Part 3, 1941		904.50
Miscellaneous:—		
Cheque Book	$ 1.00	
Meeting Notice (papers)	17.50	
Postage & Posting Certificates	103.02	
Stationery	27.30	
Sundries	53.65	
Salaries	831.00	
Honorarium	100.00	
Bank Commission	.09	
		1,133.56
Balance at Mercantile Bank 31st December 1946	$2,624.42	
Petty Cash in hand 31st December 1946	31.35	
		2,655.77
		$6,609.33

ANNUAL REPORT
of the
Malayan Branch, Royal Asiatic Society
covering 1942.

The Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society ceased to function as an active organisation at the fall of Singapore, on February 15, and remained dormant until after the liberation, on September 5, 1945. This report, therefore, covers only the first forty-six days of 1942.

Membership. No new members joined between January 1 and February 15. The number of members on February 15 was thus nominally the same as at the end of 1941, though in actual fact several members, including Mr. F. N. Chasen, the Honorary Secretary, had died as a result of military action during the preceding few days.

Annual General Meeting. There was no Annual General Meeting in 1942, but a Council Meeting was held in the Raffles Museum on January 16.

Journals. No journals were published during 1942. Several papers, some of which had been approved by the Council for inclusion in the first issue of the year, were in Mr. Chasen's possession at the beginning of February. Before leaving Singapore he gave the majority of these to Mr. T. D. Rée, the Society's clerk, who preserved them zealously throughout the Japanese occupation of Malaya. They formed the greater part of the first post-war number of the Journal (Vol. 20, pt. 1), which was published in July 1947 (dated June, 1947). The gratitude of the Society and of the authors are due to Mr. Rée for their preservation. The names of the writers of one, *Two Brunei Charms*, were not attached to the paper when it was handed to Mr. Rée, and it has only recently been possible to trace them. This paper will appear in Vol. 20, pt. 2. One other paper (An account of the island of North Keeling, in the Cocos-Keeling group) which was in draft has still not been completed, but it is hoped that it will be ready for publication in Vol. 21, pt. 1.

Finance. Subscriptions paid during 1942 amounted to $30.00. Expenditure up to the fall of Singapore was $72.00. No payment was made during this period for the printing of parts 2 and 3 of Vol. 19, in view of the unsettled conditions prevailing.

The bank balance at the fall of Singapore, when the account was frozen, was $3,642.86, and the petty cash in the hands of the clerk $14.32.

C. A. GIBSON-HILL,
Ag Hon. Secretary.

11-9-47

ANNUAL REPORT
of the
Malayan Branch, Royal Asiatic Society
for 1945 (September 5 to December 31)
and 1946.

Membership. The number of members at the end of 1946 was only 266, compared with 508 at the end of 1941. The roll consisted of fifteen Honorary Members, three Corresponding Members and 246 Ordinary Members. A number of members lost their lives during, or in consequence of, the war, including Mr. J. A. Baker, Mr. V. B. C. Baker, Mr. F. N. Chasen, Captain N. M. Hashim, Mr. T. D. Hughes, Mr. T. Kitchin, Mr. J. J. Sheehan, and Mr. C. F. Symington, who had all held office or contributed papers to the Journal of the Society. Several other prominent members of the Society also died during this period, including Sir D. J. Galloway, Sir Alexander Small and Mr. R. J. Wilkinson. In addition over two hundred members did not renew their subscriptions after the close of the war. As far as possible notices have been sent to them, and it is hoped that with the reappearance of the Journal some at least may revive their membership.

The following thirty-two members were elected during the year:—

Abu Bakar bin Pawanchee
Archey, Dr. G.
Boyd-Walker J. W., M.C.S.
Chan Peng Yin
Easaw, T. C.
Eldridge, C. H.
Fiennes, D.
Forsyth, C. R.
Greehan, D. W.
Gunaratinam, Mrs. A.
Han Wai Toon
Hone, Sir Ralph, K.C.
Jamuh, G.
King George V School, N. S.
Library Malayan Union
McDonald, E. M.
Madoc, G. C.
Maniam, K. S.
Mathias, T. J., M.C.S.
Morell, H. D.
Morgan, E. D.
Namazie, M. J.
National Library of Peiping
Newboult, A. T., C.M.G., M.C.S.
Savage, H. E. F.
Seth bin Mohd Said
Sheridan, C. M.
Stutchbury, A. D., M.C.S.
Thomson, G. G.
Treeby, I. W. C.
White, E. T. M.
Williams-Hunt, Major P. D. R.

Annual General Meeting. An Annual General Meeting was held at the Raffles Museum on Wednesday, March 27, 1946. with the Rev. Father Cardon in the chair. Thirteen members were present.

Journals. No journals were published in 1946, in consequence of the difficult conditions still existing in Malaya, but the foundations were laid for the issue which ultimately appeared in July 1947.

Finance. Subscriptions paid during 1945 and 1946 amounted to $600.00. In this period the bill for Vol. 19, parts 2 & 3, amounting to $2,820.00 was paid: no separates were printed for Vol. 19 pt. 3, which consisted only of a single paper.

The bank balance at the close of 1946 was $2,621.42. This included $350.00 received from the Government of Singapore, but did not include the contribution of the Government of the Malayan Union for 1946, which did not arrive until 1947. The petty cash in hand was $31.35.

C. A. GIBSON-HILL,

11-9-47 *Ag Hon. Secretary.*

MALAYAN BRANCH, ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

Receipts and Payments for the year 1941.

RECEIPTS

Cash:—		
Balance at Mercantile Bank 31st December, 1940	$1,350.20	
Petty Cash in hand, 31st December, 1940	30.06	
		$1,380.26
Subscriptions:—		
For the year 1939	$ 90.00	
For the year 1940	224.00	
For the year 1941	1,440.50	
For the year 1942	124.62	
For the year 1943	12.00	
Life Membership	50.00	
		1,941.12
Sales of Journals:—		462.30
Contributions:—		
S.S. Government	$ 500.00	
Johore Government	250.00	
Kelantan Government	50.00	
Kedah Government	50.00	
F.M.S. Government	1,000.00	
		1,850.00
Interests:—		
On Investment	$ 367.00	
On Current Account	13.96	
		380.96
		$6,014.64

PAYMENTS.

Printing:—		
Journal Vol. 19 Part I, 1941	$1,223.00	
Plates	8.00	
Blocks	84.74	
Separates	125.75	
		$1,441.49
Miscellaneous:—		
Post Office Box 493	$ 10.00	
Annual General Report & Accounts	31.50	
Notice of General Meeting	5.00	
Salary	600.00	
Cheque dishonoured for Subscription 1941	6.00	
Postage	70.14	
Posting Certificates	.60	
Stationery	22.20	
Sundries	78.38	
Stamps on Cheques	.12	
War Tax	29.36	
Bank Commission	19.87	
		873.17
Balance at Mercantile Bank, 31st December, 1941	$3,662.86	
Petty Cash in hand, 31st December, 1941	37.12	
		3,699.98
		$6,014.64

BRIAN HARRISON,
Hon. Treasurer (1941-42),
Malayan Branch, Royal Asiatic Society.

RULES
of
The Malayan Branch
of the
Royal Asiatic Society

I. Name and Objects.

1. The name of the Society shall be 'The Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.'

2. The objects of the Society shall be:—

(*a*) The increase and diffusion of knowledge concerning British Malaya and the neighbouring countries.

(*b*) the publication of a Journal and of works and maps.

(*c*) the acquisition of books, maps and manuscripts.

II. Membership.

3. Members shall be of three kinds—Ordinary, Corresponding and Honorary.

4. Candidates for ordinary membership shall be proposed and seconded by members and elected by a majority of the Council.

5. Ordinary members shall pay an annual subscription of $6 *payable in advance on the first of January in each year.*

No member shall receive a copy of the Journal or other publications of the Society until the subscription for the current year has been paid.

Newly elected members shall be allowed to compound for life-membership for $100; other members may compound by paying $50, or $100 less the amount already paid by them as ordinary members in annual subscriptions, whichever of these two sums is the greater. Societies and Institutions, are eligible for ordinary membership.

6. On or about the 30th of June in each year the Honorary Treasurer shall prepare and submit to the Council a list of those members whose subscriptions for the current year remain unpaid. Such members shall be deemed to be suspended from membership until their subscriptions have been paid, and in default of payment within two years shall be deemed to have resigned their membership*

*By-Law, 1922. "Under Rule 6 Members who have failed to pay their subscription by the 30th June are suspended from membership until their subscriptions are paid. The issue of Journals published during that period of suspension cannot be guaranteed to members who have been so suspended."

1. Distinguished persons, and persons who have rendered notable service to the Society may on the recommendation of the Council be elected Honorary Members by a majority at a General meeting. Corresponding Members may, on the recommendation of two members of the Council, be elected by a majority of the Council, in recognition of services rendered to any scientific institution in British Malaya. They shall pay no subscription; they shall enjoy the privileges of members (except a vote at meetings and eligibility for office) and free receipt of the Society's publications.

III. Officers.

8. The officers of the Society shall be:—

A President.

Vice-Presidents not exceeding six, ordinarily two each from (i) the Straits Settlements, (ii) the Federated Malay States and (iii) the Unfederated or other Protected States, although this allocation shall in no way be binding on the electors.

An Honorary Treasurer. An Honorary Secretary.
Five Councillors. An Assistant Honorary Secretary.

These officers shall be elected for one year at the Annual General Meeting, and shall hold office until their successors are appointed.

9. Vacancies in the above offices occurring during any year shall be filled by a vote of the majority of the remaining officers.

IV. Council.

10. The Council of the Society shall be composed of the officers for the current year, and its duties and powers shall be:—

(*a*) to administer the affairs, property and trusts of the Society.

(*b*) to elect Ordinary and Corresponding Members and to recommend candidates for election as Honorary Members of the Society.

(*c*) to obtain and select material for publication in the Journal and to supervise the printing and distribution of the Journal.

(*d*) to authorise the publication of works and maps at the expense of the Society otherwise than in the Journal.

(*e*) to select and purchase books, maps and manuscripts for the Library.

(*f*) to accept or decline donations on behalf of the Society.

(*g*) to present to the Annual General Meeting at the expiration of their term of office a report of the proceedings and condition of the Society.

(*h*) to make and enforce by-laws and regulations for the proper conduct of the affairs of the Society. Every such by-law or regulation shall be published in the Journal.

11. The Council shall meet for the transaction of business once a quarter and oftener if necessary. Three officers shall form a quorum of the Council.

V. General Meetings.

12. One week's notice of all meetings shall be given and of the subjects to be discussed or dealt with.

13. At all meetings the Chairman shall in the case of an equality of votes be entitled to a casting vote in addition to his own.

14. The Annual General Meeting shall be held in February in each year. Eleven members shall form a quorum.

15. (i) At the Annual General Meeting the Council shall present a report for the preceding year and the Treasurer shall render an account of the financial condition of the Society. Copies of such report and account shall be circulated to members with the notice calling the meeting.

(ii) Officers for the current year shall also be chosen.

16. The Council may summons a General Meeting at any time, and shall so summon one upon receipt by the Secretary of a written requisition signed by five ordinary members desiring to submit any specified resolution to such meeting. Seven members shall form a quorum at any such meeting.

17. Visitors may be admitted to any meeting at the discretion of the Chairman but shall not be allowed to address the meeting except by invitation of the Chairman.

VI. Publications.

18. The Journal shall be published at least twice in each year, and oftener if material is available. It shall contain material approved by the Council. In the first number of each volume shall be published the Report of the Council, the account of the financial position of the Society, a list of members and the Rules.

19. Every member shall be entitled to one copy of the Journal, which shall be sent free by post. Copies may be presented by the Council to other Societies or to distinguished individuals, and the remaining copies shall be sold at such prices as the Council shall from time to time direct.

20. Twenty-five copies of each paper published in the Journal shall be placed at the disposal of the author.

VII. Amendments of Rules.

21. Amendments to these Rules must be proposed in writing to the Council, who shall submit them to a General Meeting duly summoned to consider them. If passed at such General Meeting they shall come into force upon confirmation at a subsequent General Meeting or at an Annual General Meeting.

Affiliation Privilages of Members.

Royal Asiatic Society. The Royal Asiatic Society has its headquarters at 74 Grosvenor Street, London, W., where it has a large library and collection of MSS, relating to oriental subjects, and holds monthly meetings from November to June (inclusive) at which papers on such subjects are read.

2. By Rule 105 of this Society all the Members of Branch Societies are entitled when on furlough or otherwise temporarily resident within Great Britain and Eire, to the use of the Library as Non-Resident Members and to attend the ordinary monthly meetings of the Society. This Society accordingly invites Members of Branch Societies temporarily resident in Great Britain or Eire to avail themselves of these facilities and to make their home addresses known to the Society so that notice of the meetings may be sent to them.

3. Under Rule 84, the Council of the Society is able to accept contributions to its Journal from Members of Branch Societies, and other persons interested in Oriental Research, of original articles, short notes, etc., on matters connected with the languages, archaeology, history, beliefs and customs of any part of Asia.

4. By virtue of the aforementioned Rule 105 all Members of Branch Societies are entitled to apply for election to the Society without the formality of nomination. They should apply in writing to the Secretary, stating their names and addresses, and mentioning the Branch Society to which they belong. Election is by the Society upon the recommendation of the Council.

5. The subscription for Non-Resident Members of the Society is 30/- per per annum. They receive the quarterly journal post free.

Asiatic Society of Bengal. Members of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, by a letter received in 1903, are accorded the privilege of admission to the monthly meetings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, which are held usually at the Society's house, 1 Park Street, Calcutta.

List of Members for 1946

The names of life members are marked with an asterisk and the date of their election.

As far as possible addresses have been been corrected up to September 1, 1947, and a blank has been left where the present address of a member is not known. The Hon. Secretary would be grateful for any information leading to the correction of errors in this list, or towards its completion.

Patron:

His Excellency the Right Honourable Malcolm MacDonald, *P.C.*, Governor-General of Malaya.

Honorary Members.

Year of Election	
1890. *1918	Blagden, Dr. C. O., 40 Wychwood Avenue, Whitchurch Lane, Edgware, Middlesex, U.K.
1935	Bosch, Dr. F. D. K., Rubenslaan 54, Bilthoven, Holland.
1921	Brandstetter, Prof. Dr. R., Luzern, Switzerland.
1935	Cœdès, Prof. Dr. George, Directeur de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient, Hanoi, Indo-China.
1930. *1934	Crosby, Sir Josiah, K.B.E., C.I.E., c o H.B.M. Ministry, Bangkok, Siam.
1922	Johore, H.H. The Sultan of, D.K., G.C.M.G., K.B.E., Johore Bahru, Johore, M.U.
1900. *1932	Kloss, C. Boden, c o Royal Societies Club, 63 St. James' Street, London, S.W.1 (Council: 1904-1908, 1923, 1927-28; V.P., 1920-21, 1927; Hon. Sec: 1923-26; Pres., 1930).
1935	Krom, Dr. N. J., 18 Witte Singel, Leiden, Holland.
1903. *1927	Maxwell, Sir W. G., K.B.E., C.M.G., Chinese, High Salvington, Worthing, Sussex, U.K. (Council: 1905, 1915; V.P.: 1911-1912, 1916, 1918, 1920; Pres: 1919, 1922-23, 1925-26).
1940	Perak, H.H. The Sultan of, K.C.M.G., K.B.E., The Istana Negara, Bukit Chandan, Kuala Kangsar, Perak, M.U.

1890. *1912 Ridley, H. N., C.M.G., F.R.S., 7, Cumberland Road, Kew Garden, Surrey, U.K. (Council: 1890-94, 1896-1911; Hon. Sec. 1890-93, 1896-1911).

1916 Sarawak, H.H. The Rajah of, G.C.M.G., Kuching, Sarawak.

1894. *1921 Shellabear, The Revd. Dr. W. G., 195, Girard Avenue, Hartford, Conn., U.S.A. (Council: 1896-1901, 1904; Vice-Pres., 1913; Pres: 1914-1918).

1921 Van Ronkel, Dr. P. H., Zoeterwoudsche Singel 41, Leiden, Holland.

1904. *1905 Winstedt, Sir Richard, K.B.E., C.M.G., D.Litt., F.B.A., 10, Ross Court, Putney Heath, S.W.15, U.K. (Vice-Pres: 1914-15, 1920-21, 1923-25, 1928; Pres: 1927, 1929, 1933-35).

Corresponding Members.

1935 Hamilton, A. W., c/o Union Bank, Perth, West Australia.

1920 Laidlaw, Dr. F. F., M.A., Eastfield, Uffculme, Devon, U.K.

1920 Merrill, Dr. E. D., Gray Herbarium, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.

Ordinary Members.

*1921 Abdul Aziz, The Hon'ble Y.M. Ungku, D.K. C.M.G., Johore Bahru, Johore, M.U. (Vice-Pres: 1933-34, 1935; 1946-47).

1946 Abdullah bin Ibrahim, Assistant District Officer, Tapah, Perak, M.U.

1936 Abdullah bin Muhammad Ali, Supreme Court Raub, Pahang, M.U.

1926 Abdul Malek bin Mohamed Yusuf, M.C.S., The Secretariat, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, M.U.

1933. *1947 Abdul Rahman bin Mat, District Office, Kuala Lipis, Pahang, M.U.

*1926 Abdul Rahman bin Yassin, Dato, 3 Jalan Chat, Johore Bahru, Johore, M.U.

1946 Abu Bakar bin Pawanchee, c/o Raffles Museum, Singapore.

*1909 Adams, T. S., C.M.G.,

*1919 Adelborg, F., 40, Artillengatan, Stockholm, Sweden.

1935 Ahmad bin Haji Tahir, Asst: Comm: Police, Batu Pahat, Johore, M.U.

1936	Anderson, W. Graeme, Kota Bahru, Kelantan, M.U.
1934	Archer, The Rev. R. L., Ph.D., Metholist Mission, Singapore.
1946	Archey, Dr. G., Auckland Institute and Museum, (Box 27 Newmarket) Auckland, New Zealand.
*1908	Ayre, C. F. C., c/o Lloyds Bank, 6 Pall Mall, London S.W.1, U.K. (Hon. Treas.: 1910-11).
*1926	Bagnall, The Hon'ble Sir John, K.B.E., The Straits Trading Co., Ltd., Singapore.
1919	Bailey, A. E., "Keecha", Park Road, Leamington Spa, Warwickshire, U.K.
*1926	Bailey, John., C.M.G., Hedge Bank Phillips Avenue, Exmouth, U.K.
*1912	Baker, Capt. A. C., M.C.,
*1899	Banks, J. E., Ambridge, Penn., U.S.A.
1937	Barton, J. E., c/o The Shell Co., Collver Quay, Singapore.
1925	Bee, R. J., Public Works Dept., Teluk Anson, Perak, M.U.
*1912	Bicknell, J. W., Bykenhulle, Hopewell Junction, Dutchess County, New York, U.S.A.
1931	Birse, A. L., M.C.S., Colonial Secretary's Office, Singapore.
*1908	Bishop, Major C. E.,
*1923	Black, J. G., M.C.S., Resident Commissioner Trengganu, M.U.
1921. *1947	Blasdell, The Revd., R. A., Methodist Mission Malacca, M.U.
1925	Blythe, W. L., M.C.S.
*1926	Boswell, A. B. S., Forest Dept., Taiping Perak, M.U.
*1919	Bourne, F. G., "Little Dawbourne", St. Michaels, Tenterden, Kent, U.K.
*1919	Boyd, W. R., Aram, Hollywood, Co. Down, U.K.
1946	Boyd-Walker, J. W., Secretariat for Economic Affairs, Singapore.
1913. *1937	Braddell, Dato R. St. J., S.P.M.J., M.A., Bradlell Brothers, P. O. Box 1001, Singapore. (Council: 1936-37; Vice-Pres.: 1938-40, 1946-47).
*1913	Bryan, J. M., c/o Borneo Co., Ltd., 28 Fenchurch Street, London, U.K.
1932	Bryson, H. P., M.C.S., Colonial Secretariat, Singapore.

*1926		Burton, W., 1 Court Land Gardens, Dulwich, U.K.
*1921		Butterfield, H. M., Kedah Peak, Excelsior Road, Parkstone, Dorset, U.K.
*1913		Caldecott, Sir Andrew, K.C.M.G., C.B.E., The Govt. House, Colombo, Ceylon. (Vice-Pres: 1931-32, 1934-35).
1926		Cardon, The Revd. Father R., Bishop's House, 31 Victoria Street, Singapore. (Council: 1934-37; Vice-Pres: 1938-40; Vice-Pres: 1946-47).
1925.	*1937	Carey, H. R., c/o Malay College Kuala Kangsar, Perak, M.U.
*1921		Cavendish, A., 3, Cecil Court, Hollywood Road, London, S.W.10, U.K.
1946		Chang Peng Yin, Post Office Box No. 533, S'pore.
*1924		Cheeseman, H. R.
*1913		Choo Kia Peng, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, M.U.
*1926		Clarke, G. C., c/o The Asiatic Petroleum Co., Ltd., St. Helen's Court, Great St. Helen's, London, E.C. 3, U.K.
*1911		Clayton, T. W.,
*1920		Collenette, C. L., 107, Church Road, Richmond, Surrey, U.K.
*1926		Coope, A. E., M.C.S., 219, Percy Road, Whitton, Twickenham, Middlesex, U.K.
1936		Cooper, E. C., Guthrie & Co., Ltd., Singapore.
1929		Corner, E. J. H. (Council: 1934-35, 1939-40).
*1923		Cowgill, J. V., M.C.S.
*1921		Cullen, W. G., Bartoleme Mitre 559, Buenos Aires, S. America.
*1910		Daly, M. D., Cleve Hill, Cork, Eire.
*1927		Dawson, C. W., M.C.S.
*1926		Del Tufo, M. V., M.C.S., Tiger Lane, Ipoh, Perak, M.U.
*1921		Dickson, The Revd. P. L., Western House, The Park, Nottingham, England.
*1926		Dolman, H. C., Forest Office, Kuala Lipis, Pahang, M.U.
*1923		Doscas, A. E. C., Department of Agriculture Johore, Johore Bahru, Johore, M.U.
1936		Douglas, Dato F. W., Kampong Jawa, Klang, Selangor, M.U.
*1915		Dussek, O. T., Sultan Idris Training College, Kuala Kangsar, Perak, M.U. (Vice-Pres: 1935).

1934		Dyer, Prof. W. E., M.A., Raffles College, Singapore.
1946		Easaw, T. C., Health Office Johore Bahru, Johore, M.U.
*1922		Ebden, The Hon. Mr. W. S., Resident Councillor, Malacca, M.U.
1927		Education Dept., The, Alor Star, Kedah, M.U.
1885		Egerton, Sir Walter, K.C.M.G., Fair Meadow, Mayfield, Sussex, U.K.
1921.	*1939	Elder, Dr. E. A., British Dispensary, Singapore.
1946		Eldridge, C. H., Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, M.U.
1932		English School Union, The, Muar, Johore, M.U.
1923		Eu Tong Sen, O.B.E., Sophia Road, Singapore.
*1924		Evans, I. H. N., District Office, Kota Belud via Jesselton, British North Borneo, (Vice-Pres: 1926-30).
*1911		Ferguson-Davie, The Rt. Revd. C. J., Fort Hare University, Alice, Cape Province, S. Africa. (Council: 1912-13).
1946		Fiennes, David, Mansfield & Co., Ltd., Ocean Building, Singapore.
*1919		Finnie, W., 13 Forest Road, Aberdeen, U.K.
*1897		Flower, Major S. S., Old House, Park Road, Tring, Hertfordshire, U.K.
1928		Foenander, E. C., Forest Department, Bentong, Pahang, M.U.
1923		Forest Botanist, The Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun, U.P., India.
1946		Forsyth, C. R., M.C.S., Malayan Civil Service, Labour Office, Sungei Patani, Kedah, M.U.
*1918		Foxworthy, Dr. F. W., 762, Arlington Avenue, Bekerley, California, U.S.A., (Council: 1923, 1926-27).
1935		Francois, The Revd. Father J. P., Church of St. Michael, Ipoh, Perak, M.U.
*1908		Freeman, D., 96, Priory Road, West Hampstead, London, N.W.6, U.K.
*1910		Frost, M.
1931		Gardiner, E. A., Public Works Department, Ipoh. Perak, M.U.
*1926		George, J. R., c/o Chartered Bank, London, U.K.
1940.	*1947	Gibson-Hill, C. A., M.A., c/o Raffles Museum. Singapore.

1923 Gilmour A., M.C.S., Secretariat for Economic Affairs, Fullerton Building, Singapore.

*1922 Glass, Dr. G. S., c/o Glyn Mills & Co., Whitehall, London, S.W.1, U.K.

*1920 Gordon-Hall, W. A., M.C.S., Resident Commissioner, Negri Sembilan, M.U.

1926 Goss, P. H., Survey Dept., Penang, M.U.

1946 Grehan, D. W., M.A., Ex. Engr. P. W. D., Penang, M.U.

1946 Gunaratinam, Mrs. A., 149 Guillimard Road, Sian Lim Park, Singapore.

*1923 Hacker, Dr. H. P., Long Acre, Downe, Kent, U.K.

1946 Han Wai Toon, 1003 Upper Thomson Road

1933 Hannay, H. C., Mercantile Building, Ipoh, Perak, M.U.

1937 Harrison B., Raffles College, Singapore. (Council: 1938-39; Hon. Treasurer: 1941-42).

*1926 Hastings, W. G. W., 56 Klyne Street, Kuala Lumpur, M.U.

*1904 Haynes, A. S., C.M.G., Brooklands, 11, Warwick New Road, Leamington Spa, Warwickshire, U.K.

1936 Headly, D., M.C.S., Governor-General's Office, Singapore.

1921 Henderson, M. R., Botanic Gardens, Singapore. (Council: 1928; Hon. Treas: 1928-34; Hon. Sec.: 1946).

*1823 Hicks, E. S., c/o Education Office, Kuala Lipis, Pahang, M.U.

1939 Hill, A. H., Education Office, Trengganu, M.U.

*1923 Hodgson, D. H., Forest Department, Seremban, Negri Sembilan, M.U.

1922 Holttum, R. E., M.C.S., Botanic Gardens, S'pore. (Council: 1933, 1935, 1940-42, 1946-47; Hon. Treas: 1923-26, 1928; Vice-Pres: 1929, 1936-37).

1946 Hone, Sir Ralph, K.C., "Kashmir" 14 Dalvey Road, Singapore.

1938 Hough, G. G., M.A., Raffles College, Singapore.

1940. *1947 Hsu Yun Tsi'ao, Post Office Box 709, Singapore. (Council: 1946-47).

*1926 Ince, H. M., Kencot Lodge, Nr. Lechlade, Gloucestershire, U.K.

1939 Jackman, C. W., B.A., The High School, Klang, Selangor, M.U.

1946 Jamuh, George, Lawas, Sarawak.

1921 Jermyn, L. A. S.

*1918 Jones, E. P.

*1913 Jones, S. W., C.M.G., M.C.S., c/o M. I. A., London, U.K. (Council: 1935; Vice-Pres: 1937; Pres: 1939-1940).

*1919 Jordan, The Rev. Mr. A. B., M.C.S., c/o M. I. A. London, U.K.

1921 Kay-Mouat, Prof. J. R.

1926 Ketith, H. G., Forest Dept., Sandakan, B. North Borneo.

*1921 Kellie, J., Dunbar Estate, Neram Tunggal P.C., Chegar Perah, Pahang, M.U.

*1920 Ker, W. P. W., Paterson Simons & Co., Ltd. London House, Crutched Friars, London, E.C.3, U.K.

*1920 Kerr, Dr. A., c/o Mrs. Palliser, Street House, Hayes, Kent, U.K.

1926 Khoo Sian Ewe, 380 Burmah Road, Penang, M.U.

1946 King George V School, The, Seremban, Negri Sembilan, M.U.

*1923 Lease, F. E., The Shanty, Chislehurst Hill, Chislehurst, Kent, U.K.

*1921 Lee, L. G., Ladang Geddes, Bahau, Negri Sembilan, M.U.

*1922 Leggate, J., "Troggett's", Wallis Wood. Ockley, Surrey, U.K.

*1913 Leicester, Dr. W. S., Kuantan, Pahang, M.U.

*1925 Leonard, R. W. F., c/o Mansfield & Co., Ltd., Ocean Building, Singapore.

1946 Library Malayan Union, The Secretariat, Kuala Lumpur, M.U.

1936 Lim, C. O., 33 China Street Gauth, Penang, M.U.

1925 Linehan, The Hon. Dr. W., C.M.G., M.A., D.Litt., M.C.S., The Secretariat, Government of the Malayan Union, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, M.U. (Vice-Pres.: 1935-35; Council: 1941; Pres.: 1946-47).

1930 Luckham, H. A. L., M.C.S.

1936 Lyle, C. W., M.C.S.

*1907 Lyons, Revd. E. S., 1089, Wash, 35th Street, Los Angeles, California, U.S.A.

*1920		MacBryan, G. T. M., No. 1 Woodstock House, 11 High Street, Marylebone, London, U.K.
*1930		MacDonald, P. J. W., Laan Cornelius, 7, Batavia Centrum, Java, N.E.I.
*1910		MacFadyen, E., c/o Sports Club, London, U.K.
1939		MacLean, Mrs. D., c/o Chartered Bank, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, M.U.
1935.	*1937	MacTier, R.S., c/o The Glen Linn Ltd., 20 Billiter Street, London, E.C.3, U.K.
1946		MacDonald, E. M., Estate Duty Office, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, M.U.
1939		McHugh, J. N., Dept. of Public Relations, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, M.U.
1946		Madoc, G. C., c/o Malayan Security Service, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, M.U.
1932		Malacca Historical Society, The, Malacca, M.U.
1926		Malay College, The., Kuala Kangsar, Perak, M.U.
1935		Mallal, Bashir A., 20 Malacca Street, Singapore. (Council 1946-47).
1946		Maniam, K. S., T.R.O., 79 Java Street, 1st Floor, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, M.U.
1916		Mann, W. E., c/o Dr. A. G. Hartman, Anna's Hoeve, Ommen, Holland.
1938		Mare, D. W. le., Director of Fisheries (Malayan Union), Penang, M.U.
*1907		Marriner, J. T.
1931		Martin, J. M., 25 Pelham Place, Londnn, S.W.7, U.K.
*1925		Martin, W. M. E.
1946		Mathias, T. J., M.C.S., c/o Secretariat Malayan Union, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, M.U.
1922.	*1938	May, Percy W., 6 Queen Anne's Gardens, Bedford Park, London, W.4, U.K.
1941		Meyer, A. G., Serangoon English School, Simon Road, Paya Lebar, Singapore.
*1926		Miles, C. V., Rodyk & Davidson, Singapore.
*1921		Miller, J. I., M.C.S., Secretariat, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, M.U.
1926.	*1947	Mills, J. V., c/o School of Oriental & African Studies, Malet Street, London, W.C.1, U.K. (Council: 1919-30, 1932-33, 1936, 1938; Pres.: 1937).

1922 Mohamed Said, Major Dato Haji., Private Secretary to H.H. the Sultan of Johore, Johore Bahru, Johore, M.U.

1921 Mohamed Salleh bin Ali, Hon. Dato., Johore Bahru, Johore, M.U.

1946 Morell, Capt. D. H., Head Quarters, Northern Ireland District, Lisburn, Co. Antrim, U.K.

1946 Morgan, E. D., M.C.S., Assistant Commissioner for Labour, Klang, Selangor, M.U.

*1926 Morice, J., c/o Customs Office, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, M.U.

*1920 Morkill, A. G.

*1915 Mundell, H. D., c o Sisson & Delay, Singapore. (Council: 1938).

1934 Mustapha bin Tengku Besar, District Office, Raub, Pahang, M.U.

1946 Namazie, M. J., 20 Malacca Street, Singapore.

1946 National Library of Peiping, The., Peiping, China.

1946 Newboult, The Hon. Mr. A. T., C.M.G., M.C., E.D., M.C.S.

1934 Nightingale, H. W., M.C.S., 194, Watten Estate, Singapore.

1935 Oppenheim, H. R., c o Peet Marwick, Mitchell & Co., Hongkong Shanghai Bank Building, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, M.U.

1929 Pagden, H. T., Dept. of Agriculture, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, M.U.

*1908 Parr, C. W. C., C.M.G., O.B.E., Parrissees Hayne, Howley, Nr. Chard, Somerset, U.K.

*1921 Paterson, Major H. S., M.C.S.

1937 Payne Dr. C. H. Withers, Post Office Box 152, Singapore. (Drew & Napier).

1937 Payne, E. M. F., M.A., B.Sc., King George V School, Seremban, Negri Sembilan, M.U.

1933 Pearson, C. D., c/o Survey Office, Batu Pahat, Johore, M.U.

1931 Peet, G. L., c/o The Straits Times, Singapore.

1936 Penang Library, The, Penang, M.U.

*1926 Pengilley, E. E., M.C.S., Office of Deputy Commissioner, Sungei Patani, Kedah, M.U.

*1925 Penrice, W., c/o Mansfield & Co., Ltd., Singapore.

*1938 Persekutuan Guru-guru Melayu, Seremban, Negri Sembilan, M.U.

*1920		Peskett, A. D., c/o Barclay Bank, Weston-Super-Ware, Somerset, U.K.
1928		Powell, J. B., 100 Westward Rise, Barry, Glamorgan, U.K.
1932		Pretty, E. E. F., M.C.S., Resident Commissioner, Johore, Johore Bahru, Johore, M.U.
1935.	*1947	Purcell, Dr. V. W. W. S., United Nations, Lake Success, New York, Zone c61, U.S.A. (Pres.: 1946).
1931		Raffles College, The Librarian, Singapore.
1932.	*1940	Rawlings, G. S., M.C.S., Kota Bahru, Kelantan, M.U.
*1924		Reed, J. G., Sungkai Perak, M.U.
1937		Regester, P. J. D., O.B.E., 6-8 Mountbatten Road, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, M.U. (Council: 1946-47).
*1910		Reid, Dr. Alfred, Batang Padang Estate, Tapah, M.U.
1930		Rentse, A., Kota Bharu, Kelantan, M.U. (Vice-Pres.: 1946-47).
*1921		Rex, The Hon'able Mr. Marcus, c/o M. E. O., Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, M.U.
*1926		Rigby, W. E., M.C., M.C.S., The Treasury, S'pore.
1926.	*1935	Robinson, P. M., Hongkong Shanghai Bank, 9 Gracechurch Street, London, E.C.3, U.K.
*1923		Sanson, Hon. Mr. C. H., c/o Lloyds Bank Ltd., Section G3, Pall Mall, London S.W.1, U.K.
*1919		Santry, D., Slamat, Parkhorse Road, Bessel Green, Sevenoaks, Kent, U.K.
1946		Savage, H. E. F., Geological Survey Department, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, M.U.
1935		Schweizer, H., c/o Dithelm & Co., Singapore. (Council: 1946-1947).
*1920		Scott, Dr. W., Sungei Siput, M.U.
1922.	*1939	Sehested, S., c/o Singapore Club, Singapore.
*1927		Sells, H. C., Satuan Burnham, Buckinghamshire, U.K.
1946		Seth bin Mohamed Said, Personal Assistant to Resident Commissioner, Johore Bahru, Johore, M.U.
1929		Sheppard, M. C. ff., M.C.S.
1946		Sheridan, C. M., c/o Attorney General, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, M.U.

*1927 Simpson-Gray, L. C., M.C.S.

*1909 Sims, W. A., The Lodge, Gander Green Lane, Cheam, Surrey, U.K.

1931 Singam, S. Durai Raja, c/o Abdullah School, Kuantan, Pahang, M.U.

1935 Skeat, Walter W., "Pixies Holt" Lyme Regis, Dorset, U.K.

*1926 Sleep, A., M.C.S., Residency, Kuala Lipis, Pahang, M.U.

1924 Smith, J. D. M., M.C.S., Financial Secretary Singapore.

*1930 Soann, A. I. C., Tanah Intan Estate, Martapoera, Netherlands S. E. Borneo.

1940 Somerville, D. A., c/o M. E. O., Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, M.U.

*1928 Stanton, W. A., Woodland Manor, R. F. D. No. 3, Rockville, Maryland, U.S.A.

*1917 Stirling, W. G., c/o Cox & King, 10 Haymarket, London S.W.1, U.K. (Council: 1923-25, 1927-29).

*1939 Stubbs, G. C., Survey Office, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, M.U.

1946 Stutchbury, A. D., M.C.S., Secretariat for Economic Affairs, Singapore.

1926 Sultan Idris Training College, The., Tanjong Malim, Perak, M.U.

*1918 Sykes, G. R., M.C.S.

1908 Tan Cheng Lock, C.B.E., 96 First Cross Street, Street, Malacca, M.U.

1913 Tayler, C. J., c/o Hongkong Shanghai Bank, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, M.U.

*1928 Taylor, The Hon. Mr. E. N., Judge's Chambers, Supreme Court, (Malayan Union), Kelantan, M.U.

1938 Thomas, Francis, B. A., St. Andrew's School, Singapore.

*1921 Thomas, L. A., Chief Police Officer, Singapore.

1946 Thomson, G. G., Public Relations Officer, Colonial Secretary's Office, Singapore.

1946 Treeby, I. W. C., 88 Batu Ferringghi, Penang, M.U.

1930 Turner, H. G., M.C.S., c/o M. E. O., Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, M.U.

1932		Tweedie, M. W. F., M.A., c/o Raffles Museum, Singapore. (Hon. Treas.: 1936-40; Hon. Sec. & Treas.: 1946-47).
1930		University Library, The:, University Estate Rangoon, Burma.
*1926		Waddell, Miss M.C.
*1926		Wallace, W. A., Tewantin, *via* Cooroy, Queensland, Australia.
1946		White, F. T. M., c/o Bank of N. S. W. Head Office, Perth, Western Australia.
1923		Whitfield, L. D., Sultan Idris Training College, Tanjong Malim, Perak, M.U.
*1926		Wilcoxson, W. J., Straits Trading Co., Ltd., S'pore.
*1926		Willan, The Hon'able Mr. T. L., Chief Justice, Kuala Lumpur, Selangor M.U.
*1921		Willbourne, Dr. E., Batu Gajah, Perak, M.U.
1921.	"1946	Williams, R. M., Department of Trade & Industry (Malayan Union), Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, M.U.
1946		Williams-Hunt, Major P. D. R., c/o Mercantile Bank, Raffles Place, Singapore.
1940		Windsor, Mrs. Edna., Kuantan, Pahang, M.U.
*1910		Winkelmann, H.
1937.	*1946	Winsley, Capt. T. M., c/o Barclay Bank D C & O, Grahamstown, C. P., South Africa. (Hon. Treas.: 1946).
1920		Wooley, G. C., Jesselton, British North Borneo.
*1905		Worthington, A. F., Longclose, Pennington, Lymington, Hampshire, U.K.
1921.	*1936	Wurtzburg, C. E., M.C., c/o Glen Line, 20 Billiter Road, London, E.C.3, U.K. (Council: 1924-26, 1930; Hon. Sec: 1925; Vice-Pres: 1927, 1929, 1933-35; Pres.: 1936).
1940		Yao, T. L., c/o Mr. Hsu Yun Tsi'ao, P. O. Box 709, Singapore.
*1923		Yates, H. S., 331 Jiannini Hall, Berkeley, California, U.S.A.
*1917		Yates, Major W. G.
1932		Yeh Hua Fen, The Revd. c/o Y.M.C.A., Hangchow, Chekiang, China.
*1920		Yewdall, Capt. J. S., "Seatoller" Meadway, Berkhamsted, Hertfordshire, U.K.
*1904		Young, H. S., Rosemount, Tain, Rosshire, U.K.
1920		Zainal-Abidin bin Ahmad, c/o School of Oriental and African Studies, Malet Street, London, W.C.1, U.K.

Notes on Ancient Times in Malaya

By ROLAND BRADDELL, M.A. (*Oxon*), F.R.G.S.

(Continued from J.R.A.S. (M.B.) Vol: XX, Pt. I, Pps. 161-186).

2. The Ancient Bead-trade.

Ancient Beads. It is proposed to continue the discussion, which began in the last part of these *NOTES*, concerning the ancient Malayan beads. The earliest which have been discovered so far were obtained, as has been seen, by Mr. G. B. Gardner in Johore. Amongst the 600 or so which he obtained at Kota Tinggi and Johore Lama were

(1) some 80 early Indian stone beads;

(2) a Hittite bead of 700 B.C.;

(3) a glass bead similar to those made in Italy about 700 B.C.;

(4) two glass beads of Phoenician or early Cypriot type;

(5) a great quantity of Roman beads, forming some 20 per cent of the total.

Dr. Quaritch Wales (268, p. 61) carried out excavations at Kota Tinggi and found in each layer a small number of beads, mostly of the common Kuala Selinsing type, which he considered "likely to be of Indonesian type". As he found blue and white Ming porcelain and stamped pottery throughout the deposits he found it difficult to decide whether the Kuala Selinsing type of beads were "very early or had reached Johore as late as Ming times". He also obtained more Roman beads at Kota Tinggi from villagers who had picked them up superficially after heavy rains.

"Roman", of course, is merely a generic term and Mr. H. C. Beck considered that the Johore Roman beads dated from "any time in the first two or three centuries of the Christian era" (182). It would seem that a slip has occurred in the discussion by Dr. Quaritch Wales concerning the Johore beads. He writes (286, p. 60) "In the *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, Stockholm, Mr. Beck[1] figures a Roman bead from Cumae and one from Johore side by side, noting that they are identical in appearance and there is little difference in their specific gravity. These

1 The authors of the paper actually were Messrs: Seligman and Beck. R. B.

Roman beads from Johore are important because of the high ratio they bear to the total number of beads found by Mr. Gardner; they are much more important than the more ancient but solitary Hittite bead and two Phoenician beads, also found there by Mr. Gardner, because these latter are more likely to have been in existence long before they reached Johore. For the history of the region they are valueless". From this passage it would seem that Dr. Quaritch Wales was including the bead illustrated in the *Bulletin* amongst the general Roman beads; and, if that is so, it is a slip on his part. A reference to the *Bulletin* (297, p. 14, Fig: 1) shows that it is a large black glass bead, more or less triangular in shape, with a white "eye" at each corner and, comparing that illustration with Plate 84 attached to the report of his finds by Dr. Quaritch Wales (268), one sees that it is entirely different from the Roman beads illustrated there, none of which is an "eye-bead" or is triangular in shape. The illustration in the *Bulletin* shows the Johore bead beside an almost exactly similar one from Cumae and in the text Messrs: Seligman and Beck say that such beads have been found at a number of sites in the Mediterranean, there being examples in the British Museum dating from the 6th or 7th centuries B.C. and of about the same date as strings in the Beck collection from Cumae and Pozzuoli. It is one of the latter which is illustrated beside the Johore bead.

It seems clear that the Johore "eye-bead" must be separated from the Roman beads, as Mr. Gardner separated it, and for dating purposes can be placed besides the Hittite and the Phoenician or Cypriot beads. It is, of course, item (3) in the list given above. Even assuming that the types persisted for long, as doubtless they did, the beads in items (2), (3) and (4) of the list above would seem to have pre-dated the Christian era: and it is a remarkable fact that amongst the 600 or so obtained by Mr. Gardner in Johore there should have been no less than 4 such ancient beads. That they must have been imported seems to be very clear and the interesting problem arises of who imported them. If they were imported, as seems clear, then how can they be said to be valueless historically? It is proposed a little later to consider this problem of their importation.

As was seen in the last part of these *Notes* there was an ancient and wide-spread trade in beads. Messrs: Seligman and Beck (297, p. 9) show that the export of beads from West to East went back as far as several hundred years B.C. and, at p. 14, they write that there was "a considerable export to the Far East of glass ware and beads from the Roman Orient during the few centuries before and after the beginning of our era". Mr. Beck examined a collection of beads from Sarawak in a very important paper in *Man* (298) and noted that "a few of the specimens show such great

similarity to early types found in Europe that I think they are early beads which have travelled to Sarawak". This paper is illustrated by two plates, one of which is in colour. One of these Sarawak beads (Plate K, No. 15) Mr. Beck finds to be "so strikingly like the little white bottles with purple decorations found in various parts of south Italy and the Eastern Mediterranean which are dated to the fourth and third centuries B.C., that I think it is probably of the same date": and another (Plate K, No. 16) he also thinks to date from the third or second centuries B.C. A composite cane eye-bead (Plate K, No. 18) is next considered by him in connection with which he says that evidence is available to show that cane beads of this type were made at least five hundred years earlier than the second century A.D. and he considers it probable that they were "imported at an early date". He summarizes, at p. 181, his general views and considérs that 6 beads (Plate K, Nos: 15, 16, 18 Plate L, 20, 21, 27) appear to date from the Greek or early Roman period.

In Hose and McDougall (11, i, p. 241) there is a coloured plate (No: 130) showing old beads worn by Kayans in Borneo, of which three (I, F and H) are said by Messrs: Seligman and Beck (297, p. 15) to be of Romano-Egyptian type and one (A) of a type found in Egypt where they are of considerable antiquity, some even dating back to 900—600 B.C., though the type persisted later and seemed to have been brought to the Far East in some quantity. Ancient beads are highly prized by Bornean tribes to this day and large sums of money are paid for them. No evidence of any such custom in the Malay Peninsula has been recorded.

The 4 Johore beads, therefore, fall within the evidence of an ancient trade in beads from the West to the East that extended back before the Christian era and we know that a bead trade persisted until the nineteenth century A.D. If prevailing customs in Borneo can be regarded as evidence of ancient ones, it is remarkable that beads played their part in the cult of the dead, and their occurrence in dolmen graves and stone-slab graves may possibly be explained thus. Hose and McDougall (11, i, pp: 226-228) and Ling Roth (247, p. 282) refer to the Bornean beads and there is more also in Hose (250, p. 207). It is clear that a custom persists of placing a bead of some value under each eye-lid of a corpse for use by the ghost-soul for its passage across the River of Death and the finds of beads amongst ancient burial remains, to which Ling Roth refers, would seem to show that it must have been a very ancient one.

The 80 early Indian stone beads found by Mr. Gardner are (cf: MS p. 5) not described by him or dated; but it may be worthy of notice that a collection of beads from urn burials in the Wynaad on

the Malabar Coast consisted entirely of stone beads, none of any other substance being found there (298, p. 175). It is fair to reason that the Johore stone beads must have been imported and it also seems fair to conclude that the use of stone-beads in India must have come into existence before beads of other substances were available, though it may well have continued after that time. The number of 80 out of a total of 600 is again remarkable and would seem to be evidence of a trade from India to Johore in such beads. Would that trade not have preceded the one in glass beads? It seems difficult to believe that people would buy stone beads when the far more attractive coloured varieties were available. On that view, one would begin with an Indian trade in stone-beads and then find it supplanted by a trade from the West in coloured beads which persisted into the period of the Roman beads. With regard to these latter we have already called attention to the Roman factory at Pondichéry and it may be noted that Professor Coedès accepts this definitely as Ptolemy's emporium of Podoukē (272, p. 35). It is, therefore, possible that the Johore Roman beads may have been imported from that place, a question which could only be decided by expert comparisons of the two sets.

The southernmost position given by Ptolemy in the Golden Chersonese was that of the emporium of Sabana, to the west and the south of Palanda. This latter place may reasonably be identified with the present Kota Tinggi but there is no evidence upon which Sabana can be located. Wherever that emporium was, it seems hardly likely that it was the site of a bead manufacture, as was the emporium of Podoukē. No beads have been found in Johore (or Singapore) except at Kota Tinggi and Johor Lama. The large numbers which have been obtained at these last places, and are still obtainable, point to their having been a centre of the bead trade but there is no evidence of any bead manufacture there.

Therefore, it is suggested, the result, as far as the present evidence takes us, would seem to be that all the items in the list above of Mr. Gardner's collection were importations; and we offer the further deduction that they evidence a bead trade into Johore from before the Christian era and continuing for at least 200 years after that era. If that is so, all of them are of considerable historical importance.

But, if they were imported, can anything be said upon the question of who imported them?

Phoenicians. Whether one accepts or not the statement by Herodotus that Phoenicians circum-navigated Africa during the

region of the Pharaoh Necho[2], it is clear that they possessed the ships and the navigational skill for long ocean voyages. It is, therefore, possible that they could have sailed to the waters of south-eastern Asia but there is no evidence that they ever did so. Attention was called in the *Introduction*[3] to a passage in Le May's *Buddhist Art in Siam* (183, pp: 35-6) in which he referred to the possibility of such a thing having happened and called attention to the hoards of small flat silver or billon coins excavated in Siamese Malaya, in Borneo and the Dutch Islands. These coins are blank on one side and have a sunk incuse square on the other, which fact led Mr. Le May to compare them with Lydian coins of the sixth century B.C. and to observe that Lydia based its coinage on the Phoenician standard. Phoenician alphabetical writing was introduced into India where it came into use not later than 700 B.C. (161, p. 7) and Sir Percy Sykes (38, p. 4) says that Phoenician ships "opened up commercial relations with India". Campbell (255, i, p. 25 and n. 2) refers to Jeremiah X, 9, "silver spread into plate is brought from Tarshish and gold from Uphaz" and identifies Uphaz with Mount Ophir in Sumatra. He also writes, at p. 20, that "among the various traditions as to how Java and the Eastern islands were originally peopled is one which says that its first inhabitants came in vessels from the Red Sea, *Laut Mira*[4], and that on their passage they coasted along the shores of Hindustan": and, at pp: 21-22, he seems to accept that the Phoenicians did sail to Malaysia.

There is the famous passage in Josephus which speaks of the pilots furnished by Hiram of Tyre "to whom Solomon gave this command, that they should go along with his stewards to the land that of old was called Ophir, now Aurea Chersonesus, which belongs to India, to fetch gold": but can this passage be accepted as original and not as a later interpolation? Sir Hugh Clifford seemed to have accepted it and to have taken the Malay Peninsula to have been Solomon's Ophir (299, pp: 11-14). Such an identification, however, is generally rejected to-day, though there is a difference of opinion as to what should be substituted for it. Schoff considered the question and agreed with Glaser that Ophir was a trading centre in Arabia where the products of the East were received and reshipped or sent overland to the Mediterranean. He disagreed from Lassen's location of the place in India and said that "later scholarship is sufficiently sure in locating Ophir on the Arabian coast of the Persian Gulf, but the Indian names for the products mentioned[5] proved clearly enough that it was a trading centre dealing with

2 609-593 B.C. upon the system of dating in the late Professor J. H. Breasted's *History of Egypt*.
3 This Journal, vol: XVII, Pt: 1, p. 148.
4 Malay *laut* (sea) *merah* (red). R. B.
5 Ivory, apes and peacocks. R. B.

India, even if the land itself was not Indian" (35, p. 175). Hall, however, prefers the Indian theory and writes that "it is quite probable that Ophir is really the Konkan or Cochin coast, and that Solomon's Phoenician sailors reached India, unless, as is possible, they went only as far as Southern Arabia, where they received the Indian products brought by the local traders" (300, p. 434). The *Cambridge Ancient History*[6] accepts South Arabia with a query; and Sir Percy Sykes considered that Ophir was "probably the modern Dhufar" (38, pp: 39, 304). At p. 307, he said that "it is clear that Dhufar is the biblical Ophir, the Sephar of the motto and the Supphur of Ptolemy". Professor Hitti (301, p. 41) considered that the Ophir of Hiram and Solomon was "probably Zafar in 'Umān' ".

On the other hand, many place Ophir in Africa and Holland Rose (302, p. 23) says that it was "undoubtedly Somaliland or Jubaland further south". Gaston Maspero[7] in 1910 wrote that "a whole library might be stocked with the various treatises which have appeared on the situation of the country of Ophir: Arabia, Persia, India, Java, and America have all been suggested. The mention of almug wood and of peacocks, which may be of Indian origin, for a long time inclined the scale in favour of India, but the discoveries of Mauch and Bent on the Zimbabaye have drawn attention to the basin of the Zambesi and the ruins found there. Dr. Peters, one of the best-known German explorers, is inclined to agree with Mauch and Bent, in their theory as to the position of the Ophir of the Bible (*Der Goldene Ophir Salomo's*, pp: 50-62). I am rather inclined to identify it with the Egyptian Pûanit, on the Somali or Yemen seaboard".

In face of all these differences of opinion it does not seem useful to consider any further the position of Ophir or the possibility of a Phoenician penetration into Malaysia[8]. Nevertheless, the facts remain that two beads of Phoenician or early Cypriot type have been discovered in Johore and that the Phoenicians had the navigational skill and possessed ships of sufficient capacity to sail the open ocean. But there is no evidence (except the beads) which goes to show that they ever got as far as Malaysia; and the beads might well have been brought by others. There is also a fact which would seem to militate against the view that the Phoenicians opened up sea communication between the West and Malaysia; and that fact is the control of the Indian Ocean by ancient Arabians.

6 Vol: III (1925) p. 357.

7 *The Struggle of the Nations*, p. 742, n. 2.

8 It may be noted that Cary and Warmington (305) say that some trace Phoenicians to Sumatra and even claim for them a colony in Shantung *ca.* 680 B.C., citing Lacouperie.

Sabaeans. Arab navigational records date from Muslim times but for countless centuries before then Arabian sailors were famous and amongst them the name of the Sabaeans stands foremost. Did the Sabaeans ever reach Malaysian waters, and could it have been they who carried on the ancient bead-trade which we have been examining?

In his *Abstract of the Sijarah Malayu* (91) the late Mr. T. Braddell made references to the Sabaeans but since then sight has been lost of them locally[9]: but they are very important to remember. Their name comes from the Arabic Saba', biblical Sheba. The ruins of the ancient Shabwa, which Hitti says was the classical Sabota, have been the subject of recent explorations concerning which there are two very interesting papers by Mr. R. A. B. Hamilton in the Geographical Journal[10]. This place in the Hadramaut was not actually the Sabaean capital, as will be seen later, but Mr. Hamilton says that its name is almost revered in Yemen and the Hadramaut. The name Saba itself was not in point of fact that of a town but in reality the name of a land and a people (301, p. 55).

Dr. Carl Peters (303) has pointed out how many name-sounds, notably the River Sabi, still remain in eastern Africa to remind one of the Sabaean epoch there. It is, accordingly, not unworthy of notice that in Malaysia there are such name-sounds. In the Malay Peninsula there is Sabah, or Sabak, a village at the mouth of the Bernam River[11]. South of Singapore there is the island of Kundur which for long was called Sabam. Mr. J. V. Mills has traced the latter name from the sixteenth century to the nineteenth in his excellent essay on Eredia (66, pp: 198-199) and has reproduced Eredia's map of southern Johore which shows the island of Sabam and the Estreito Sabam. The indigenous name for the northern part of Borneo is Sabah[12]. It is impossible, of course, to say how old these three names are but, if we turn to Ptolemy, we find similar name-sounds which must date to the first century of the Christian era at least. We have Sabara and the Sabarakos Gulf, generally taken as being in the Martaban region: the emporium of Sabana

9 I made only one small reference to them in the *Introduction*, J R A S (M B), vol: XIII, Pt: 2, p. 79.

10 1942, vol: C, No: 3, pp: 107-123; 1943, vol: CI, No: 3, pp: 110-117.

11 Dennys in his *Descriptive Dictionary*, 1894, has the entry "Sabba-Important V. and Police Station on S. bank of Bernam R., N. Selangor, about 15 miles from the mouth": but it should be noted that Wilkinson gives the Malay word *Saba* as sanskrit in origin, with the meaning "frequenting; visiting"; and *Sabah*, Ar: *Shabah*, "indistinguishable; alike," while *Sabak* means either "to weep" or "to boil down palm-sap for making native sugar". Reference may be made to Gerini in connection with the Bernam village (46, p. 522).

12 For the names of Borneo see the *Introduction*, J R A S (M B), vol: XIX, Pt: 1, pp: 33-36.

at the south of the Golden Chersonese: Iabadios, or Sabadios, the reading being uncertain according to Bunbury (55, ii, p. 608): the Sabadibai islands: and Zabae.

Tradition also could be invoked, as will be seen later when ancient Arabian history comes to be considered.

From Chinese records it appears that Arabians had a counting-house at Canton in 300 A.D (266, p. 4; 272, p. 99). Dr. T'ien-tsê Chang says that either Arabs or Persians introduced into China the cultivation of jasmine during the second half of the third century A.D. (304, p. 4) and reference should be made to the authorities which he gives for that statement Beal's assumption of *Sa-po* as "Sabaean" in his translation of Fa-hien (242, 1, p. lxxiv) and Hirth and Rockhill's reference to it (226, p. 3) must be ignored, as Pelliot has shown that *Sa-po* is the Chinese transcription of *sārthavāhā*, "chief merchant" (129, p. 356)[13]. Cary and Warmington (305) say that the Sabaeans seem to have reached China in the first century A D.

The reader can now be referred to the confident statements of Steiger, Otley Beyer and Benitez, authorities of the highest reputation (306, pp 126-132). They say, at p. 126, that "Arab relations with the Far East began as early as the time of Babylon, and at that time and in subsequent periods their relations were chiefly with India. Now the part of Arabia that carried on the trade was only one region—the country of Saba in southern Arabia, known in the Bible as Sheba This south, or Sheban, coast, which lies along the southern part of Arabia partly on the Red Sea and partly on the Indian Ocean and the Gulf of Aden, had been the home of a seagoing and commercial people in the earliest period of history. There is no question that at the time of King Solomon and the building of the city of Jerusalem the Shebans were the greatest seagoing people around Asia Minor. Just as the Phoenicians were the sailors in the Mediterranean, so in the same way were the Shebans in the Indian Ocean".

At pp: 127-128, they say "It is entirely doubtful whether any Phoenician, Greek or Roman ships ever got beyond India But during Roman times the Romans tried to put the Shebans out of business by building fleets in Red Sea ports and the Persian Gulf and trading with India themselves. It may have been this Roman interference which first started the Sheban ships to seek Oriental ports beyond India for goods which the Romans could not get. At any rate, Sheban trade beyond India began about the time of the Roman competition with the Shebans in the Indian trade. The

13 See also T'oung Pao, 1912, vol XIII, pp 456-457.

first Arab ships which, according to the records, went as far westward as South China, date from the time of the first century of the Christian Era. Ptolemy's famous geography, published about A.D. 150, was based in the main on certain geographical and sailing directions left by a Phoenician sea captain named Marinas, who lived and visited the East around A.D. 75. There is no doubt but that Marinas was himself in China and made several voyages between East China and Arabian ports. These voyages were undoubtedly performed in Sheban ships, since after the destruction of Carthage, Phoenician ships had been run off the Red Sea by the war between Rome and Carthage, and Phoenicians would not enter the employ of the Romans. In the Chinese records themselves, the first definite account of Arab trade occurred at the end of the third century of the Christian Era, when the extent and character of a thriving Arab merchant colony in Canton was described".

At pp: 128-129, they say "Probably the stimulus of this competition[14] was the prime motivating force in extending the Arab commerce beyond India to China and Malaysia in an effort to get their goods at the source rather than through the Indian merchants. At any rate, we know definitely that Arab trade with China and Malaysia was actually in existence at least as early as the first century of the Christian Era".

The suggestion that the Johore beads, being items (2) to (5) in the list above of Mr. Gardner's collection, were carried by Sabaeans would, therefore, not be without foundation. If we accept as a fact that the Sabaeans had certainly entered China by the beginning of the Christian era, it does not seem necessary to ascribe that fact merely to Roman competition. Sailors extend their explorations and traders have a habit of extending their trade, particularly when it is easy to do so. The same monsoons which carried the Sabaeans to and from India would have carried them to and from Malaysia and China. They would not have gone abruptly to China, one imagines, but rather have extended their exploration and trade gradually, first into the Straits of Malacca and the Malay Peninsula, remembering in this case that the easiest sailing route through the Straits passed from the north of Sumatra across to the west coast of the Malay Peninsula and down it. From the Malay Peninsula an extension to the Sarawak region, and the west coast of Borneo above it, was a normal and easy one and it has already been pointed out in the *Introduction*[15] how that was so. From the Malay Peninsula passing up its east coast and standing across the bottom of the Gulf of Siam to the Indo-Chinese coast

14 i.e. with the Romans. R. B
15 This Journal, vol: XIX, Pt: 1, p. 52.

was the normal and easiest way to use the SW monsoon; and to return on the NE in the reverse directions. The Indo-Chinese coast abounded with good harbours and clearly visible land-marks, as all navigational works at the beginning of the nineteenth century show[16]: and from Indo-China to south China was a further normal and easy extension. But one imagines that all this must have been gradually and with alternations of fortune, as far at all events as trade was concerned.

The finding of ancient pre-Christian beads in Borneo as well as in Johore would, accordingly, be quite natural, assuming, of course, that they were pre-Christian and that the type had not persisted so as to make them synchronous with the Roman beads. For the present at all events the suggestion is proferred that they should be taken as being pre-Christian and the further suggestion is proferred that they are more likely to have been carried direct in Sabaean ships than transhipped in India and then carried by Indians. There can obviously be no certainty upon the present state of evidence and these suggestions should be treated neither as assertions nor as theories. They are merely suggestions.

3. Ancient history of South Arabia.

It must be insisted again that the story of ancient Malaya cannot be told properly as a separate subject but only as part of a whole. In historical times that whole is the story of the long sea-routes which began in the Mediterranean and Aegaean and stretched as far as China; but, of course, historical times do not begin at the same period in each of the different parts of these routes.

Muhammad was not the first to bring Arabia into a leading position in the world's history. Arabian navigation, and the wealth that came from sea-control, began on parts of the long sea-route centuries before the Christian era. The Arabians are the first known navigators of the Indian Ocean: their mastery of it fell to the Romans and the Persians; and then reverted to the Muslim Arabs until the Portuguese rounded Africa and obtained the command.

The study of ancient Arabian history, therefore, is as important to the story of Malaya as is that of ancient Indian and Chinese history. Arabia was the link between the Mediterranean and India, and so between the Mediterranean and all the East beyond India. The following notes are written to provoke further interest in the subject. They are based, in addition to the two papers by Hamilton

16 In a later part of these *Notes* this will be dealt with fully in connection with Chinese navigation. R. B.

already noted, upon the following main authorities, stated in the order of their publication:—Vincent (307), Bunbury (55), Schoff (35), Hadi Hassan (308), Cary and Warmington (305), Sykes (38), Amir Ali (309), and Hitti (301).

Even if it is not always true to say that history is geography set in motion, it would seem to be true of ancient Arabia whose history is one of struggles for command of her land-routes and coastal ports. The explanation lies in her geography, a word or two as to which will, therefore, not be out of place. Its outstanding features are expressed in the names given to Arabia by the Romans. Arabia Petraea, the rocky, was their name for the northern portion centred on Sinai and the Nabataean kingdom with its great commercial centre Petra: Arabia Deserta, the desert, included the great Syro-Mesopotamian desert; and Arabia Felix, the happy, comprised all the rest and not merely Yemen, as once was thought. Running from the head of the Persian Gulf at its eastern end to the south-eastern corner of the Mediterranean at its western and with its centre directly north of Arabia is that semi-circle of fertile land nowadays called the Fertile Crescent, one of the most important stretches of land in the history of mankind.

Eastern people do not always use the word "island" with our exactitude, and attention to that fact was drawn in the *Introduction* in connection with malay *pulau*, chinese *chou*, and sanskrit *dvīpa*. "The Arabians call their habitat *Jazirat al-'Arab*, "the Island of the Arabs", and an island it is, surrounded by water on three sides and by sand on the fourth" (301, p. 8). The eastern coast is flanked by the Gulf of Oman and the Persian Gulf; the southern, which extends for some 1200 miles from Bab el Mandeb to Ras el Hadd, is washed by the Arabian Sea; and shipping from and to these two coasts is served by the SW and NE monsoons. But the third coast along the Red Sea was difficult of navigation for ancient sailing ships which ran only with the wind favouring them; and the alternating monsoons do not blow in the Red Sea, where the wind for most of the time blows in one direction only, from the north-west. Therefore, the ancient Egyptians provided their ocean-going ships with long oars as well as one large square sail; and this can be seen from their earliest representations in the third millenium B.C. The ancient Arabians preferred to develop a long land-route which ran from Yemen north into Syria, the so-called "spice road". The great object of the earliest Red Sea trade was the frankincense and spice country of Somaliland which the Egyptians called the Land of Punt or Puânît, but which may possibly have included the land on both sides of Bab el-Mandeb and so Yemen (301, p. 34). Geographically, the ancient Arabians were favoured in their competition for the Somali frankincense and spice trade, since the mon-

soons favoured their shipping, and they had the long caravan route alongside the Red Sea.

Beginning in Palestine, running down to the Isthmus of Suez, and continuing thence parallel with the Red Sea, there runs that great chain of mountains which is known in Arabia as *al-Hijāz*, meaning "the Barrier". Where the land on the western side of the Barrier is fertile, its fertility is caused by the waters that run from these mountains and Yemen at the south-western corner of the peninsula is particularly well favoured. We use the name "the Hedjaz" for these fertile parts through which the main caravan-route ran. On the eastern slopes of the lower part of the mountain chain the valleys are protected and fertile. Amongst them are Nejran, ar: *Najrān*, the Jawf or Jauf, and the valley of the Sabaeans, which was made rich by the great irrigation dam which they constructed at Ma'rib, the classical Mariaba. "These three valleys, which were the centres of caravan-trade bound north, owed their prosperity mainly to their position above the greatest of all the East-flowing courses, the Valley of Hadramaut. This great cleft in the sandstone rock, (originally, Bent believes an arm of the sea, now silted up), which gathers the streams from the highest peaks, runs parallel with the coast for more than 200 miles, fertile and productive for nearly the entire distance; then it turns to the south and its waters are lost, the mouth of the valley being desert like the cliffs that line its course" (35, p. 117).

The arabic name for Yemen is *al-Yaman*, so called because it lies to the right (*yaman*) side of the Hedjaz, in opposition to Syria, ar: *al Sha'm*, which lies to the left. The Arabians direct themselves facing the east so that the south is their right and the north their left. Yemen, accordingly, expresses the south.

In ancient times the Hadramaut included the district of Mahrah and al-Shihr as it then was. It was the celebrated Arabian land of frankincense, its chief centre being Zafār, formerly a town but now a district on the coast with the modern name of Dhufār. Frankincense still flourishes in the Hadramaut and other parts of Arabia and Dhufār is still the chief centre of the trade (301, p. 36). The Hadramaut Zafār must not be confused with the Zafār in Yemen which became the Himyarite capital. The word Zafār, classical Sapphar or Saphar, seems to mean no more than "capital" or "royal residence" (35, p. 140). The Yemenite Zafār was near the modern town of Yerim, its ruins being still visible, and so was some 100 miles NE of Mocha on the road to Sanaa.

"The name "Hadramaut", the Hazarmaveth of Genesis X, means "Enclosure of Death", referring probably to the crater of Bir Barhut, whose rumblings were held to be the groans of lost

souls" (35, p. 119). Its people were known to the classical writers as the Chatramotitae.

Aden, principal place in the Arabia Eudaemon of the Romans, was from very early times an important trade centre and the chief port first of the Minaeans and then of the Sabaeans. Beyond it along the southern coast and up the coasts of Oman and the Persian Gulf, both of which were under the control of the Arabians in ancient times, there was a chain of ports from the principal of which caravan-routes led to the main route up the Hedjaz. The configuration of the land led all these routes into the main one, which at the north forked into Egypt, Syria and Mesopotamia; and Hitti thinks that Ma'rib was their southern meeting-place (301, p. 55). It was the inherent difficulty of navigating the Red Sea and the absence of seasonal winds there which caused the Sabaeans to develop the land-routes and the presence of frequent oases and fertile resting-places along the main route enabled its easy development. Geography thus caused the caravan-routes to come into being.

Hamilton considers that from the earliest times, and certainly from 3000 B.C., the main land-route had existed, and he says that in the second millenium B.C. there was a considerable development of shipping in the Indian Ocean. The period from that millenium to the second century A.D. covers the rise of the ancient kingdoms of South Arabia to their zenith, he says, and in it there was a long development of the divine kingship of Saba. Hamilton considers that the Nisab-Markha-Beihan triangle must have been the first place where all the caravan-routes from southern parts joined and where the southern terminus of the great incense route must have existed. As illustrating the greatness of the trade he says that in the first century B.C. we hear of caravans composed of two and three thousand camels arriving in the south Mediterranean and it is inferred in the account that such were common. He points out that, if a caravan consisted of three thousand camels, it would have extended some twenty miles on the march.

There naturally was a great diffusion of culture between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean and a great interchange of trade commodities. It was trade which built up the ancient South Arabian kingdoms. They did not seek conquest abroad and the colonies which they planted outside of Arabia were trading ones. Of the four best-known of these ancient kingdoms, Saba, Ma'in, Hadramaut and Cataban (Qatabān), the first three are mentioned in the Old Testament; and at this point reference to tradition may well be made. Hitti says that the Sabaeans "were the Phoenicians of the southern area. They mapped its coasts, charted its routes, mastered its treacherous monsoons and thus monopolized its trade

during the last millenium and a half before our era. The circumnavigation of Arabia, stated as a theoretical possibility by Alexander's admiral, Nearchus, was in their case an actuality" (301, p. 49). Vincent says that Sabaea, the Hadramaut and Oman were the residence of navigators in all ages from the time that history begins to speak of them and that Hippalus was two hundred years later than the first evidence that the Sabaeans knew how to use the monsoons (307, ii, p. 63). Agatharcides, *ca*: 113 B.C., says that the Sabaeans were able mariners who sailed in very large vessels to the country where odoriferous commodities were produced and planted colonies there (307, ii, p. 33). Pliny, 79 A.D., says that there were Arabians on the coast of Malabar and in such numbers at Ceylon that he represents them as masters of the coast (ibid: p. 283): and, as has been seen above, they were in South China in the first century of our era. Did they plant any colony in Malaysia?

It is well known that the Bugis royal tradition in Celebes (and so that of the Sultans of Selangor in the Malay Peninsula who originally were Bugis) traces descent from Queen Balkis or Bilkis, ar: *Bilqīs*, of Sheba. Why should the Bugis have any such tradition? Could there be any truth in it?

The Arab traditions of Sabaean descent appear to be as follows, taking them from Schoff (35, pp: 107-109) and that high authority the late Sir Syed Amir Ali (309)[17]. The great grandson of Shem was Eber whose second son was Joktan, whom, says Schoff, the Arabs call Kahtān. Joktan had two sons Hadramaut and Jerah, whom the Arabs call Yarab, written by Amir Ali as Yreb. This last had a son Abd-er-Shems which Amir Ali writes Abd urh-Shams, who was known as Saba the Great. Amir Ali says that Saba means "the capturer" and, as will be seen later, the Sabaeans possessed themselves of the Minaean kingdom, including Yemen. Saba the Great is said to have founded the capital city of Ma'rib. According to the Arab accounts the great irrigation dam at that place was finished by a King Zu'lkarnain (35, p. 108). Amir Ali says that traditionally Saba left two sons. Himyar, meaning "red" from the red mantle which he wore in imitation of the Pharaohs, and Kuhlan. After the former, who succeeded to his father's throne, the dynasty of Saba was called Himyary, or Himyarite. Amir Ali says that traditionally Yareb, son of Kahtān, was the first prince of Yemen and that the Arab ul-Mut'ariba were tribes sprung from Kahtān. These tribes are chiefly concentrated in Yemen. According to Amir Ali, it was the descendants of Kahtan who burst into Arabia from its north-east corner and penetrated into the south, their primitive cradle having lain in Meso-

17 Unfortunately the notes which I made from his work *The Spirit of Islam* are unpaged and no copy of the book is available to me in Singapore. R. B.

potamia: and he says that in moving south from there to Yemen they must have passed the whole length of the peninsula and doubtless have left settlements behind them. He says that this wave was headed by the two sons of Eber, Kahtān and Yaktān, and that to this dynasty belonged the great Zu'lkarnain and Queen Bilkis who went to Jerusalem in the time of King Solomon. He considers that there is considerable doubt as to the identity of Zu'lkarnain, the opinion that he was Alexander the Great being open to question. The name, of course, means "lord of the two horns" and Amir Ali says that the ancient Sabaean sovereigns wore as headdress the crescent-shaped moon with two horns, which they borrowed from Egypt about the period of this king. He suggests that the reference in the Koran[18] was to some sovereign of native origin whose extensive conquests became magnified in imagination into world-wide dominion[19].

If some Sabaean trading colony did implant itself in Celebes, its chieftain might well have claimed descent from Queen Balkis of Sheba and have married a Bugis princess. If Amir Ali's views as to Zu'lkarnain were correct and if that king were in reality a Sabaean, Bugis royal tradition would link with the royal traditions of Palembang, Malacca and Perak, which claim descent from Zu'lkarnain. It may be noted also that ancient beads have been found in Celebes.

But it must be understood that this matter of tradition has been introduced purely as a matter of interest. The present writer neither accepts it nor bases any theories upon it, much less that it does in fact evidence any Sabaean penetration into Malaysia.

We can pass now to the facts of ancient Arabian history. Hitti says that "the first kingdom that we are able to discern through the mists of South Arabian antiquity is the Minaean kingdom, which flourished from *ca.* 1300 to 650 B.C., according to the school of Arabists who hold for the higher chronology" (301, p. 52). This kingdom flourished in the Jauf of Yemen between Nejran and the Hadramaut; and in its hey-day embraced most of South Arabia, including Cataban and the Hadramaut. Its capital was Karna (Qarnāw), represented by the modern Ma'in, in the southern Jauf NE of Sanaa. But, says Hitti, "the Sabaeans were the first Arabians to step within the threshold of civilization" (ibid: p. 49). Sykes writes that "Sabaean inscriptions date back to the ninth or tenth century B.C., and in the Book of Kings we have an account

18 Sura, XVIII, 83-98. R. B.

19 Reference may also be made to Abdullah Yusuf Ali's *The Holy Qur-an*, 1938, in connection with Zu'lkarnain, pp: 760-765 and n. 2428, p. 753: he accepts the usual belief that he was Alexander the Great.

of a Queen of Sheba who came to "prove Solomon with hard questions". This visit would have taken place about 950 B.C. The Sabaeans lived in North Arabia at this period, and, so far as is known, they moved southwards during the ninth and eighth centuries" (38, p. 38). Carl Peters (303) considered that the country of Queen Bilkis of Sheba was bounded on the north by the southernmost province of the Solomonic kingdom, and that in Solomon's time the Sabaeans were dominant in South Arabia and possessed the gold countries between the Zambesi and Sabi Rivers.

Hitti allots to the first Sabaean period the dates 950-650 B.C. and says that its first kings were synchronous with the last Minaeans but after about three centuries the Sabaeans fell heir to the Minaean kingdom and established themselves as masters of South Arabia and rulers of the most brilliant era in its history (301, p. 54). But Minaeans and Sabaeans were kinsmen, just as the later Himyarites were kinsmen of the Sabaeans. It seems not to be a history of different races but of different dynasties of the same race. Minaeans and Sabaeans both spoke the same language though with dialectical differences, according to Hitti in the passage just cited. He says that Dedan, ar: *Daydān*, mentioned repeatedly in the Old Testament is the modern al-'Ula, an oasis in the northern Hedjaz. For some time it was the headquarters of the Sabaeans in the northern part of the peninsula. Hitti says that "at the height of their commercial power the Sabaeans evidently exercised control over the transport routes leading through al-Hijāz northward to the Mediterranean ports and had colonies planted along these routes" and that "if historical, the Queen of Sheba (koranic Balqīs) who brought to the wise king of Israel gifts of unique value characteristic of South Arabia (1 K. 10: 10; 2 Ch 9: 9) must have had her headquarters neither in al-Yaman nor in Ethiopia, but in one of these Sabaean posts or garrisons in the north on the caravan route. Not until two centuries after the age of Solomon (ca. 1000 B.C.) do the Yamanite kings begin to figure in inscriptions" (301, p. 42).

That the Sabaeans moved south down the Hedjaz caravan-route and finally possessed themselves of Yemen, therefore, seems clear; but there would appear to be room for further research into the facts and dates. Hamilton, for instance, says that west of Shabwa Philby found an inscription of Shabwa kings, attributed to *ca* 900 B.C., which speaks of brother kings then known as Sheba and Raidan. Hitti, however, says that in the first Sabaean period "Mukarib Saba" was the title of the priest-king who stood at the head of the state (301, p. 54) and that after the second period, which he dates as from 650—115 B.C., the inscriptions reveal the

title "King of Saba' and dhu-Raydān" (301, p. 55). Raydān later became known as Zafār, the region of the sea-coast.

Hitti says that the castle of Sirwāh, modern Kharibah, a day's journey west of Ma'rib, was the oldest structure built by the Sabaeans and their first capital, and that Shams (or Shamsīyah) and Yith'i-amara, the two Sabaeans who paid tribute to Sargon II, belong to this age (301, pp: 54-55). Sargon II is dated 722-705 B.C. by Hall (300). During the second Sabaean period, Ma'rib, sixty miles east of Sanaa, became the capital but it would seem that the older portions of the great irrigation dam there were constructed in their first period, though Sykes attributes the whole work to the Himyarites.

The second Sabaean period proved to be the most glorious in their era and was succeeded in 115 B.C. by a Himyarite kingdom which lasted until 300 A.D. Hamilton says that 300 A.D. was the hey-day of South Arabia. "The Himyarites were close kinsmen of the Sabaeans and, as the youngest branch of the stock, became the inheritors of the Minaeo-Sabaean culture and trade. Their language was practically the same as that of the Sabaeans and Minaeans before them" (301, p. 56). About 300 A.D. a second Himyarite kingdom seems to have come into existence. Until then the Hadramaut, the capital of which, according to Hitti, was Shabwah, the classical Sabota, seems to have had kings of its own but during the second Himyarite kingdom its king becomes "king of Saba', dhu-Raydān, Hadramaut and Yamanāt", which means the Hadramaut had lost its independence (301, p. 60). It is, however, doubtful if Shabwah was ever a capital; and upon that the reader should consult the two papers by Hamilton. Save for an Abyssinian incursion the second Himyarite dynasty held its position until about 525 A.D. (301, p. 60). Hadi Hasan says that Himyarite decline began soon after the fifth century A.D. and reached its climax in 523 A.D. The great dam at Ma'rib met with catastrophe between 512 and 570 A.D. and "later Arab imagination seized upon this spectacular episode of the great flood and bursting of the dam to explain the whole age-long process of decline and decay in South Arabian trade, agriculture, prosperity and national life; a decline due, as we have already learned, to the entry of Roman shipping into the Red Sea, the introduction of the divisive influence of new religions[20] and the subsequent submission to foreign rule" (301, p. 65).

To understand how Roman competition undermined the ancient Arabian domination of the Indian Ocean it is necessary to go back to Ptolemaic times. Soon after Alexander's death the Greek Ptole-

20 During the later Himyarite period Christianity and Judaism entered Yemen. R. B.

maic dynasty was founded in Egypt by Ptolemy I Soter, 323—285 B.C., with Alexandria as its centre of government, culture and commerce; and he began a bid for sea-power, which continued under his son, Ptolemy II Philadelphus, 285—246 B.C., and his grandson Ptolemy III Euergetes, 246—221 B.C., by which time a chain of trading ports had been established along the African shore of the Red Sea from Suez to Ras Benas and command of that sea had been secured. Exploration beyond it had begun, but after the death of the third Ptolemy the Sabaeans stopped all activity of Ptolemaic shipping beyond Bab el Mandeb. The attempt of the Ptolemies to contest the supremacy of the sea with the South Arabians was made possible by their ownership of the Phoenician seaports and their consequent power to utilize Phoenician seamen. Although the Sabaeans had been able to bottle their opponents in the Red Sea, they had lost their command of the maritime commerce in that sea. When Egypt fell to Rome in 30 B.C., the Romans obtained the Ptolemaic chain of ports and command of the Red Sea. At first, they attempted a land conquest of Sabaea; but, when that failed, they concentrated on their sea-power and were able gradually to obtain control of the sea-route, and maritime trade, to India, which was thoroughly well known to them by the time that the *Periplus* was written, *ca*: 60 A.D. It is unnecessary to go into detail or to set out the various descriptions of Arabia and Sabaea in the classical Greek and Roman writers. The main facts are clear; and the possibility of Roman ships having sailed into Malaysian waters can be left for discussion by those interested in the subject. As has been seen, present opinion is that they did not do so.

Therefore, if the Johore beads were imported direct, the choice would seem to fall upon those ancient Arabian ships which are described generically as "Sabaean". If the beads were not imported direct, then they would have been brought by Indian ships after transhipment in India and probably on its western coast.

(to be continued).

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The First Dutch—Malay Vocabulary

By A. W. HAMILTON

At the end of the Journal of Cornelis de Houtman's Voyages of the Dutch Ships in 1595 which was printed in Holland in 1598 is a Malay Vocabulary which is interesting to us as the first attempt by the Dutch to transcribe the colloquial Malay of their day into Romanized.

Most of the Malay words are easily recognisable but it must be recollected that the speech was that of a seaport in Bantam which would necessarily have a Sundanese flavour with an admixture of Javanese words.

In a few instances where one is at a loss to find the corresponding word in modern Malay without resorting to guesswork the space has been left blank or an approximate identification inserted in brackets and marked with a query, whilst Javanese words have been marked with a (J).

The original vocabulary is printed in Dutch and Malay only and is in the form given here in columns one and three to which has been added an English translation and a modern English Romanized version respectively.

A Latin translation of the Journal was issued in Paris, also in 1598, but it is evident that the translator was misled by the loose spelling of the times into a handful of palpable errors which have been elucidated, as far as possible, in the notes.

A study of the vocabulary is illuminating as showing to what the early merchant adventurers attached importance and it is remarkable that no mention appears of any natural features such as might be thought to be of value to mariners.

Easily identifiable objects such as parts of the body, foodstuffs and spices, weapons and currency are well represented but the presence of some court terms and a number of verbs and adjectives point to the use of an interpreter conversant probably with Portuguese.

The absence of any word for such common things as meat, cooked rice or cloth may only be due to a misreading of the Dutch as keuvels (hoods) is given as nasse in Malay which is uncommonly like nasi (rice). At the same time there are some obvious

oversights such as terms for more, this, white, wood, mother when the related words have been recorded.

It is interesting to note that no mention is made of either chickens or goats though ducks and cattle and even pigs have a place, furthermore ys or ice has been inserted but a suggestion more in keeping with the situation has been put forward in the notes.

That some degree of etiquette was observed is shown by the use of polite forms for 'you' and 'I' as well as the commoner ones and the tabulation of words for 'ceremony' and 'merciful or a royal favour'.

There is a complete absence of any Portuguese influence unless the term for a gun (pijtsijl) can be ascribed to them or another European source and be related to 'pistol,' but there is a possibility that some everyday Portuguese words were employed but not thought worthy of record in what set out to be a Malay Vocabulary.

Malay Vocabulary

Dutch	*English*	*Dutch Malay*	*English Malay*
arm	arm	backeyen	
altamael	wholly	samaonga	sĕmua-nya
afsnijden	to cut off	pang	(pangkas?)
arbeyden	to work	kareya	kĕreja
arrecka	areca	pynanga	pinang
blijft met God	remain with God	tynga1	tinggal
broeder	brother	addollaley	(? adek)
baert	beard	tganga	janggut
buyck	belly	penot	pĕrut
been	leg	backy	kaki
buyten	outside	blou waer	luar
barmhertich	merciful	caruguanler	karunia
beter	better	parma	
betalen[1]	to pay	chyny	
bloet	blood	darna	darah
bloet laten	to let blood	bewangdarner	buang darah
boecken	books	kytab	kitab
coopen	to buy	kely	bĕli
cruyt	cold[2]	dyngijn	dingin
coper	copper	tambagle	tĕmbaga
calck	chalk	capyer	kapor

1 Vide hier, here-chyny.
2 Latin, grass-kruid.

Dutch	*English*	*Dutch Malay*	*English Malay*
den dach	the day	arijs	hari
dooden	to kill	benue	bunoh
daer	there	sana	sana
die	that	itowen	itu
doet	dead[3]	maty	mati
darmen	bowels	perot	pĕrut
droevich	sad	chynta	chinta
danck u	thank you	terymacache	tĕrima kaseh
edich	vinegar	tsuyka	chuka
eyschet	request	minta	minta
eergisteren	day before yesterday	balmariis daula	kĕlmarin dulu
eyeren	eggs	teloot	tĕlor
eenden	ducks	bebe	bebek (J)
ghedenckt	remember	engat	ingat
ghevonden	found	botonuum	bĕrtĕmu
gaet	go	pegy	pĕgi
gaen wy	let us go (come)	mary	mari
gisteren	yesterday	balmary	kĕlmarin
ghewoonte	custom	esteedat	istiadat
gheven	give	berny	bĕri
groen	green	ise	ijau
ghy	you	pakanera	pakanira (J)
ghebacken steen	brick	batta	bata
groet	great	basaer	bĕsar
hoe veel	how much	barapa	bĕrapa
hier	here	chyny	sini
hoe vaerdy	how are you	bygimana	bagimana
t harte	the heart	aly	ati (hati)
helpen	to help	toulong	tolong
houwen	to hew	bauijn	
haer	hair	ram boiet	rambut
hals	neck	goulon	(gulu, J. ?)
hoest	head[4]	capelle	kĕpala
hant	hand	tanga	tangan
een hoet	a hat	kokodang	kĕkudong[5]
heer	master (you)	queay	kowe (J)
ick	I	manyre	manira (J)
jaer	year	tauwn	tahun
iets	something	bacaberen	(? barang)
ys[6]	ice	dalan	dalam
inckt	ink	mangsy	mangsi

3 Latin, do-doet instead of dood, dead.
4 Latin, cough-hoest. instead of hoefd, head; vide, voorhooft, forehead.
5 Tudong or kĕkudong (Batavia), a sun-hat.
6 Perhaps paleis, a palace-dalam (Malay) is meant.

Dutch	*English*	*Dutch Malay*	*English Malay*
jonck	young	monda	muda
isser	is there	beff.	
kennen	to know	kiunal	kĕnal
kleyn	small	kytchijl	kĕchil
kiesen .	to choose	damare	
keuvels	hoods	nasse	
kindt	child	buda	budak
kyte sol	(parasol ?)	pafone	payong
kruydt	gunpowder[7]	ober bedijl	ubat bĕdil
landt aerde	land	negry	nĕgĕri
lippen	lip	lambhyber	(? bibir)
laeten	to allow	sone	
loot	lead	tyma	timah
lampe	lamp	palyta	pĕlita
roer laden	to load a gun	sombo bedijl	sumbu bĕdil[8]
licht	light	arynga	ringan
leven	life	iagava	nyawa
legghen	to lie down	barijng	baring
langhen	a lie[9]	dusta	dusta
laet af	desist	ganga	jangan
maecken	to make	bretoun	bikin
marghen	tomorrow	ysouck	ĕsok
nacht	night	malam	malam
neus	nose	yrot dan	hidong
naer	(clown ?)[10]	gyla	gila
naghels	nails	koko	kuku
opperpriester	high priest	cadda	kadi (kathi)
op steecken	raise	passai	pasang
ooghen	eyes	mattije	mata
ooren	ears	talijnga	tĕlinga
oly	oil	nuagia	(minyak ?)
oorcussen	pillow	bantal	bantal
ons	our	quitabota	(kita ?)
oom	uncle	mana	mamak
oudt	old	tua	tua
op staen	arise	bangs	bangun
pennen	pens	calamp	kalam
rijs	rice	bras	bĕras
rugghe	back	balacca	bĕlakang
rinck	ring	chiinsin	chinchin
sveren	to swear[11]	sempa	sumpah

7 Latin, grass-kruid.
8 Sumbu bĕdil, a slowmatch or fuse.
9 Latin, to lengthen-langhen instead of logen, a lie.
10 Latin, near-naek but perhaps nar, a clown was meant.
11 Latin, to turn sour-zweren.

Dutch	*English*	*Dutch Malay*	*English Malay*
schamen	to feel ashamed	malon	malu
soet	sweet	manijs	manis
Sondach	Sunday	Ionmahet	Jĕmahat[12]
suster	sister	addeparapas	adek (pĕrĕmpuan ?)
siet	sit[13]	doduer	dudok
schoudcren	shoulder	baon	bahu
swijghen	to be silent	dyem	diam
sy	he[14]	dya	dia
swart	black	ıta	ıtam
schoen	beautiful	apon	
sout	sun[15]	matary	mata harı
silver	silver	peca	perak
siech	sick	sakit	sakit
soude	accursed[16]	tehylacca	chĕlaka
swaer	heavy	brat	bĕrat
sacken	sacks	corni	goni
stael	steel	negle	
sterven	to die	bantaren	
schotelen	saucers	pyennig	piring
tandan	teeth	anton	(danta ?)
tonghe	tongue	ılat	jılat[17]
vry laten	to set free	lepas	lĕpas
wt ist	is out	pacasuyra	
vrees	fear	tacat	takut
vis	fish	ıcan	ıkan
vercopen	to sell	ionwal	jual
verliesen	to lose	ılan	ılang (hilang)
verder	father[18]	bapa	bapa
vrientschap	friendship	pondarra	(saudara ?)
voorhoott	forehead	batock	batok[19]
vinghers	fingers	jaryary	jarı-jarı
verstaen	to understand	taven	tahu
verghaeten	to forget	lampa	lupa
vroech	early	pagy	pagı
vechten	to fight	bacealays	bĕrkĕlahi
vleesch	a fly[20]	lalver	lalĕr (J)
vergheven	to forgive	ampo	ampun

12 Friday-the Islamic Sabbath
13 Latin, to see-siet instead of zitt, to sit.
14 Latin, oneself instead of zij, he
15 Latin salt-sout instead of son, sun
16 Latin, sin-zonde instead of illomened
17 To lick but ılat (Sundanese) a tongue
18 Latin, further-verder instead of vader, father
19 Batok kepala (Malay) the skull
20 Latin, meat-vleesch instead of vlieg, a fly

Dutch	*English*	*Dutch Malay*	*English Malay*
verbranden	to burn	baccar	bakar
vraghen	to ask	betangia	bĕrtanya
vleermuys	bat	lavo	lawo (J)
voet	fat[21]	goumo	gĕmok
weynich	little	selykit	sĕdikit
waer	where	dymana	di-mana
winnen	to win	menang	mĕnang
warm	hot	penas	panas
wee	sorrow	saya	sayang
wt dien	out of that	padyni	(pada ini ?)
wijnbrauwen	eyebrows	alis	alis
wy	we	dep	
waterpot	water pot	lande	
waer ist	where is	mana aden	mana ada
water	water	eyer	ayer
wel	difficult[22]	sousa	susah

Some Javanese Words[23]

peper	pepper	syhang	
folie	mace	massa	
note-muscaten	nutmegs	pala	pala
naghelen	cloves	syancke	chĕngkeh
water	water	eyer	ayer
water	water	baya	banyu (J)
silver	silver	salorcka	sĕlaka (J)
gout	gold	mas	mas
stoucken van achten	pieces of eight	serpy	
casses	cash	petijs	pitis
vis	fish	iwack	iwak (J)
haer poken	hair ornaments	crijssen	
een schip	a ship	capella	kapal
daer is teweynich	that is too little	courang	kurang
een gros stuck	a big gun	bedijl besar	bĕdil bĕsar
een roer	a gun[24]	pijtsijl	(pistol ?)
eten	eat	mackan	makan
papier	paper	cartaes	kĕrtas
wien	wine[25]	arac	arak
een vercken	a pig	sieleng	cheleng (J)
een osse	an ox	alomba	lĕmbu
christenen	christian	vrangy	faranggi
vreemdelingen	strangers	oranleyo	orang luar

21 Latin, foot-voet instead of vet, fat.
22 Latin, well-wel instead of wee, difficult.
23 The author's heading is misleading as many Malay words are included.
24 Latin, sclopus.
25 Latin, to whom-wien instead of wijn, wine.

Ancient Times in Borneo

By E. Banks

The study of ancient times in Malaysia has been pursued in this Journal by such eminent authors as Messrs. Quaritch Wales, Moens and Braddell, whose conclusions must be read in detail by those who wish a complete record of olden times. A very brief summary is necessary here before the remainder of this article can be appreciated.

Dr. Quaritch Wales(1) was mainly concerned with the four main waves of Indian cultural expansion. Ptolemy provided evidence of the first wave from the first to the third centuries A.D., Kedah's archaeological remains of a second wave from about 300 to 550 A.D. The third marked the arrival of the Pallavas from 550-750 A.D. and the fourth wave from 750-900 A.D. came largely from Southern India and Bengal. The Sailendra empire was built up on the remnants of these and later history down to the advent of Islam in 1474 A.D. is contained in the Kedah Annals.

Mr. Moens(2) was concerned with the geographical data in translations from Chinese and Arabs, his most interesting conclusions being readily apparent in the maps accompanying his article.

Of Srivijaya, that forgotten Malay empire of the Indies from the end of the 7th to the end of the 9th century, he placed the capital of that name first on the coast of Kelantan (where it was known to the Chinese as Che-li-fo-che) and later at a point on the Kampar river in central Sumatra. Malayu, the Chinese Mo-lo-yeou, he placed in S. E. Sumatra.

After this, readers will be as little surprised to learn that Yava is not Java at all but Fu-nan or Cambodia, the land of the Khmers, as they will be to learn that there is little or no silver in the state of Perak.

In the 5th century Ho-lo-tan (Kelantan) was on the island of Cho-p'o, Malaya. The name Ho-ling superseded Cho-p'o, which is next heard of in the 13th century Sung Annals with reference to Java, the Chinese name changing to Chao-wa, the native Djawa.

The old Cho-p'o is Ye-p'o-ti or Yavadipa, which is therefore Malaya. Ptolemy called it Iabadiou, which was but a Greek transcription, and the capital, Argyre, Moens believes to be Ligor.

Kataha was the 7th and 8th century Java of Borobodur and was transferred in the 9th to 12th century to Suvarnadipa or San-fo-tsi as the Chinese knew it, in the Johore estuary.

Mr. Braddell(3) has reviewed ancient history in detail and apart from general interest the point that appeals most to us is his location, mainly on geographical grounds, of the place names Yava-dipa, Iabadiou, Ye-p'o-ti and the fifth century Cho-p'o. These he believes to be all the same and to refer to Borneo and not to Malaya, as Mr. Moens would have it. Mr. Braddell's interpretation of Ptolemy's discoveries and particularly of the directions of the winds and currents met by Fa-Hien on his voyage, are points so well taken that his conclusions occupy that enviable position of the last word on the subject in the light of modern knowledge.

I have so far been unable to find any internal evidence from Borneo as to the location of these place names Yava-dipa, Iabadiou or Ye-po-ti, but certain points of interest have arisen.

In dealing with Borneo, Mr. Moens' map No. III mentions many place names known to the ancients, here discussed in connection with so far unmentioned or little known works relating to olden times in Borneo. Mo-kia-man (Kutai) we know to be the site of archaeological remains. Moor's "Notices of the Indian Archipelago"(4) describes in Dalton's Journal a town up the Cottei River near Markammon (Muara Kaman) and on p. 37 he relates "Major Mullen and his party went up for the purpose of seeing the remains of a Hindu temple, which are common about the country."

Dalton himself did not visit the site, Major Mullen was afterwards murdered and there is no further easy reference to these finds until the time of Carl Bock.(5) Speaking of Muara Kaman (p. 47) he says "Hindoo remains have been found in this village: amongst other things a well-executed figure of a goddess, in solid gold, weighing eight tahils (314 grammes) which is now in the possession of the Sultan. The people were still busy searching for further relics and had come upon a number of cut stones, probably belonging to a tomb, similar to some inscribed tombstones of undoubted Hindoo origin found at Sankolirang, a village on the coast and now preserved by the Sultan of Tangaroeng." Later at Kota Bangoenn (p. 119) above Muara Kaman he states: "Here I heard of the existence of a very fine bronze figure, representing a Hindoo goddess, known by the name of 'Dingangi' which was in the possession of a Dayak in the Keham. The ears of the goddess were pierced with large holes, the lobes hanging down like those of the Dayaks. The owner said the idol was made of stone and I at first took it to be so but on scratching it with a knife, I found it was

bronze. At the capture of the Kota Bangoenn nearly 100 years ago one foot of the image was broken off by some of the chiefs."

Dr. F. D. K. Bosch has described(6) in Dutch the findings of the Middle East Borneo Expedition of 1925 to Kutai, figuring the very numerous stone images from a cave in Gunong Kombeng, together with a bronze Buddha from Kota Bangoenn, doubtless the one referred to by Bock. In the pictures both feet appear to have been missing but the original perished in the conflagration during the Colonial Exhibition in Paris in 1931 (7, p. 38) and can no longer be consulted.

Chhabra gives the only account (7, p. 41) in English of these stone figures and some gold ornaments, save for a page full of photographs in the "Illustrated London News," April 16, 1938, in which are seen Nandi, Ganesa, Kartikeya, Maha Kala, Amitabho, Jata Makuta, Loke Swava and a number of unidentified Hindu images. He also mentions that the statues must have been placed in the niches of one or more temples, the exact sites of which it has not yet been possible to fix. From the indiscriminate way the figures are placed in the Gunong Kombeng cave, it has been suggested that they were moved there hurriedly as to place of safety and the site of the cave is so near the Kedang Rantau and Muara Kaman that the Hindu temple visited by Major Mullen at Muara Kaman may well have been the original one, from which the images were moved. Witkamp(8) describing the Kedang Rantau mentions the remains of a Hindu temple which may well be the original one from which the images came. I am greatly indebted to the late Fr. J. Staal of Kuching for translation from the Dutch. "Going up to the Medang one soon turns N.W. and there, where one has just passed the bend and also on the other (left) side, a flat piece of land stretches in front of the hills: one stops for the short walk of 175 meters through forest to the stone Nandi, which is venerated as a sacred object. When the river is low, the right bank is steep, 2 to 3 meters high. Climbing up one comes to a good path, which crosses a small gully and leads to the foot of a terrace, 5 meters high, at a distance of a 100 meters. On the top near the edge one sees a round hole about 0.4 meter deep, in the middle of a tumulus of 6 meters diameter a collection of stones from one or other Hindu antiquity. Among them are two small platforms, like tables, for offerings of sireh, pinang and tobacco. The most important piece is a zebu lying on a pedestal, the whole thing is 47 c.m. high, of which 9 c.m. belongs to the pedestal. Opposite the Nandi a few fragments have been put up and also to the side of it, as well as a few irregular pieces of stone. Next to the Nandi stands a pole of red, very hard wood."

"We visited the antiquity accompanied by the headman of Mamahak, Pembekel Halit, who though a Muslim follows Dayak customs on account of his marriage with a Dayak. Besides his wife there were his sick little son and a grandmother. On the way up, in the motor boat to Medang the grandmother threw out now and then handfuls of yellow rice while she talked to herself and near the Nandi more rice was offered. The woman and the child remained in the boat, the Pembekel killed a white fowl near the sacred stones and smeared the blood on Nandi's mouth. A great deal of blood was washed off again by the offer of a rather large bottle of perfume. After that fresh pinang and tobacco were laid on the wooden platforms. Although not far from the Medang the Nandi is quite hidden, for the side at the bank where one lands has no special signs."

"Nieuwenhuis in his work 'Quer durch Borneo' mentions Hindu antiquities along the Mahakam and sketches among others those he found near the mouth of a small stream, the Rata. There also are a small Nandi and a few stone fragments. At the mouth of the Rata the people could not show these antiquities and our question, if the Nandi of the Medang perhaps stood originally in the Rata and later was brought over to the Medang, got the answer that the Nandi in the Medang always was there, as long as could be remembered. Where one reads in Nieuwenhuis how the people dislike to point out the places of such antiquities, it is fair to suppose that after the visit and the photographing, the Nandi was desecrated and the Dayaks thought it safer to remove the image. The position and number of the stones is different from those in Nieuwenhuis' book. The supposition that he mistook the Medang for the Rata cannot be held. It is possible that the place in the Rata is still there but the people keep it secret. Strange then that they showed us the Nandi of Medang! Besides this last named one there must be another sacred Nandi in the Long Bagun, which is said to be larger, white and horned."

"Muara Kaman originally stood on the opposite (right) bank of the Mahakkam, where a little creek Kaman flows into it just upstream of the low hill Martapura, known on account of a curved stone which lies there, a figure of a pig very rudely cut out of sandstone. The name Martapura reminds one of the Hindu Javan origin of these old colonists. Later the people of Muara Kaman removed to the other side but the name was kept for the new settlement. The following legend is connected with the removal and was narrated by Sakub, one of the oldest inhabitants of Muara-Kaman and owner of the gardens on the hill Martapura."

"One of the rulers of Muara Kaman was a queer fellow who liked to eat extraordinary dishes. He much enjoyed fowl entrails.

One day when his cook was washing these in the river he accidentally dropped them in the water. Afraid of his master's anger he dug up large worms (Kutai: *kĕrĕmeh*) a foot or more long and prepared them, hoping that his master would not notice the difference. He however preferred these worms and after strict interrogation, the cook confessed what had happened. The king and family ordered these worms to be searched for and the worms took revenge by appearing everywhere in such great numbers they filled and covered everything and became a frightful plague, so that the King decided to remove to the opposite side of the Mahakam to Markaman Nusa. To escape the worms which followed, he had a rope stretched across the river. The worms wriggled onto the rope and when it was full of worms the King cut the rope and they fell into the water to be devoured by the *baung puteh* (The *baung* is a fish much in demand and rather expensive. It can reach a length of one meter and has few bones; it has feelers at the corner of its mouth, a flat head and large spikes in its fins, probably a Silurid.* They are caught with a rod (*rawai*) with animal bait, especially flesh of the crocodile. The *baung puteh* is the one with white spots, a little larger than the common kind). Therefore the real people of Muara Kaman who stick to the old customs and traditions will never eat a *baung puteh*. This is for them *pĕmali*."

"We reached S. Berubus, the flat place entirely covered with secondary growth on the top of G. Benuwa Lawas" (Vide H. Witkamp, A visit to some Antiquities in Kutai 1914). "This time we halted a little further upstream at a point just past a gigantic tree, visible from afar where a few wild mulberry trees grow on the bank. After a short search in the *bĕlukar* we again found, near the graves of Mohamedan women with ironwood *nisan*, our *lĕsong batu*. (*Lĕsong* = pounding block, *batu* = stone)". The illustration shows a tall rectangular stone pillar with a narrow base suitable to fit the socket of a *Yoni* stone, of which it appears to be the *Linggam*. "We have already pointed out formerly, in view of the grey volcanic stone, the probability of a Javan origin. At that time we knocked off a small piece, which Dr. W. R. Grisolf of Batavia determined to be augite-andesite, a stone which is not found in the neighbourhood of Muara Kaman."

In Sarawak archaeological remains have been recorded from Santubong at one of the mouths of the Kuching River by A. H. Everett(9) comprising stone images, pottery, beads, and irong slag, recalling the finds at Kuala Selinsing on the East coast of Malaya.(10) From Bukit Berhala, in the Samarahan river next to Kuching, come a Linggam, Yoni and Ganesa, relics of a temple

* The Malay name *Baung* is applied to fishes of the genus *Mystus*, family *Bagridae*. Ed.

to Siva.(11) But Limbang is the next place mentioned by Moens and from here again comes a Ganesa.(12) More remarkable still is the unrecorded find of a large number of gold ornaments discovered some fifty years ago, shortly after Limbang was annexed. This find has not been recorded nor have the objects been described. The originals are said to be deposited in the Victoria and Albert Museum, copies being retained by the Sarawak Museum. They consist of eight gold rings, one very large and massive, one very slightly smaller but both with large pale blue stones; one smaller ring has a dark reddish stone, another a cornelian or possibly moonstone; of the four other rings one has an inscription so far undecipherable, the others seals, one clearly fish-shaped. There are also two ear or nose ornaments, a fine and a large-linked gold chain, three different kinds of what appear to resemble buttons used as coat fasteners and a small crouching figure of a lion, 1½ inches long. The largest object is part of a belt buckle some 2 inches by 1½ inches. Something very similar is I believe figured in "Oudheidkundig Verslag" 1935, plate 35.

Fo-che-pou-lo (Puchavaro) is also mentioned at the mouth of the Rejang river and here I must quote Moens. "One is strongly tempted to see a similarity between the name Kin-fo of the Malanau Empire and the shortened name of the previously mentioned Kin-li-fo-che, which was already known in the 7th century. This Empire was supposed to cover not only Northern Borneo (Sabah) but also Brunei and Sarawak. Furthermore Yi-tsin's Fo-che-pou-lo, one of the Buddhist countries, could be located in the Southern Seas; (Giri) Vijayapura should be the name of the capital on the Rejang River even before Brunei achieved this role. On the map of Mercator of 1587 we find as the chief ports on the west coast of Borneo (Brunei) Malano and Puchavaro, i.e. Vijayapura." He adds in a footnote "The Rejang River is navigable for 140 miles. Yi-Tsin's Fo-che-pou-lo is probably the transcription of the capital (Vijayapura) and not the name for the country, which probably is the case with the Portuguese Puchavarao."

It is surprising that no archaeological remains are known from the Rejang-Sibu district and the site of Fo-che-pou-lo still remains undiscovered. Paloh with its anchorage protected by Sirik Point seems a likely spot but the mouths of the Rejang River are not stable areas and such a site may have disappeared unless situated some way inland. On Zoological grounds the islands at the river mouth would appear to be portions of the mainland cut up by the river seeking outlet, rather than formed as a delta. Mention of a former Malanau Empire is satisfactory, for as I have pointed out elsewhere(13) these people with Land Dayaks and others form the basic stock of the original inhabitants, overlaid by Hinduism, Mohamedanism and certain forms of paganism.

Moens would place Argyre in Ligor, Braddell somewhere near Kuching in Sarawak; if the latter be so, Bukit Berhala as the site of archaeological remains in the neighbouring Samarahan river seems indicated, indeed the very name suggests Pallava and there is still strong local legend of the former visits of the "Orang Pegu".(14 p. 47) "Another thing on which speculation may be founded is this: it is said that a colony of Peguans settled many years ago at Santubong near the mouth of the Sarawak River. Some curious gold ornaments and earthenware remains have lately been dug up at that place: possibly it may be the site of a Pegu settlement. I have been told that the Bukar Dayaks of Samarahan are descendants of the Peguans.. I once asked some of the Dayaks if the above assertion of the neighbouring Malays was correct. 'Oh, no!' they said. 'It is the Malays of Samarahan who are descended from the Peguans.'"

"As yet in Sarawak we have come across very few remains of Hindu deities and no edifices or ruins. The only two of the former I have seen are first a stone trough of peculiar shape and secondly a broken stone bull, both now lying burnt and cracked near the charred remains of the Rajah's old house. These were much venerated by the surrounding Dayaks, expeditions being made to the places where they were lying before they were brought to the capital, when the water that collected in the trough was baled out and used in religious ceremonial. Soon after Sir J. Brooke first came to the country he discovered the bull lying on the muddy banks of a small stream near Sempro; he was interested in it and proposed to take it to Sarawak."

Real Sarawak Malays look on Kalaka in the Saribas District as their ancestral home, many Kuching Malays being of Bovanese extraction and the Samarahan ones to this day are referred to laughingly as "Orang Pegu." Their proximity to Bukit Berhala, with its remains of a temple, also in the Samarahan River, is more than coincidence.

The stone trough of peculiar shape is the Yoni from Bukit Berhala (11 p. 42) now in the Sarawak Museum, together with the remains of the stone Bull, both having suffered damage beneath the Rajah's house when burnt during the 1857 Chinese insurrection. The account of finding the Bull near Sempro is peculiar as this village is near Segu (now the 21st mile) on the true right bank of the Sarawak River. The headwaters of this and the Samarahan River are not far apart and the Bull may have been carried over from Bukit Berhala; nevertheless this branch of the Sarawak river has yielded a number of gold ornaments to diamond washers and others—notably a very fine ear drop more than an inch long—and

these may well have been connected with the site from whence came the stone Bull.

Silver seldom occurs pure in Borneo and if, as Mr. Braddell thinks, Iabadiou is Borneo it seems that the glittering antimony deposits may have been responsible for the name of the capital Argyre, which is not therefore Ligor as Moens supposed, any more than it chances to be Tagora, the cinnabar mines some 25 miles from Kuching. Bukit Berhala certainly adjoins the gold and antimony fields where silver is known in conjunction with gold, as the following figures from Scrivenor's report on the Gold Fields(15) will show.

	Bunkok	Main Parit	East Mine	Pendit	Taiton
	dwt.	dwt.	dwt.	dwt.	dwt.
Gold per ton	8	16	16	35	16.5
Silver per ton	40	41	39	25	20

Pulo Salak (Javanese = silver) occurs opposite the old Indian settlement at the Santubong entrance to the Kuching River but its cave to my mind scarcely resembles an old working.

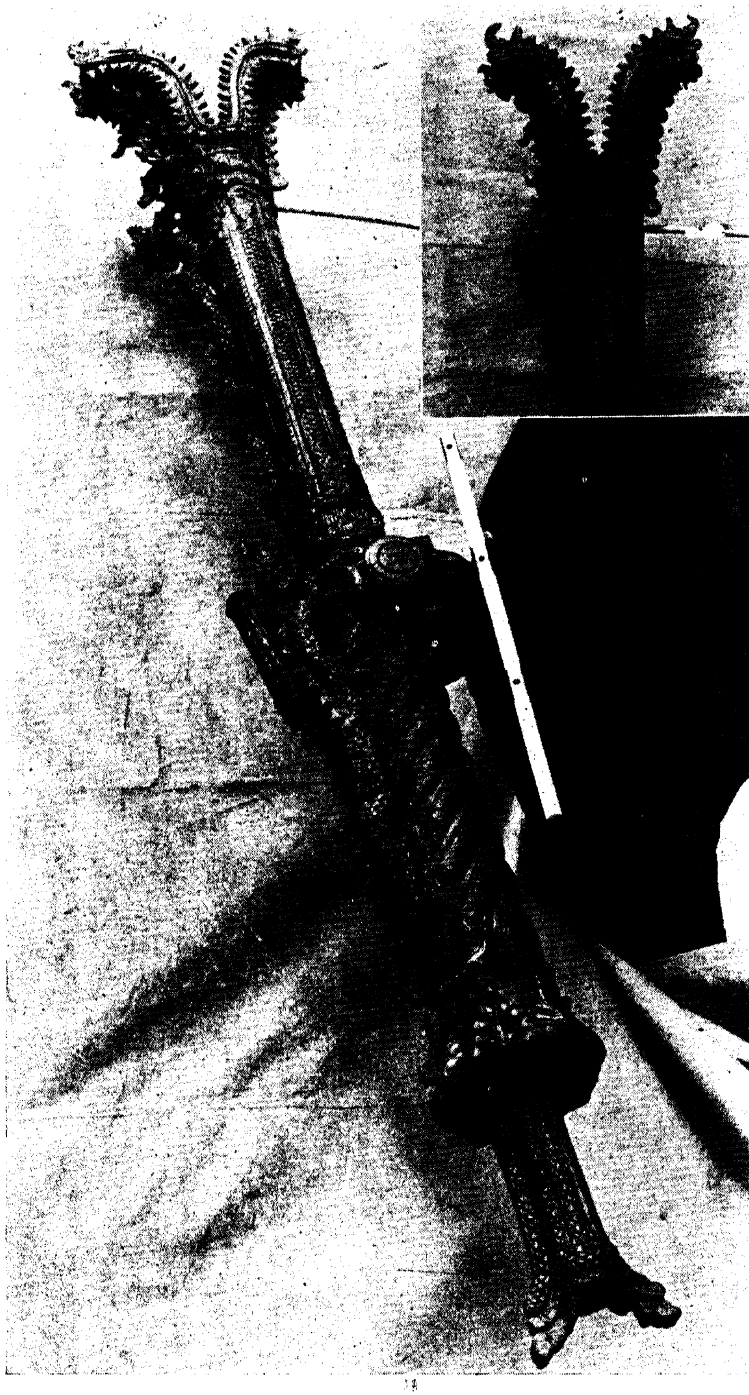
Mr. G. T. M. MacBryan points out that Brunei may well be derived from the Sanskrit word *burni* to trade, in view of the entrepôt nature of the town's activities.

Of *Yava dipa, dipa* is the common word among pagans other than Sea Dayaks, meaning "across," referring to mountains, rivers, roads etc. and corresponding to our trans-montane. In Sanskrit it apparently reads "island" or "sandbank in a river". *Yava dipa* might just mean "across the sea from Yava" which Moens places in Fu-nan or Cambodia and thus refer to Indian settlements in Borneo or elsewhere.

It is difficult now to check the origin of the name Kalamantan for the island of Borneo from the presence of wild mangoes, sour grapes or the shape of the island. That the island was known as "Pulo Lemantan" is clear from the old M.S. "Alak Betatar," describing the ancient State of Brunei. By a slight metathesis "lemantah" may have given its name to the very numerous Milano people among whom sago is still a staple diet. I have always fancied the prefix "ka" or "ke" as a shortened form of "kapada," "pergi kelabit" or "pergi kuching" signifying going to the people of the Labit river or Sieng river, "sieng" being the local non-Malay name for "cat."

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G. C. WOOLLEY—A Malay Cannon.

Malay Cannon

By G. C. WOOLLEY

Although gunpowder was known, apparently, to the Chinese at least several centuries before Christ it was not till long afterwards—and then in the West, to which the knowledge of it may have been carried by Arab traders—that it began to be used as a propelling agent for missiles in war or even for other war purposes. In the 7th Cent. A.D. it was used as an incendiary called "Greek Fire", and in the 12th Century it was used for artillery in Spain in some of the wars between the Spaniards and the Moors. In 1327 our Edward III used artillery in his Scotch wars, and there were cannon at Crecy in 1346. Most of the material used in England was imported, and manufacture there began in Queen Elizabeth's time. In 1477 brass cannon were being cast in Prussia, and in the latter part of the 15th Century iron was used.

The bearing of all this on our present subject is that no Malay cannon are likely to be of any extreme antiquity, and the knowledge of their use and manufacture could have come either from China or from the West, and probably not much earlier than the 15th Century A.D.

As soon as cannon came into such general use that they were carried by ships as well as used on land for fortifications, Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, and English ships, merchantmen as well as ships of war, would have brought them to the Far East, and war and piracy would soon distribute specimens over a large area, and wherever there was a knowledge of metal-working there would be an attempt to produce them locally.

Several places in Malaya acquired a special reputation for turning out good cannon, amongst the most important being Brunei, Palembang, Atcheh, Menangkabau, and Trengganu. Dr. Linehan, *History of Pahang*, p. 50, states that good cannon were being made in Pahang in 1600 A.D., and in his paper on *Discoveries on the Tembeling*, p. 68, he records the discovery of a mould for casting cannon, which he dates at about the 14th—15th century. The methods followed, and the patterns and ornamentations adopted, were not necessarily the same in all of these: in Brunei, Chinese influence and practice may well have been paramount, owing to old trading and business relations with China: in Palembang and Atcheh the chief external influence would be Arab, in Java perhaps Hindu. Gardner quotes Marsden's *History of Sumatra* where he mentions "accounts in old writers of great foundries of cannon in

Atcheh": Marsden also (2nd Ed. 1784, p. 275) says "How early they began to cast cannon I cannot take upon me to say: the first Portuguese histories mention their using them." St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East* Vol. 2, p. 298, says that in Brunei the metal for the guns was obtained from selected Chinese brass 'cash'—also evidence of Chinese influence. Krieger thinks that both guns and powder came, not from China, but from Arabia, with Islam: Saleeby states that the Sulus had firearms and 'lantaka's (cannon) *before* the Spaniards came. Hamilton, in his *New Account of the E. Indies* mentions seeing 'culverins' in a fort in Atcheh in 1702, but nowhere records anything about their manufacture or includes them as part of the 'produce' of any of the countries he visited. Chinese traders and workmen were to be found all over the Malay Archipelago, so it would not be surprising if they had brought with them a knowledge of metal-casting and introduced in a greater or less degree Chinese methods and Chinese decoration in the work they produced. Arab trade and influence in the Western part of Malaya was not inferior to that of the Chinese.

The type of cannon usually produced would naturally be that best suited to local conditions. There are clear instances of a primitive form—a barrel of wood or bamboo or a hollowed palm bound with rings of metal, but these soon gave place to the more elaborate and efficient castings. The walls of Malay forts and the bulwarks of the small pirate boats would call for small, light, and easily managed guns, not the big calibre type on solid or wheeled carriages suitable for European fortifications or the deck of an East Indiaman. The pivot or swivel gun was ideal for Malay purposes. In form, it followed the European Culverin, the lighter forms of which gave rise to the arquebus with its single or tripod rest: the U-shaped upper part of the swivel held the trunnions of the gun, and the pointed foot would fit, like a rowlock, into any socket in the bulwarks of a boat or in the walls or embrasures of a fort. At the breech end was a hollow tube, perhaps 6 inches long, not the round knob usually seen on European guns, and into this could be fitted a wooden spike or handle for turning or elevating or depressing the muzzle, an efficient aiming device only improved upon by the elevating screw of a modern machine gun, which still retains the pointed pivot though adding a clamp to it. A long metal handle, as part of the gun itself, is occasionally seen, but was evidently too awkward and clumsy to command general approval. The European type of knob breech end is also occasionally found, but very often the weapon is one of European origin. Eccentricities naturally occur, such as a double-barrelled cannon cast in one piece, a bell-mouthed blunderbuss variety, and the highly ornamented guns—of Brunei make, I believe—with muzzles like wide open crocodile or dragon jaws. The guns are often

decorated with patterns like those on other brass ware, gongs or jars, and it is not uncommon to find a specimen with part if not all of the barrel with a twisted fluted pattern. The lugs of the guns are often small dragons or dolphins. Whether the place of manufacture can be deduced with certainty from the type of decoration is still doubtful: the dragon type certainly suggests Brunei with its traditions of Chinese workmen. In some cases the swivel has plain holes into which the gun's trunnions fit, and in others it has closed cup-shaped ends, usually decorated with a floreated leaf or rosette pattern: it has been suggested that this difference may indicate the place of origin, but I have not been able to obtain any positive evidence.

Cannon, apart from use in war, had in Borneo at least a value as currency. The ordinary gun, with normal decoration, was valued at approximately $25—$30 a pikul. Fines for the more serious offences would be expressed as 'so many pikuls', and one or more cannon to make up the weight specified would be paid. Cannon also formed a regular item in 'Brian' (Dowry). Differences in workmanship, apart from exceptional cases, would not alter to any large extent the intrinsic value of the gun as so much metal, and this value would not fluctuate much, so cannon made a fairly stable currency. A cannon was not difficult to store, stood up on end and lashed to a house post, as they can be seen to this day; it would not deteriorate by rust, whereas buffaloes or cattle might die instead of multiplying, and in case of a raid or on feast days when a loud noise was called for, it might even be positively useful. In quite recent years however many cannon have been sold as old metal or melted down to provide material for the smaller and less cumbrous gongs other brass-ware.

Plate 1 gives two views of a Brunei cannon which before the war was in Government House, Sandakan, and was the property of the North Borneo Government. It has now disappeared, and has not yet been traced, possibly the Japanese had it melted down as 'scrap'.

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Notes on two Knives in the Pitt-Rivers Museum

By G. C. Woolley

The Pitt-Rivers Museum at Oxford has a knife with blade and handle in one piece, as in the *Kĕris Majapahit*, (the early dagger of the Majapahit Empire) and the figure is of the same size and type: the blade however resembles the blade of the *tumbok lada* (the 'pepper-crusher' knife) in outline except that the bottom half of the blade is double-edged: the upper part has the thick flat back of the *tumbok lada*: the figure on the hilt faces towards the edge of the knife, not to its side, as in the *kĕris*. The knife has been for some considerable time in England, as it is said to have come from the John Harvey collection, made in Java in 1845-1847—and at that time it is highly improbable that there would have been any production of forgeries for a tourist market such as Gardner says are now made in Trĕnggganu. The weapon cannot be called a *kĕris*, but there is no reason why a talisman, with the same magic value as the *Kĕris Majapahit*, should not have been made in the form of a *tumbok lada*.

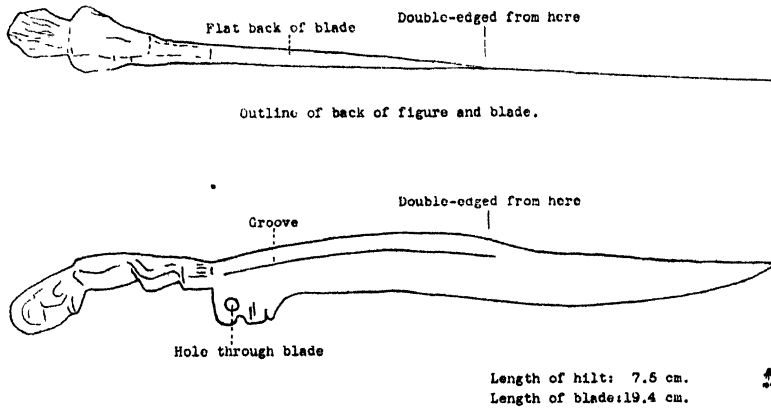


Fig. I.

The same Museum has another weapon labelled "very rare type of *kĕris* with open work blade and unusual grip.? Java.", acquired at an auction on 28.5.1935. I venture to question whether this weapon is a *kĕris* at all.

Raffles' plate in his History of Java showing 41 'common' varieties of blade includes several which have a slight widening of the blade in its lower half, but all his examples have the typical widening towards the *ganja*, going to a long point on one

side and a short blunt end on the other—the *silang* and *dagu* (see fig. 2).

This blade is not quite symmetrical, and *may* have been broken or damaged and then filed down, but this seems most improbable as its present shape with a thickening in each of the projecting points could hardly be obtained from an ordinary blade. A thick centre rib with a deep groove on each side is found in ordinary blades—the fact that much of the groove goes right through the blade may be intentional or due to rust—but in the ordinary blade this groove on the *dagu* side widens out sharply into a saucer-like hollow large enough to take the tip of the thumb when the weapon is gripped, and on the *silang* side widens gradually towards the point: there are no such widenings here, and the grooves go straight to the base of the blade. The pair of arched holes are not found in the true *kĕris*, and in this weapon do not correspond to what would result from filing out an ordinary blade. There seem to be some *pamur* (damascene) markings, especially on the lower part of the blade, which may indicate a local rather than an imported origin for the metal.

The *ganja*, the ends of which are symmetrical, cannot have come from an ordinary *kĕris* which had been cut down to its present form, and is more like the guard found on a rapier or some types of halberd. The hilt is made for a cutting, not a thrusting, weapon: it is large enough for a European hand, and the balance of the blade is better for cutting than for thrusting. It is perhaps not possible to say definitely that this is not a Malay weapon, but it should not be called a *kĕris*, and, if it is Malay, it is a freak or an experiment, such as an attempt to adapt a heavy halberd blade for use as a sword.

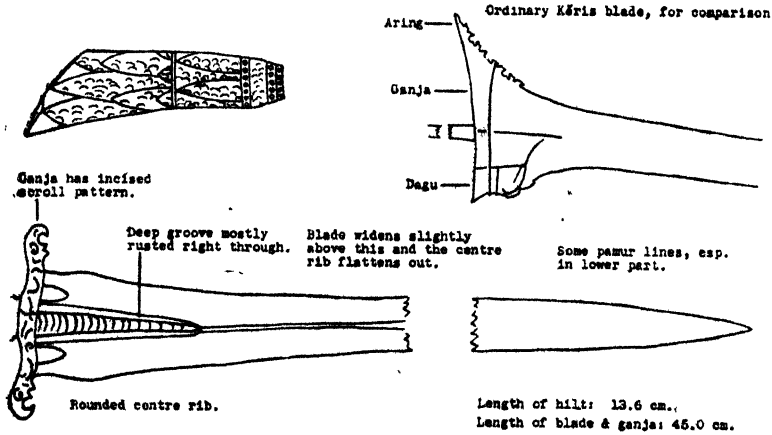


Fig. 2.

The Various Significations of the Malay word *sějok*

By Zainal-Abidin bin Ahmad

In one of his regular Saturday articles entitled "A Malayan Countryman's Diary" in the Straits Times (published in March, 1947) Tuan Djek wrote to the effect that he was intrigued to know what exactly the Malay word *sějok* can mean, and suggested that some Malay scholar might write an essay on the subject. This was enforced in a personal letter to me shortly afterwards (15th April, 1947) in which he wrote among other things:

"It has just occurred to me that if you have time you might write a thesis on the various meanings of the word *sějok*. I hear that the water and weather are *sějok*; certain vegetables are said to be *sějok sangat* and therefore to be avoided. A Malay told me that he preferred *langsat* fruit to *dukus* because the *langsat* was *sějok*.

"An official who was District Officer at Kota Tinggi for many years was eventually transferred to Johore Bahru. Some years later I was talking to a Malay about the bad fruit season, and he replied that there had been nothing but bad seasons since the old D.O. had left the District. Unthinkingly I passed this remark to the new D.O. and he remarked, with a sour look, *"Sějok, ya Allah!"* I think I know what he meant by this short remark, but cannot find words to explain my interpretation"

The following is an attempt to respond to this invitation—from notes jotted down at that time but kept aside since then for a more leisure hour.

Wilkinson in his Dictionary (second edition 1932) gives the meanings of *sějok* as: 'coolness; a pleasant lowering of temperature; (fig.) lessening of passion or excitement;' and adds 'unpleasant cold is *dingin*.'

That is quite correct as far as it goes. But the word *sějok* has other extensions to its meanings as seen from the various idiomatic uses in which it is employed in current Malay speech.

The primary meaning is, of course, as given by Wilkinson, simply 'cold' in the sense of lacking (sufficient) heat or of being low in temperature. With this meaning it is always used as a des-

criptive word showing the lack of heat in an object and giving the idea of low temperature generally in connection with air, weather, climate, or such objects as pieces of iron, tin blocks, water, ice, etc. as perceived by the sense of feeling or touch.

Although generally the word is regarded as an adjective used either attributively such as *ayer sějok*, *angin yang sějok*, or predicatively e.g. *ayer itu sějok*, *malam ini sangat sějok*, it is also frequently used—

(1) as substantive or noun to name the quality or fact of being cold itself e.g. *Sějok-nya sampai ka-tulang hitam* = 'Its biting cold (or the cold sensation) penetrates to the very marrow.' But in this noun-capacity it is never used as in English in the sense of 'a cold', in the common phrase 'catching cold' or 'a mild attack of cold', which a Malay calls by a special name, *sělsěma*.

(2) as a verb in the sense of 'to become cold', 'to get or grow cold' or 'to change from a state of being relatively hot or warm to one of being cold.' Examples, *ayer itu pun sějok-lah* = The (warm) water becomes cold.

There are, of course, derivatives from that simple form *sějok* to give various grammatical changes in meaning, such as *sějokkan*, to cause (something) to become cold; *měnyějokkan* deliberately to make (it) grow cold; *di-sějokkan* made to become cold, is cooled; and rarely (with negative) *těrsějokkan*, able to reduce the temperature, or unintentionally allow (it) to get cold; *kěsějokan*, the state of being cold, suffering the effect of cold weather, or feeling shivering cold, etc., etc.

So much for the primary literal meaning. The secondary meanings include the following, almost all of which are metaphorical developments of one or other of the original senses:

(1) Lacking excitement, no fun, no gusto or enthusiasm about it: said of festivities, jollifications, meeting, games, etc. Examples *Hari Raya sa-kali ini sějok sahaja* = It is a joyless Hari Raya this time; *Saya tengok sějok sahaja měshuarat itu* = I saw there was no enthusiasm during the meeting.

Cold of manner or of reception is never expressed by *sějok* in Malay.

(2) Stale, dull, uninteresting—said of old news as opposed to 'hot' news or sensational headlines. E.g. *Khabar itu sudah sějok* = The news has become stale, has lost its sensational quality;

Surat khabar itu sějok sahaja, ta' bĕrsĕmangat = The newspaper is always dull, nothing that excites interest in it.

(3) Kept overnight but still eatable; said of rice, curry, and cooked food generally. *Makan nasi sějok* = Eating rice left over from last night.

On the other hand 'cold rice' as opposed to 'hot rice' would be described as *'nasi sudah sějok'*.

(4) If one says *minum ayer sějok* it means 'drinking just cold (pure) water,—with a literal or metaphorical meaning. If the latter, it is merely intended to be a self-deprecatory remark expressing that the refreshment offered is nothing very much, even though actually it may be tea etc., and not just pure water. On the other hand, *minimum sějok* means cold drinks or light refreshments such ice-cream, iced-lemonade or squash etc.

(5) Abating or cooling down; said of anger or temper. E.g. *Hati-nya sudah sějok,* His anger has cooled down (He is no longer angry).

(6) Feeling happy or gratified to hear the evidence of a loved one's success or achievement. For this sense the word always goes with 'ear'. E.g. *Sějok tĕlinga aku mĕndĕngar ĕngkau mĕmbacha bagitu bagus.* It gladdens my ear (= it warms my heart) to hear you read so well.

(7) Feeling cold as when one is going to get fever or when in fright. E.g. *Sějok rasa badan saya macham na' dĕmam.* I feel cold as though I am going to get fever. *Sějok kaki tangan-nya oleh kĕtakutan* = His hands and feet become icy cold with fright. ('Cold sweat', literally *pĕloh sějok* is not known in Malay; nor is 'cold mutton' and 'cold steel').

((8) Cooling to the blood, causing impoverished blood so that you always feel cold and anaemic. E.g. *Bayam jangan di-makan, sějok* = Don't eat spinach, it is cold vegetable.

(9) Pleasantly cooling to the stomach and so giving a feeling of freshness and vigour. *Buah langsat sějok daripada buah duku* = the *langsat* fruit is 'colder' than the *duku*.

(10) Bringing luck and prosperity, blessed; e.g. *pĕrentah-nya sějok* = His rule was full of benign influences. *Dĕngan bĕrkat sějok do'a anak-anak mudah-mudahan saya sĕlamat.* By the blessings of my children's prayers, I hope I'll get through (all risks and dangers) safely.

But in the remark *'Sĕjok, Ya Allah!'* reported in the second quoted paragraph above it is not very clear as to whether the meaning intended is sarcastic or is really a plain straight-forward prayer on the part of the speaker for a *sĕjok* blessing on his own account. If the former, then clearly the new District Officer resented the implication that the period since he came had not been *sĕjok,* and moreover he looked down with scorn on the superstition that fruit seasons being good or bad is due to the *sĕjok* or otherwise of the head of the District. From the context and the 'sour look' it would appear that this was the true interpretation, in which case the word *Ya Allah!* is an ironical exclamation and not and invocation.

An Unusual Kĕris Majapahit.

By Abu Bakar bin Pawanchee

The peculiarity about this *kĕris* lies in the position of its handle in relation to the blade. Whereas in the normal *kĕris* of this type the handle faces one of the sides of the blade, here it faces the edge on the side of the *dagu*.

The weapon has all the accepted principles of a *Kĕris Majapahit*. It is of meteoric iron and has the necessary shape to justify it being called a *kĕris*. The nickle in the metal forms the *pamur* markings of an uncontrolled pattern. The blade is double-edged and is fashioned to curve slightly in the distal end on the same side as the *dagu*. It broadens towards the handle in the conventional manner for the formation of the *aring* and the *dagu*. It has no *ganja*. However, it is dented on the edges in some places and the tip is a little rusty.

The handle is shaped like a deity for magical reasons. It is in a sitting position with the palms of the hands resting on the knees and with the trunk of the body leaning to the front.

I have illustrated this *kĕris* in three positions, (a) showing the flat of the blade with the deity facing the direction of the dagu, (b) the face of the deity seen from the edge on the *dagu* side, and (c) the back of the deity seen from the edge on the *aring* side. The total length of the weapon is 22.4 cm. made up of the blade which is 17.2 cm. and the handle which measures 5.2 cm.

One would reasonably question whether this is a genuine *Kĕris Majapahit*. There have been many imitations and Trengganu Malays are known to have made some. But most imitation specimens are much larger and thicker than this *kĕris* which is 0.35 cm. at its thickest part near the *dagu*. Moreover, the fineness of workmanship and high degree of artistic skill displayed, which should be the supreme test in any such weapon, is readily revealed when this *kĕris* is compared with its more usual and genuine types.

The possibility then remains of the weapon having been specially made by competent *pandais* (smiths) somewhere around the 15th century, for a high personage of that time. I said 'high personage' because, as iron was then scarce, it must have been very expensive and, renowned smiths would not have gone out of their way to make unconventional types of weapons for ordinary persons.

This Kĕris Majapahit belongs to Major Robert Hoey of the United States Army Liaison Office, Singapore, who bought it from a Peninsula Malay in Batavia some two months ago. This weapon was shown to him when he expressed a desire to purchase a *Kĕris Pichit!*

Glossary of terms used in this paper.

Aring: fretted and barbed metal work on the pointed side of the *ganja.*

Dagu: the rounded side of the ganja with or without fretted designs.

Ganja: separate piece of metal forming the guard, with a hole through it, which slips over the tang.

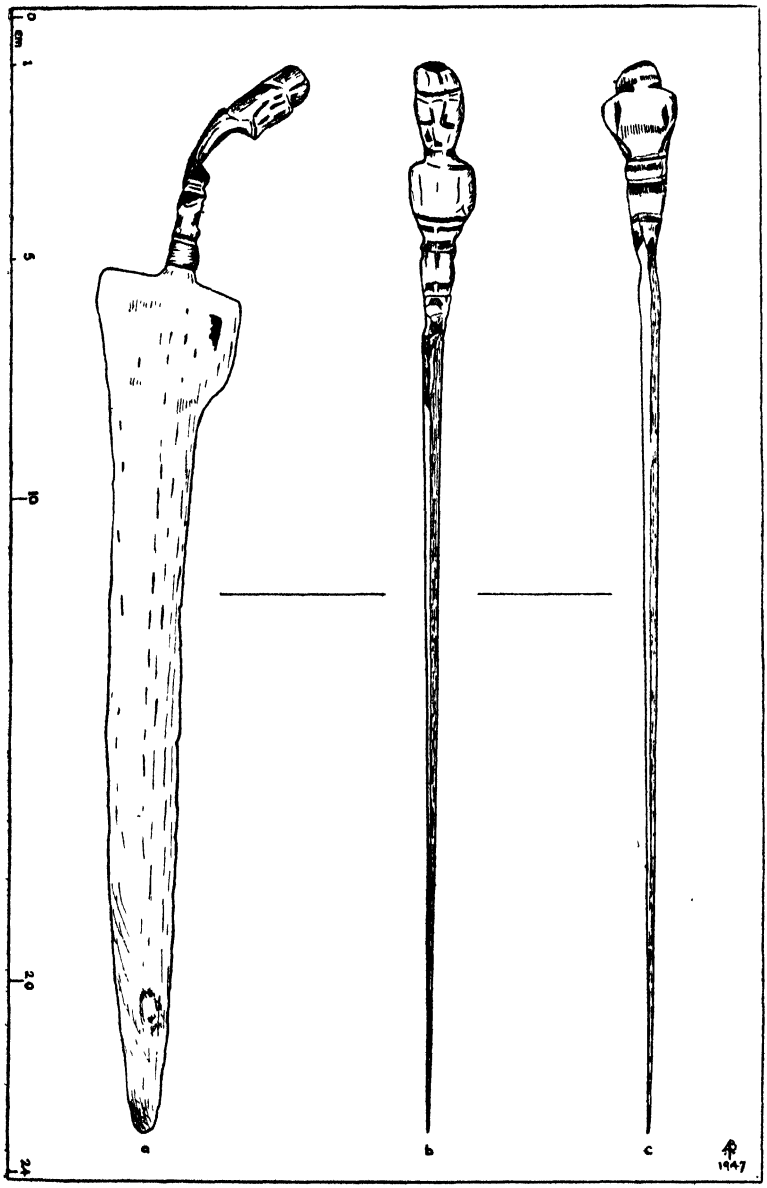
Kĕris: Malay double-edged weapon of a standard design but of varied sizes. May be straight or wavy or both combined together. Main characteristic is the uneven widening of the blade towards the hilt end where it meets the *ganja* (if there is one) and where the uneven widening is continued in it.

Kĕris Majapahit: the oldest known type of *kĕris.* Blade and hilt of one piece of metal, the latter usually in the form of a deity.

Kĕris Pichit: type of *kĕris* whose final process of manufacture is believed to be the pinching of the blade between the fore-finger and thumb by the smith while the metal is still red hot and then scoring the compressed portions with the thumb nail.

Pamur: damascening of the blade obtained by usually laminating three or more pieces of different kinds of metal together. Where meteoric iron is used, as in *Kĕris Majapahit*, the nickle in it forms the damask.

Pandai: expert smith skilled in the making of the *kĕris.*



An unusual *Kĕris Majapahit*, by Abu Bakar bin Pawanchee.

Two Brunei Charms.

Translated by G. T. MacBryan and Mohd Yusof Shibli

The editorial to the last issue of this journal (Vol. XX, pt. I) asks for information about the texts and translations which follow this introduction. They are the first of a series of manuscripts (some lengthy) obtained by Mr. G. T. MacBryan and Mohd Yusof Shibli on a visit to Brunei just before the war. The texts are now the property of the Sarawak Museum.

These *silah-silah* are typically read in rotation among leading Brunei homes. They have not previously been studied or translated systematically. Indeed although Brunei has played an important part in the history of South-east Asia, our knowledge of it is pitifully weak, as Hughes-Hallet points out (J.M.B.R.A.S. Vol. XVIII, pt. 2, 1940, pp. 23-42).

I believe this new material may throw much light, not only on Brunei, but on the general place of Borneo in culture, growth and change. Already, from a preliminary examination of other manuscripts, we can see important parallels and checks with Malacca, Johore, Java and Celebes. For many years scholarship in this part of the world has been concentrated on rather a few areas. Along with this, a certain unconscious parochialism has sometimes developed, and each scholar has tended to make his area the centre of a system, without seeing enough of the universe as a whole. Even in wider a views a few well established sites have been emphasised at the expenses of the less well-known ones.

Thus Winstedt's valuable History of Malaya (J.M.B.R.A.S. Vol. XIII, pt. 1, 1935) discusses some relevant areas (e.g. Sumatra) in detail, while others are barely mentioned; Borneo has suffered particularly in this respect. It is, in a sense, Borneo's fault—it has so far shown too little interest in itself. But the effect has been that Borneo has often been ignored in reconstructions of history, even for areas where common sense and tradition alone suggest it must have played a significant part. Again, Malayan and Indonesian scholars have been too ready to ignore tradition and legend, as if *only* the written word or aristocratic story had validity, whereas in fact the myth can be every bit as illuminating and sometimes provides this indespensable background to formal geneology.

Lately, however, there have been indications of a wider view, notably from Dato Roland Braddell (J.M.B.R.A.S., XIX, pt. 1, 1941, pp. 21-74), who has at least shown the chaos of conflicting

claims for historic names and incidents, while he also brings out the possibly major role of Borneo in Asiatic history.

Heaven forbid that we, as newcomers from Kuching, should seek to blow our own trumpets or try to "make up lost ground" (apt simile). If we can make good use of new data, however, it may perhaps act as a pepsin on a somewhat indigestible mass of other material. For example, it should illuminate the contradictions which worried (and even confounded) Winstedt and Wilkinson in their Perak history (J.M.B.R.A.S. XII, pt. 1, 1934) with regard to Saban (p. 123 *et seq*) and other vague but persistant figures in Malaysian tradition—the most colourful Nakhoda Ragam (Kassim), hero of Brunei too!

Naturally, from this point of view the most interesting part of our MSS material is the history and folklore of Brunei. The broad outlines, as summarised by Hughes-Hallet, have long been known, but here we have a treasure-trove of detail. A striking feature is the unusual amount of documentary information about the pagan "primitives" of Borneo, notably the Muruts, and their whole association with the Malays. It so happens that, before I knew of the existence of this material (1945-6), I had made a detailed study of the little-known Kelabit branch of the Muruts in the uplands of Central Borneo (some of their megalithic interests have already been described by E. Banks in the *Sarawak Museum Journal*, No. 15, 1937, pp. 411-438). We can now get a number of valuable links between their (illiterate) legendary history in the far interior, and written Malay history over the same periods on the coast.

This present text, *Two Brunei Charms*, happened to be the first one, experimentally translated—for the script is archaiac and complex—by Mr. MacBryan and Haji Yusof, who started the work under the auspices of Mr. E. Banks, the Curator of the Sarawak Museum. They had hoped to go on to more ambitious efforts later but unfortunately the war intervened, and caused both Mr. Banks and Mr. MacBryan to cease their Sarawak Museum associations. When I returned to Kuching as Curator and Government Ethnologist in June 1947 only Haji Yusof remained (in the Secretariat for Native Affairs).

We have now renewed this work, in whatever time we can spare, and are concentrating on the historical side first. Haji Yusof will be mainly responsible for the MSS translations, and I hope to be able to co-ordinate these with corresponding folk-tales of the still pagan Kelabits and Muruts, as well as with the wider pattern generally.

TOM HARRISON,
Curator, Sarawak Museum.

Texts and Translations.

Here begins the first method of subordinating a human being to one's will or of destroying her by means of the *Magic Shaft of Wisdom.*

Bab ini suatu putaran do'a panah marifat juga. Jikalau akan mĕndatangkan orang hampir atau jauh, daripada sa-buah nĕgri sa-kali pun, nĕschaya gila bĕrahi hati-nya kĕpada kita; jikalau tiada bĕrtĕmu dĕngan kita, tiada ia boleh tidor dan makan. Ini yang di-surat kapada layang-layang kayu, ada-nya, (*mujarrab mustajab bi-idzinillahi-taala akan do'a ini kabul dan lagi makbul*) maka ia-itu di-wapak sĕrta nama orang itu di-masokkan dalam-nya. Ini-lah do'a-nya:—

Bismillahir-Rahmani r-Rahim. Allahumma
(*ati bi*) anta Zulaikha
bĕrahi Yusuf.
ya Israfil!
ya Izrail!
ya Mikail!
ya Jibrail!
Ambilkan aku roh si-anu pĕrtĕmukan dĕngan roh aku
Ya Allah!
Ambilkan aku badan si-anu pĕrtĕmukan dĕngan badan aku
Ya Muhammad;
Ambilkan aku hati si-anu pĕrtĕmukan dĕngan hati aku
Ya Rahman!
Ambilkan aku rasi si-anu pĕrtĕmukan dĕngan rasi aku
Ya Rahim! Ya Rahim!
Ambilkan aku rong mata si-anu pĕrtĕmukan dĕngan rong mata aku
Bĕrkat Adam dĕngan Hawa,
Bĕrkat Daud dĕngan Sulaiman,
Bĕrkat Yakub dĕngan Yunus,
Bĕrkat Zakaria wa Yahya,
Bĕrkat Muhammad Rasul Allah sall'allahu alaihi wa-salam.

ماسود ٢٩٧٤ [1]

Ini-lah yang bĕrnama do'a panah marifat. Ini-lah do'a yang tĕrlĕbeh daripada sakalian do'a yang lain. Ada pun akan guna-nya

(This is called *wapak* = *wafak*)

itu, jikalau di-pĕrbuatkan pĕrmain kapada manusia sakalian, pĕrĕmpuan atau laki-laki bĕnchi-lah di-hati-nya yang mĕnakan-nya, nĕschaya kalau di-habis sa-bakat di-lĕmahkan-nya. Mĕmbĕri mudzarat kapada hamba Allah sĕrta dĕngan kĕhĕndak Allah dan takdir dan ada-lah binasa hamba Allah itu. Jikalau di-kĕnai kĕpada kota-nya, tiada-lah bĕrkĕputusan dalam dunia dan jikalau di-kĕnai kapada hati-nya itu, insha' Allah taala dĕngan izin Allah, gila sa-lama-lama-nya hidop. Tiada bĕrsĕkin ini mĕlainkan yang mĕmbĕrikan ubat kapada dia ia-itu mana orang yang bĕrbuat baharu-lah dapat mĕngubatkan dia. Bĕrmula, tatkala bĕrbuat pada sa-orang hamba Allah, hĕndak-lah kita tuleh rupa manusia itu laki-laki atau pĕrĕmpuan, maka gambar di-pĕrbuatkan sumbu dian, tilek rupa orang itu dan di-panggil roh-nya. Jikalau sudah dapat, maka binasakan.

Translation of the first method.

The Magic Shaft of Sufi

(where'in Lover & Beloved are one)

This chapter consists of one way of revolving a person's mind by means of the magic shaft of knowledge.

If it is desired to cause a person to come to you, be she near at hand or far away, from another country altogether even; inevitably she will become so crazed that her heart will be filled with such a blind desire for you that she can neither eat nor sleep except that she meet you. This is what should be written on a piece of paper and attached to the topmost branchlet of a tree.

(*The efficacy of this prayer having been proved by experience, with the permission of God, may He be exalted, may it be granted and put into force*).

The charm should be written on an amulet with the name of the person to be charmed. This is the prayer:

> In the name of God, the most Merciful, the Compassionate.
>
> O God, compass for me that which I desire, a blind love such as that of Zulaikha for Yusuf;
>
> O Israfael, messenger of God;
>
> O Izrail, guardian of the subsistence of mankind,
>
> O Michael, sounder of the last Trumpet;
>
> O Gabriel, Angel of Death;
>
> Convey to me the life spirit of so and so, that it may be united with my spirit,

O God, convey to me the body of so and so, that it may be united with my body,

O Muhammad, convey to me the heart of so and so, that it may be united with my heart,

O Merciful, convey to me the guiding star of so and so, that it may be united with my star,

O Compassionate, convey to me the eye's iris of so and so, that it may be united with my iris,

May God's blessing be granted through Adam and Eve,
May God's blessing be granted through David and Solomon,
May God's blessing be granted through Jacob and Jonah,
May God's blessing be granted through Zacharias and John,
May God's blessing be granted through Muhammad.
May God bless and save him.

This is the prayer of "The Magic Shaft of Wisdom". This is the prayer more potent than any other whatsoever. Its use is that if it is practised upon human beings, be they men or women, who may hate in their hearts whosoever interferes with them, they will be weakened. Or if it is desired to harm one of God's slaves, provided always it is God's wish and predestined, that being will be destroyed.

Should the magic shaft touch the outside of the body of a subject then his longing for you will persist incessantly for so long as he exists in this world; and if the magic shaft should touch his heart, provided always that it pleases God, may He be exalted and with His permission, the subject will be raving mad for the remainder of his life. He can never behave reasonably again unless it happens that the person who cast the spell, that is to say the person who actually wrote the amulet, cures him.

When you are about to cast a spell upon a person, you should glance at its appearance taking note if it be a man or a woman. Then you should draw a male or a female image (on cloth) from which the wick of a candle should be formed. Then concentrate on the image of the subject and call for its life spirit. When you have secured the spirit, destroy it.

* * * * * *

Here begins the second method of subordinating a human being or of destroying him by means of the *Magic Shaft of Wisdom.*

Bĕrmula suatu gantian.

Jika akan mĕnggila orang jauh atau orang hampir, supaya sĕgĕra datang kapada kita, maka pĕrbuatkan sa-buah ajongan, maka di-surat do'a itu kapada kain puteh, pvrbuatkan layar-nya. Dan ambil jarum orang balu barang tujoh babak, di-punchak di-tiang suatu, dua di-pohun tiang, suatu di-buritan, suatu di-lantakkan kapada di-kanan suatu di-ala yang kiri, suatu di-lantakkan di-pĕbawa masokkan kapada tiang, baharu kita ikat dĕngan gĕntian kĕmbaran orang balu akan tĕmbirang-nya—sĕmua-nya akan pĕngikat gĕntian orang balu itu juga.

Sudah kĕmas lalu di-tangas dĕngan kĕmĕnyan di-bachakan 'Fatiha' sa-kali dan 'Kul-hu-allah' tiga kali sĕrta di-bacha do'a ini juga.

Sa-tĕlah di-bĕri salam kapada Nabi Khidzir sĕrta malaikat yang ĕmpat lalu di-labohkan kapada aver lautan yang bĕsar, *sĕpĕrti mĕkhabar*:—

Ambilkan aku tulang-nya si-anu ka-nĕgran tulang aku,
Ambilkan aku hati-nya si-anu ka-nĕgran hati aku,
Ambilkan aku jantong si-anu ka-nĕgran jantong aku,
Ambilkan aku lidah-nya si-anu ka-nĕgran lidah aku,
Ambilkan aku lĕmpĕdu-nya si-anu ka-nĕgran lĕmpĕdu aku,
Ambilkan aku utak-nya si-anu ka-nĕgran utak aku,
Ambilkan aku biji mata-nya si-anu ka-nĕgran biji mata aku,
Ambilkan aku nafsu-nya si-anu ka-nagran nafsu aku,
Ambilkan aku sair-nya si-anu ka-nĕgran sair aku,
Ya Allah! Ya Allah! Ya Allah!
Ya Muhammad!

Bukan aku ĕmpunya do'a ini: Allah dan Muhammad ĕmpunya. (*Mustajab mujarrab*)

Hai Israfil!
Hai Izrail!
Hai Mikail!
Hai Jibrail!

Tolongi apa-lah! Hamba-mu minta do'a kapada Allah.
Bĕrkat Isa Roh Allah!
Bĕrkat Noh Habib-u'llah!
Bĕrkat Daud alaihi'ssalam!
Bĕrkat Huyahu!

Dan bĕrkat Idris!
Dan bĕrkat Yunus!
Dan bĕrkat Yusuf!
Dan bĕrkat Ayub!
Dan bĕrkat Lut!
Dan bĕrkat Yakub!
Dan bĕrkat Isahak!
Dan bĕrkat Ismail 'alaihi'ssalam!
Dan bĕrkat Sulaiman 'alaihi'ssalam!
Dan bĕrkat Musa Kali'm-u'llah!
Dan bĕrkat Salih!
Dan bĕrkat Shinyalah!
Dan bĕrkat Sheikh Abdul-Kadir Jilani!
Dan bĕrkat Am'r'l-muminin Abu Bakar'l-sidik!
Dan bĕrkat Baginda 'Ali!
Dan bĕrkat Amir'-l-muminin 'Omar!
Dan bĕrkat Amir'-l-muminin Othman!
Dan bĕrkat Amir'-l-muminin Hassan!
Dan bĕrkat Amir'-l-muminin Husain!
Dan bĕrkat sidang sakalian Nabi!
Dan bĕrkat sidang sakalian aulia Allah!
Dan bĕrkat sidang sakalian kutub!
Dan bĕrkat sidang sakalian kĕramat!
Dan bĕrkat sidang sakalian malaikat!
Dan bĕrkat Muhammad (wa salam) tasliman kathira!
Ya Allah!
Ya Muhammad!
Tolongi! Hamba-mu minta do'a kapada-mu!

(*Mustajab mujarrab*)

Aku panahkan kapada zat-nya si-anu,
Aku panahkan kapada bayang-bayang sa-anu,
Aku panahkan kapada langit, langit runtoh,
Aku panahkan kapada bumi, bumi runtoh,
Aku panahkan kapada laut, laut kĕring,
Aku panahkan kapada kayu, kayu rĕbah,
Aku panahkan kapada bukit, bukit hanchor,

Aku panahkan kapada gunong, gunong hanchor,
Aku panahkan kapada si-anu, di-sair Allah, sair Muhammad,
Aku panahkan kapada matahari, matahari padam,
Aku panahkan kapada maghrib, maghrib dĕkat,
Aku panahkan kapada mashrik, mashrik dĕkat,
Aku panahkan kapada batu, batu bĕlah,
Ya Allah! Ya Allah! Ya Allah!
Ya Muhammad! Ya Muhammad! Ya Muhammad!
Ya Rahman! Ya Rahman! Ya Rahman!
Ya Rahim! Ya Rahim! Ya Rahim!
Ya Hakim! Ya Hakim! Ya Hakim!
Ya Kahar! Ya Kahar! Ya Kahar!
Ya Razzak! Ya Razzak! Ya Razzak!
Ya Rauf! Ya Rauf! Ya Rauf!
Ya Hannan! Ya Hannan! Ya! Hannan!
Ya Mannan! Ya Mannan! Ya Mannan!
Ya Razik-u-tifli-saghir!
Wa ya khair'l-Ghafirin!
Wa ya khair'l-Warithin!
Wa ya khair'l-Nasirin!
Wa ya maliki yaum'd-Din!
Wa bika yasta'in'l-mutawahidin!
Wa ya neama'l-Wakil!
Wa ya hadl'l-Mudhilin!
Wa ya neama'l-Maula!
Wa ya neama'l-Nasir!
ila-allah.
Ni-imma Izrail!
Bĕrkat Mikail!
Bĕrkat Israfil!
Bĕrkat Jibrail!
Bĕrkat do'a La ilaha illa'llah,
Bĕrkat do'a Muhammad.

Translation of the second method.

This begins an alternative charm.

If it is desired to unbalance one who is far away or near at hand so that she will forthwith come to you, then you should construct a model of a sea-going ship and write that same prayer (as in the preceding method) on white cloth of which should be made its sail. And obtain some seven needles from a person left desolate by death and affix one at the top of the mast, two at the base of the mast, one at the stern of the vessel, and insert one on the right hand side of the cross-mast, and hammer one right into the bottom of the mast. Then stays should be made by joining all these points with two stranded fibres, also belonging to the person left desolate by death who should actually do the fastening.

When all is ready, straightway fumigate the vessel with incense, reciting over it the opening chapter of the Koran once and the prayer of the oneness of God three times, at the same time reciting this prayer also.

When that is completed, give the salution to Nabi Khidzir, and to the four Guardian Angels and forthwith launch the vessel upon the water of the ocean, saying as if you were addressing a human being:—

Obtain for me the heart of so and so and deliver it at the seat of my heart,

Obtain for me the core of the heart of so and so and deliver it at the seat of the core of my heart,

Obtain for me the tongue of so and so and deliver it at the seat of my tongue,

Obtain for me the gall of so and so and deliver it at the seat of my gall,

Obtain for me the brain of so and so and deliver it at the seat of my brain,

Obtain for me the eye-ball of so and so and deliver it at the seat of my eye-ball,

Obtain for me the passion of so and so and deliver it at the seat of my passion,

Obtain for me the lust of so and so and deliver it at the seat of my lust,

O God! O God! O God!

O Muhammad!

It is not I who own this prayer. God and Muhammad are its owners.

(*The efficacy of this prayer has been proved by experience*).

O Israfael!

O Izrail!

O Michael!

O Gabriel!

Help me, in whatever requests your slave makes in his prayers to God.

May God's blessing be granted through Christ, spirited of God,

May God's blessing be granted through Noah, beloved of God,

May God's blessing be granted through Huya,

May God's blessing be granted through Inoch,

May God's blessing be granted through Jonah,

May God's blessing be granted through Joseph,

May God's blessing be granted through Job,

May God's blessing be granted through Lot,

May God's blessing be granted through Jacob,

May God's blessing be granted through Isaac,

May God's blessing be granted through Ishmael, on whom be peace!

May God's blessing be granted through Solomon, on whom be peace!

May God's blessing be granted through Moses,

May God's blessing be granted through Saleh the Saintly,

May God's blessing be granted through Lokman the judge,

May God's blessing be granted through Shinyalah,

May God's blessing be granted through Shaikh Abdul-Kadir Jilani,

May God's blessing be granted through Commander of the Faithful Abu-Bakar the Truthful,

May God's blessing be granted through Ali,

May God's blessing be granted through Commander of the Faithful Omar,

May God's blessing be granted through Commander of the Faithful Othman,

May God's blessing be granted through Commander of the Faithful Hassan,

May God's blessing be granted through Commander of the Faithful Hussain,

May God's blessing be granted through the assembly of the Prophets,

May God's blessing be granted through the assembly of all the saints,

May God's blessing be granted through the assembly of all the workers of wonders,

May God's blessing be granted through the assembly of all the angels,

May God's blessing be granted through Muhammad, May God grant many salutions to him.

O God! O Muhammad!

(*The efficacy of this prayer has been proved by experience*).

Should I release my magic shaft I can obtain the very soul of so and so,

Should I release my magic shaft I can obtain the shadow of so and so,

Should I release my magic shaft at the sky, the sky will collapse,

Should I release my magic shaft at the earth, the earth will crumble,

Should I release my magic shaft at the sea, the sea will dry up,

Should I release my magic shaft at the hills, the hills will disappear,

Should I release my magic shaft at the mountains, the mountains will dissolve,

Should I release my magic shaft at the sun, the sun will be dimmed,

Should I release my magic shaft at the sunset, it will be advanced,

Should I release my magic shaft at the sunrise, it will come near,

Should I release my magic shaft at the rocks, it will be split asunder.

O God, thrice do I call upon thee,

O Muhammad, thrice do I call upon thee,

O Merciful, thrice do I call upon thee,

O Compassionate, thrice do I call upon thee,

O Judge, thrice do I call upon thee,
O Almighty, thrice do I call upon thee,
O Razzak, the Provider, thrice do I call upon thee,
O Rauf, Preventer of troubles, thrice do I call upon thee,
O Hannan, the Tender, thrice do I call upon thee,
O Mannan, Helper in distress, thrice do I call upon thee,
O Provider of the Young and tender,
And O Greatest of Forgivers,
And O Greatest of Masters,
And O Greatest of Helpers,
And O Master of the Day of Judgement,
And thee do I beseech for help unto me the Humble one,
And O Greatest of one's to be relied upon in all affairs,
And O Guider of those who tempt others,
And O Greatest of Governors,
And O Greatest of Helpers,
O God,
Have mercy Izrail, Angel of Death,
May God's blessing be granted through Michael,
May God's blessing be granted through Israfil,
May God's blessing be granted through Gabriel,
There is no God save only Allah,
May God's blessing be granted Muhammad.

The Malay Kĕris: its origin and development

By G. C. Woolley

The definition of what a kĕris is should refer primarily to the blade only: the hilt and sheath are no doubt essential parts of a complete weapon, but these vary in different parts of the Malayan Archipelago, and a Malay examining a weapon will look first to the blade: its setting is to him, in comparison, immaterial, and if it does not suit his taste he would not hesitate about changing it.

Gardner's definition is "It is primarily a dagger with a handle set at an angle to the blade, a sort of pistol grip, in fact, to enable the wielder to thrust", but this seems to be far too vague, and under it he admits, as varieties of the *kĕris*, the *badek* and *tumbok lada*, which, though they can be used for stabbing, are single-edged knives. I would suggest "The Kĕris is a weapon of dagger or rapier form, long or short, straight or wavy, double-edged, tapering to a point, except in some cases of the Kĕris Sulok, primarily for thrusting, and its essential characteristic is the widening of the blade towards the hilt to form a guard long and pointed on one side, short and rounded on the other:" See Pl. XV. This widening always begins on the blade itself, but is often completed by a separate piece of metal (the *ganja*) which may be loose or fastened to the blade. I say primarily for thrusting so as to cover the later development of the *Kĕris Suluk* or *sundang* where the blade becomes heavier and is fitted with a different type of hilt, to give a grip for a cutting blow.

The blade, in section, in the middle, may be practically flat, or slightly elliptical, or diamond shaped (particularly in the *Kĕris Panjang* type) or with a rib down the middle of the blade sometimes very pronounced, with or without a slight thickening close to the edge, making a shallow groove on each side.

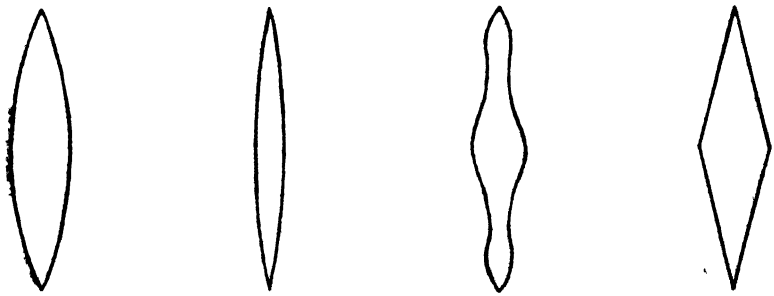


Fig. 1. Middle Section of Kĕris Blades.

When it has been decided that a given blade is a *kĕris*, further definitions can be added to fix its type, with reference to its shape or its *pamur*, its setting, its country of origin, etc.

Origin of the Kĕris.

Crawfurd, in his 'Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands' says that the word *"Kris"* is an abbreviation of *'Kâris'* a dagger or poniard, and that "it is probably a Malay word, now general in the Archipelago": from this Mr. Williams infers that 'it was apparently not thought necessary to invent for the weapon a new name, as would most certainly have been done had it come into existence as a separate weapon by introduction from outside or independent invention'. No form *'Kâris'* however is given in Crawfurd's own dictionary, neither have I found it in Wilkinson or any other: why then should it not be regarded as 'a new name' for a new weapon? The Spaniards in the Philippines referred to it as *'Calis'*; it was known there, but was obviously introduced and used by immigrant Malays, Sulus, Bugis or Illanuns, not by the aboriginal tribes. An anonymous 'Historical Description of the Kingdom of Macassar in the East Indies', London, 1701, states that "the *Crit* is a weapon peculiar to the Malays, the Macassarians, the Javanese and other neighbouring islands". Again, De la Loubere in his "New Historical relation of the Kingdom of Siam", London 1693, in a list of Siamese arms, includes *"Krid,* a dagger which the King gives to the Mandarins: they wear it

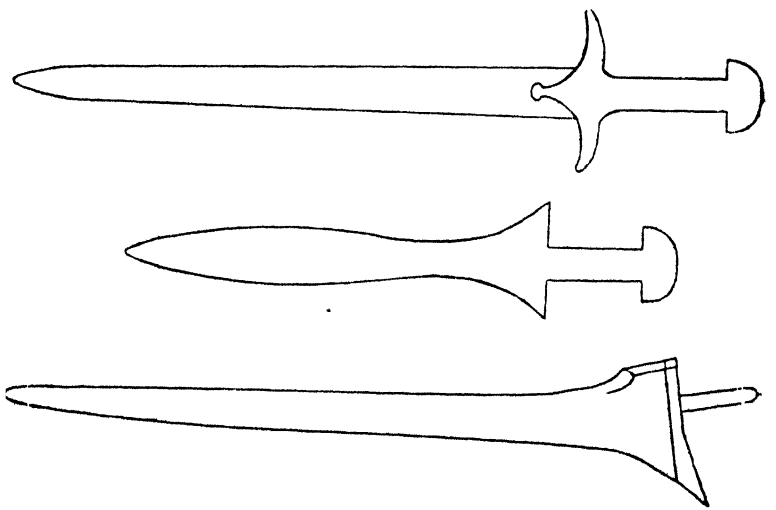


Fig. 2. Outlines of Swords (Two Upper Drawings), and a Typical Kĕris (Lower Drawing).

thrust into a girdle on the left side, but very much before. The Europeans do corruptly call it 'Krist'": this suits a special imported weapon, worn as a token of rank by certain dignitaries, not a common national weapon in Siam.

Moreover, if the *kĕris* was introduced from abroad, from what country did it come? It is inconceivable that all trace of it should have vanished from its country of origin: the sword was known from remote times in India, Arabia, Europe and China, all with possible connections with the Malay Archipelago by ancient or mediaeval trade routes: swords there were long or short; there were wavy blades as well as straight; but in no place is there the characteristic Malay '*ganja*': the blades have no unequal widening towards the hilt though they may be set in a cross-hilted handle, or they may widen *equally* on each side, as in the type of iron—or bronze-age sword common all over Europe.

Before going further, it is advisable, as there are so many types of blades to get a preliminary rough classification of them and to see if there is any indication as to which type is the earliest. Such a classification may be:—

(i) straight blades, of short or medium length

(ii) wavy blades, of short or medium length

(iii) the *kĕris panjang*, straight or wavy, to include both *kĕris bahari* and *kĕris pekakak*.

(iv) the cutting kĕris, *Kĕris Sulok* or *Sundang*. (See Pl: 1).

No. (iv) is obviously a later type, developed in one district only.

No. (iii) is also a later type, originating in Sumatra or the Northern part of the Peninsula. No. (ii) *may* be a very early form, but it is more likely to be a variation of a still earlier type as it requires additional process in manufacture: in appearance it might be thought more handsome and attractive, but for actual use old and renowned warriors are reported to have preferred the straight blade, of short length, owing to the scarcity and value of iron. Crawfurd, indeed, History of Indian Archipelago I p. 224, emphasises this: the *kĕris*, he says, 'is a weapon fitter for assasination than war,' it was 'not invented for that purpose or because of a love of close combat (which is contrary to their ideas) but because of the scarcity and dearness of iron: otherwise why neglect the useful and formidable sword for the trifling ineffectual dagger?' and 'its use was continued later (i.e. when iron was more obtainable) because of conservatism and pride.'

If the *kĕris* then was not introduced from abroad but originated in the Archipelago, there are two possible lines of investigation

which it may be worth while to examine, even if no certainty is likely to result: these are (i) was it adapted, when iron became available, from some former type of weapon (ii) was it an original invention. Sir Richard Winstedt says that most of the evidence points to a Javanese origin, but that "it is idle to speculate" further as to whether the *kĕris* blade is a dragon form made by dragon worshippers or modelled from the horns of butting animals or whether its continued use was due to superstitious respect or from its fitness for warfare in close jungle.

Mr. Williams suggests that the *Kĕris* is derived from the spear which was known in the Archipelago in much earlier times—and it is in support of this theory that he quotes Crawfurd to show that '*Kĕris*' is not 'a new name' for a new weapon, but a mere derivative from 'kâris'. Incidentally, this argument does not seem to fit in well with the latter part of Mr. Williams' paper in which he deals with the respect paid to *kĕris* and its alleged magical or supernatural qualities which would have justified, or required, a special new name. Mr. Williams states that the *kĕris* "would not have developed out of the more modern patterns of Malay spear, seen in Museums today, but out of some earlier type, in use many centuries ago which has long become obselete and, as such things do in damp tropical countries, disappeared altogether leaving no trace behind." He supposes then that as the long shaft of a spear might be inconvenient in jungle fighting or impede the owner's flight through jungle, he cut off the shaft, so as to retain the valuable blade, and found that it made quite a serviceable dagger: he then constructed a separate hilt for it, which was loosely attached, and filed down one side of the 'guard', thus making the short blunt '*dagu*' on one side of the *ganja*, so that the long point should not scratch him if he wore his new dagger in his belt, and so got a blade which was easily convertible for use as a spearhead. In course of time clever smiths turned the deformed blunt end of the *dagu* into "one of the most artistic parts of a well-made weapon" which would be comfortable when worn with the short side next to the body.

It is an unconvincing argument. It postulates some primitive type of spear which is now altogether unknown, and the 'double purpose' blade is most improbable: if a man went out to fight with the blade ready on his spear shaft for the opening phase of an encounter, did he carry a loose hilt and sheath with him? A spear blade must be firmly fixed, and must be retractable: the valuable blade would be lost and its owner left defenceless if it dropped off in the course of the fight or was left sticking in a wicker or wooden shield: if the owner turned to flee, would he have time to remove the blade and fix it into his dagger hilt? The blade, when carried in his belt, would have its side against his body, not the point of

the *ganja*, and by the time that the artistic *dagu* had been evolved there were customary rules for the wearing of *kĕris* which prescribed when it must be worn with the tip of the hilt towards or away from the body, i.e. when the *dagu* would be on the top or on the lower side: if it was 'comfortable' in one position only, the sharp *aring* on the other side would have to be filed down also. The whole suggestion of filing down seems unnecessary, as the man would not carry a naked blade in his belt, and a sheath would protect him from any scratch. The theory also assumes that the original spear blade had projecting points at the base, which seems most unlikely, as they might act as barbs and prevent the spear being withdrawn rapidly for further use.

Mr. Williams makes the 'tentative suggestion' that the *kĕris* was introduced in the 14th or early 15th century, in Java, when the Majapahit power was in the ascendent: but by that time the primitive form of spear from which he thinks the *kĕris* was derived must already have vanished, and the earliest known form, the *kĕris Majapahit* with blade and hilt in one piece, the latter in the form of a god, would never have been convertible into a spear, unless indeed it was to be lashed on to the end of a wooden shaft: and a spear with such a weak blade would be a most unreliable weapon.

Mr. Gardner suggests that the *kĕris* has been evolved from the sting of the *ikan pari*, sting ray: these fish are common in Malayan waters, and the dangerous or deadly wounds that the stings could inflict would be well-known to the Malay fishermen. A specimen of a sting with the base shaved down as if it had once been fitted into a handle has been found on a prehistoric site, and other specimens have been found far inland, probably having been taken there for purposes of trade, as daggers. Even in modern times they have been used as weapons. He found that if the base of the sting was wrapped in cloth it could be held between finger and thumb for an effective thrust, and he even has one actually fitted into a *kĕris* hilt.

One may admit all this, but it does not follow that because an *ikan pari* sting may be used as an efficient thrusting weapon that it was the original from which the *kĕris* was derived: if the sting was wrapped in cloth at the base it would provide an equally good grip if held in the fist point up or down, as an ordinary dagger: an up-country Sakai or Jakun might value it as being unusual, but for mere efficiency a sharpened slip of bamboo would be just as good and would cost him nothing—his jungles were full of it: the sting would make a bad wound and if the small spines was left in it, the wound might fester, but the original poison would not be there for that is contained in a gland in the living fish situated at the base of the sting, not in the sting itself.

A stronger reason for rejecting the derivation of the *kĕris* from the *ikan pari* lies in the shape of the sting: the edges on the lower part of the sting are serrated with small spines pointing upwards, towards the base, and in no type of *kĕris* are there any such serrations, and the base of the sting is without the widening towards the *ganja* which is an essential characteristic of the *kĕris*, so that even if *ikan pari* stings were still in use as daggers at the time when the *kĕris* was introduced, the pattern of the *kĕris* was not based on the sting.

If the kĕris was not introduced from abroad, or copied from some other form such as a spear or fish sting, it must have been an original local invention, and this is the source ascribed to it by tradition, and the best traditions assign it to Java. The peoples of the Archipelago have not the historical sense well developed, and history and mythology have no clear boundaries between them, but something of value may be found in their stories if there is any external evidence to support them. Such evidence may be found in the sculptures of the temples in Java. Crawfurd points out that the more ancient temple sculptures—perhaps because of their 'strict adherence to a foreign costume'—show no trace of the *kĕris*, but only depict swords and spears, but that in the temples on Mount Lawu which date from early in the 15th century there are several examples. Raffles* says that there are sculptured *kĕris* on the temple at Suku which, by an inscription, can be dated as 1361-1362: one slab shows a workman making a *kĕris* and there are several blades hanging up in his ship. One tradition, with an inclination to mythology, assigns the introduction of the *kĕris* to the Hindu King Sakutram or Sa Putram who was born with a *kĕris pasopati* at his side: another gives it to Panji, the well-known hero of the Panji tales: this would make it about A.D. 920, which would be perhaps too early, judging by the temple sculpture evidence, but it would be natural for people of a later date to connect the national weapon with the national hero. A third variety attributes it (Crawfurd) to Inakarto Paṭi, King of Janggolo, in the beginning of the 14th century A.D. which would fit in with the temple evidence. Traditions giving its origin to Bali or Celebes are too late: after the fall of the Majapahit Empire its workers in metal were scattered and the *kĕris* became a general weapon: some of the best workmen went to these islands and news that 'the best *kĕris* now come from Bali or Celebes' might soon become 'the *kĕris* started there'. The attribution, given by Malacca Malays, to Hang Tuah, 1374 A.D., is merely an attempt to glorify

* The Secretary of the Royal Batavia Society writes "Raffles is quite right. On the remarkable temple at Sukuh there is a relievo, representing Bima, forging a kĕris with his bare hands, using his knee as an anvil. Persons wearing kĕrises are represented on the beautiful temple of Panataran."

a local hero, ignoring the fact that the *kĕris* was known long before his day, though he may have made some particular pattern fashionable in Malacca.

At the other extreme, Mr. Gardner (p. 41) quotes Dr. van Stein Callenfels as saying that the *kĕris Majapahit* "belongs to the earliest iron age in Java, about the 7th century A.D. and that scarcely anything is known about it." No evidence is given in support of this view, and the date seems far too early, and disagrees with the temple sculpture evidence.

The sword and spear, it would seem, were known in Java from ancient times: iron must have been imported, and without iron tools the temple sculptures could not have been made, but there is no evidence that iron was obtained locally. Might it be not the case that Inakarto Pati or a workman at his court discovered or found out how to work the meteoric iron which is found in Java and also Celebes? Typical of the *kĕris* are its *pamur* lines and markings and its dull rough surface: *bĕsi pamur* means 'mixed' iron, i.e. iron and nickel as in meteoric iron, and it is the nickel which causes the markings. Also in Java, as in all countries, the thunderbolt or meteorite has been supposed to possess some magic or talismanic properties (legend in Raffles, Vol. 2 p. 137). The first *kĕris Majapahit* were not suitable as actual weapons, being too small and weak, but as charms or talismans they could be valued: the hilt, in the same piece as the blade, had the form of a deity, Vishnu, whose image would consecrate and give additional efficacy to the charm. (See Pl: I. fig. 1 & 2).

Professor H. Balfour has suggested that these *Kĕris Majapahit* might possibly be "currency bars". In North Borneo up to the present time brass cannon were commonly used as currency: before the advent of the Chartered Company a native might be fined "one pikul" or "two pikuls" i.e. brass cannon up to that weight (one pikul = 133 lbs. taken as equivalent to $25.00 — $30.00) and for long afterwards this system was used in reckoning such things as *brian* (dowry). But a cannon had its own proper use in the days of piracy, and even later on, at festivals: would so much labour have been expended in making a 'currency' knife or dagger which was too weak to be used? A rough block, like the tin currency of Malaya, would be a much more probable form. The 'talisman' idea, does explain why trouble should be taken in the manufacture; and a talisman to be kept for luck would have a market value, so there seems to be no need to suggest 'currency' at all. The *kĕris* might possibly have had a ceremonial use, just as now the Dusun women in Putatan and Papar in North Borneo carry a very ornamental brass knife on certain ceremonial or festal occasions.

The *Kĕris Pichit* Pl: I. fig. 3 may have originated little if any later than the *Kĕris Majapahit*: the blade was broader, very thin and weak, and made to fit a hilt: as a talisman it lost the power given by the deity of the Majapahit handle (unless the separate hilt was carved in the image of divinity) but it gained a mysterious power from the belief in its having been forged and moulded by bare hands, as shown by the finger marks impressed on the blade—a power possessed by one of the Majapahit kings, according to a tradition recorded by Raffles.

Mr. Gardner notes that modern forgeries of the *Kĕris Majapahit* and *Kĕris Pichit* were being made in Trengganu, the former tending to be larger and heavier with larger figures for the hilt: he also regards some *Pichit* blades with figure hilts, as forgeries. Wavy blades of either type, he thinks, if genuine, were certainly of later make. The wavy blade in Mr. Gardner's opinion, may have been introduced from India and he quotes the ibex horn as a possible original for this type. The natural curves of this horn as shown in a drawing are certainly not unlike those of a three or five wave *kĕris*, but the derivation seems rather far-fetched and does not suit the blade with nine or more waves,—moreover the actual horn is a corkscrew spiral and the *kĕris*, though wavy, is flat.

The development and spread of the Kĕris

Marsden (p. 347) says that iron was smelted in Menangkabau "from the earliest times". When once the use of the local material had been discovered, it would not be long before clever workmen would find that the talisman could be made into an actual and serviceable weapon by combining it with imported iron, and we get the blade built up of strips of various metal forged and welded together: the central strip of imported iron or steel provided the sharp point and edge, and strength, whilst the local *bĕsi pamur* gave the desired appearance and markings and contributed its magic or supernatural qualities to the completed weapon. Burnished steel blades do occur, especially in the Sulu and Bali types, but generally were not favoured. A first rate workman could add to its beauty by chiselled or inlaid work or gold mountings, and it was also discovered that the damascening or *pamur* patterns could be controlled. By about the middle of the 14th century according to Raffles the art of *kĕris* making was reaching to the highest point, at Panjajaram in Java, under the second prince of Majapahit, and the first damasked *kĕris* were being produced.

The countries conquered by Majapahit became familiar with the *kĕris* and began to adopt it from their conquers, whilst trade and piracy helped to spread it. Then came the fall of Majapahit and its workmen were scattered, and the result of all this was that the

development of the weapon took different forms in different places, though no hard and fast line can be distinguished: the key to much of the change is to be found in the spread or influence of the Muslim (Mohamedan) religion. Crawfurd puts the conversion of the Malacca Malays at about 1276, of the Javanese at about 1478, and the Celebes about 1510. Winstedt, History of Malaya, p. 56 says that Majapahit fell before the attacks of Muslim princes between 1513 and 1522. The lines of development can be classified as follows:—(i) the Bali, Lombok and Madura type, (ii) the Javanese, (iii) the Northern or Peninsula, (iv) the Bugis, (v) the Sumatran, (vi) the Patani, (vii) the Sulu.

In all cases there the examples which are exceptional, or may be regarded as 'freaks' made to suit a special buyer, and there are small or toy weapons made perhaps for women or for boys of high birth.

Kĕris types.

The basic type. The original talismanic Majapahit *kĕris* had a hilt, as noted above, representing a deity, often seated, with the hand resting on the knees. The deity was probably Vishnu, or Siva: Vishnu rode on the Garuda, the roc, or a monster with the head of a bird and body of a man, and the Nagas, snakes, were their enemies. The Garuda form might easily have been used in place of Vishnu, but the cobra would not have come until the religious connection had been lost sight of, or deliberately ignored, and the snake form adopted in view of the snake-like wavy blade and its deadly power. Hilts were of metal—gold, silver, *suasa*, ivory or wood. In the latter case, the ornamental *kamuning* wood was the favourite, and this was also used for the *sampir* and *buntut* though a plainer wood was often used for the central *sarong* section, especially if it was to be covered by a metal sheath.

(i) The Bali, Lombok and Madura type. (See Pl: II & III). In these parts the Hindu religion held its ground, and on the hilt the figure of the divinity remained or, as often in Madura, became a flower with a general outline resembling that of the figure. These hilts, in silver or gold, were often massive, and very elaborately carved. In its simplest form it becomes a wooden block of somewhat cubist design. It is often seen without the metal *penongkok* at its base.

The sheath may be made of two pieces of wood fastened together, not with a separate *sampir*, and if there is a metal casing, it may have a large grotesque mask or demon's face on one side of the *sampir*. A rounded outline is given to the *sampir*, but there is a Bali type in which the side enclosing the *dagu* of the blade is in

almost a straight line with the sheath of the main blade. The tip of the sheath is rounded. The wood chosen is often very conspicuous in marking, e.g. a light ground with large blotches almost black in colour.

The blades of some of the royal *kĕris* in the Weltervreden Museums are long, and wider than usual. The engraving of a Madura kĕris in Raffles' History of Java (Vol. I p. 296) has a hilt which might well be of the Madura type, as it seems to be a combination of a human (or divine) figure with floral or scroll ornament, but the sheath is distinctly Javanese. The hilt of one of the three Ashmolean *kĕris* is said by Winstedt to represent Arjuna or a demigod of the Wayang Kulit cycle: it is not so heavy as the Bali hilt, and may be Madura or Java work: the figure has long hair hanging down its back: it must date from before 1656, when it had been brought to England. The blade of this *kĕris* may also be Madura or Javanese, as the *ganja* has a fretted edge though the blade is straight. Bali blades are often smooth or polished, if not actually burnished, and the *pamur* shows as white or light gray patterns on a dark almost black ground.

(ii) The Javanese type. Raffles says that over 100 varieties were known, and he gives a plate showing 41 of the 'common' ones with their names, which include the *pasupati* form—the *kĕris* with which the king Sakutram was born. Some of these are straight, some wavy, but in no case are the waves very pronounced, and many of these outlines are so similar that it would take an expert to identify an actual weapon. There is no *kĕris Majapahit* shown, and apparently no *pichit*, but he may have omitted these as not being 'common'. In later times the *kĕris Sapukal** is understood to be a straight *kĕris*, and *kĕris Sĕmpana* a wavy or sinuous one with from 3 to 7 'lok' (curves) but No. 27 on Raffles' plate, which is slightly wavy is called *sĕmpana*, No. 32, which is straight, is called *sĕmpana bĕnar* and No. 13 which is wavy is called *sapukal*. Possibly the engraver got his figures confused for in the previous plate showing the parts of the *kĕris* and their names there is a metal (?) cover for a sheath marked 'No. 5', but there is No. 5 in the list of names† Crawfurd says there were 54 varieties, 21 straight and 33 wavy.

Raffles also says (Vol. I p. 329) that the Java *kĕris* is plainer than the (Peninsula) Malayan type in blade as well as in hilt and sheath. 'Plainer' should not be taken to mean 'inferior': the reputation of the Javanese work shows this, but it may mean 'greater simplicity'. The conquerors of Majapahit were Muslims, and

* Skeat has a note that *Sĕmpana bisu* was used for a straight *kĕris*.
† Perhaps this cover is the back view of the 'Madura *kĕris*' sheath.

images of deities on the *kĕris* hilt would be anathema to a zealot. The thick squat figure seen on the Bali type disappears: the thinner upright figure with head inclined slightly forward loses its human outline and becomes a plain shape, with very little ornament, which gives a grip very much like that of a fencing foil. The *Jawa dĕmam* type may of course have been made also in Java, by Javanese workmen for Javanese use, but it is more typical of the Peninsula. As has been pointed out already, no hard and fast line can be drawn and it is best merely to say what the typical Javanese form is.

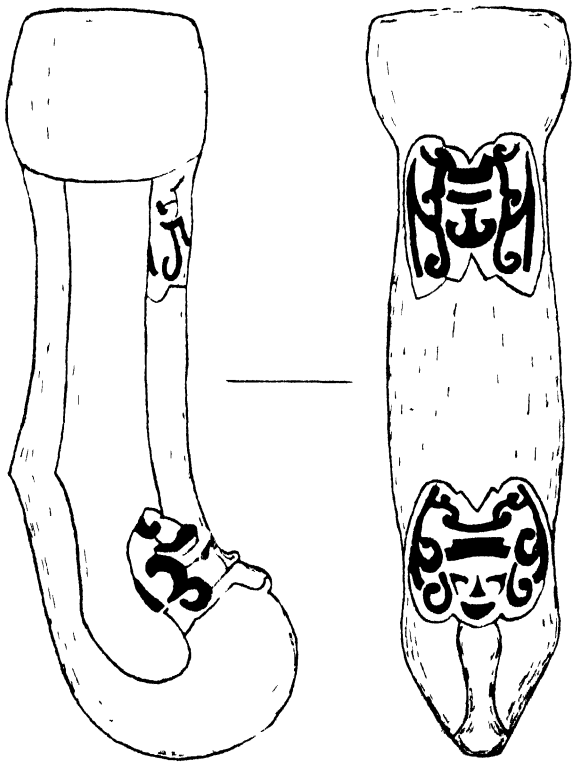


Fig. 3. Front and side views of a typical Javanese Kĕris Hilt.

The *sampir* of the Javanese sheath (see Pl: IV) is of a light design, with rounded edges, somewhat boat-shaped, and this may be developed by lengthening the ends and curling them over. The *sarong* of the sheath is narrow, tapers a little, and is rounded at the point, sometimes with a solid tip of metal or ivory or ebony. The whole sheath up to the *sampir* is often cased in metal—brass, silver or gold, plain or chased, but an open panel may be left on one side, to show the ornamental grain of the wood, or be filled in with a slip of tortoise-shell or ivory.

Dr. W. F. Stutterheim in his 'Cultuurgeschiedenis van Java on Beeld' gives on p. 148, 149 illustrations of the two sides of the blade of an 'old *kĕris*', which is inlaid with figures and patterns: this may be a Bali blade, or made by a Javanese smith for a man of the old Hindu religion, but may be put in the 'special' or 'freak' class, it is by no means an ordinary weapon.

(iii) The Peninsula or Northern type. (See Pl: V). Here too, as in later Java, we get a Muslim people, but as is so clearly shown in Skeat's 'Malay Magic', they were not very bigoted and were ready to overlook all sorts of pagan survivals. As the *kĕris* became known to them and won their approval as a weapon, they may have objected to the actual representation of a pagan divinity on the hilt, but might have been ready to compromise, in order to retain the supernatural powers of the blade, on the retention of the 'Garuda', the bird-headed human form, but making it more of a caricature: the god's hands come off his knees- -the attitude common to gods and kings in the temples of Egypt—and are folded across the stomach, the head is lowered, and we get the *Jawa dĕmam*—the man shivering with fever, but a man scarcely human enough to offend against religion. In the earlier stages the figure may have hair carved on the back of the head: this is succeeded by the bird's crest, then the arms may be left out, and the bird's crest, then the arms may be left out, and the bird's head and eyes and beak be left out, or changed after passing through a 'cobra' phase into foliated patterns until nothing is left of human or animal form, and only the shape of the hilt remains, as it gives an admirable grip for a weapon designed for a thrust. Gardner (Notes on two uncommon varieties of the Malay *Kĕris*) says that the seated god on the *Majapahit kĕris* hilt has a sort of hat on the head, which, from behind, looks like a cobra with hood extended. The so-called 'hat', in my opinion, is really the halo-like disc often seen in representations of the gods; when the Garuda took the place of the god the halo became a bird's crest like a cock's comb: the cobra and cobra-hood idea, as already noted, was quite independent and occured to men who knew and cared nothing about the proper attributes of Vishnu. The cobra idea same quite early, for the *kĕris* of Muzaffar Shah of Malacca is said to be of 15th century work: it also shows, from the inscription inlaid in silver that a Muslim sultan was willing to wear a weapon with a snake on its blade.

Wilkinson, dictionary s.v. *'Aring'* states that in the Peninsula fretted work under the point of the *ganja* is only found on sinuous blades, but that this is not the case in Java, and as authority he quotes the plate in Raffles' History of Java which shows 41 'common' varieties of blades.

The Peninsula sheath (see Pl: VI) has a large *sampir,* with rather square angles, the *sarong* is wide, tapering little, if at all, and the *buntut* has a square shape with a flat base. The sheath may have a metal casing: the Malacca code confined the wearing of gold-mounted *kĕris* to certain persons of high or royal rank. The sheath might also be fitted with a band and loop of silk or silk with gold or silver thread, the *tuli-tuli* and *batir-batir,* which could be used for fastening it in the belt.

The form of sheath, if metal cased, could also give a name to the *kĕris, Kĕris Pĕndok* if the casing covered the lower half of the *sarong Kĕris Tĕrapang* if the whole *sarong* was cased, and *Kĕris Tĕrapang Gabus* or *Kĕris Bĕrsalut* if the sampir also was encased.

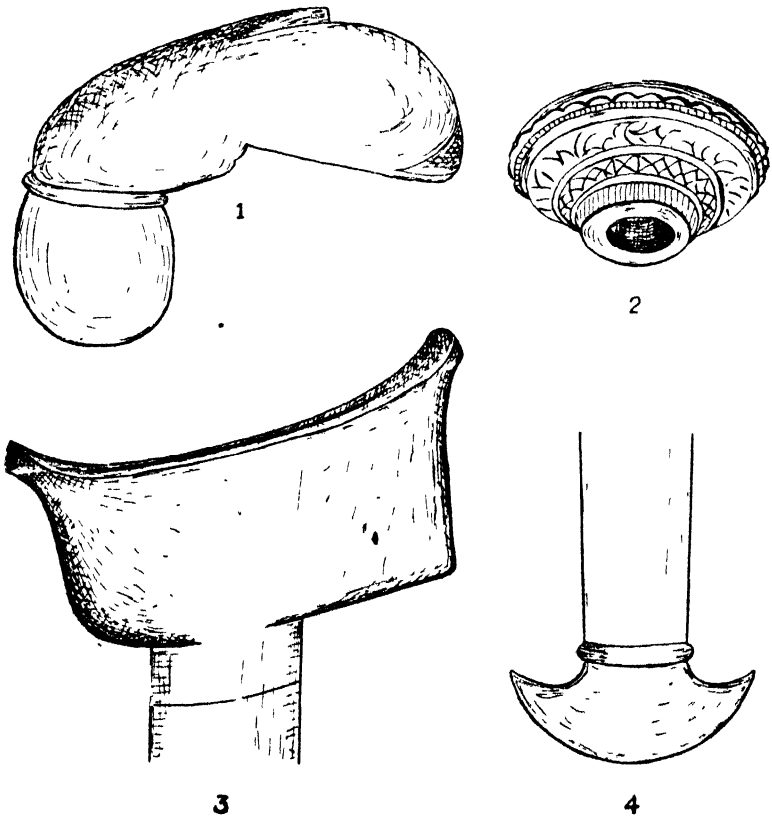


Fig. 4. Bugis (Celebes), (1) Hulu, (2) Pĕndongkok, (3) Sampir, (4) Buntut.

(iv) The Bugis type. As great traders and pirates the Bugis would be familiar with all parts of the Archipelago, and they also had intimate connections with the Peninsula, especially in Selangor. As makers of *kĕris* they had a high reputation, but they seem to have kept to the usual patterns and to blades of moderate length, so there is little or nothing to distinguish a Bugis from a Javanese or other specimen, except that as Muslims they would not be likely to use Hindu forms. A very elaborately carved hilt might be called 'Bugis' on account of its good workmanship, but they seem to have favoured a '*Jawa dĕmam*' type which starts to bend very soon, and may have little or no trace of arms or features. The sheath is like the Peninsula one, not always quite so heavy, and the *buntu'* may be more ornamental, with an edge, not a flat base.

(v) The Sumatran type. Dr. Snouck Hurgronje in his book on the Achenese says that their weapons were the *sikin* or *klewang* (*gliwang*), a variety of sword, and the *reunchong* or *rinchong*, a single-edged knife, and he does not include the *kĕris* in his list. This may be an indirect support to the theory of a Hindu-Java origin, as Acheh had early connections with the Arabs. P. 104 shows 2 'Kriss d'investiture' which are of the 'Java' type both for hilt and sheath. It may be assumed that these were imported for ceremonial use. On the other hand Menangkabau was famous for its *kĕris*, and Newbold quotes Argensola, writing in 1609, as saying "at Menangkabau excellent poniards are made, called creeses: the best weapons of all the Orient". No doubt the workmen turned out *Kĕris* of Java or Peninsula type if required, but the special Sumatra variety was the *kĕris bahari* or *kĕris panjang*, a long rapier-like blade, perhaps introduced to give extra reach in an encounter with an opponent armed with a sword. The type, an encounter with an opponent armed with a sword (see Pl: VII & VIII). The type, once introduced, was repeated with blades of ordinary or even short length—the *kĕris alang* and *kĕris pĕndek*. Bahari, Wilkinson, means 'young, vernal, or is simply a complimentary term, e.g. *zaman yang bahari* 'the good old times': a Brunei Malay told me that the type, if wavy, was called *Rĕnti*, and if straight *Anjur* or *Hanjur*: he could not explain the meaning of these words, but Wilkinson (1901 ed.) gives *Pĕnganjur* as "The officer who bears the sword of state before a Raja'. It is also called *Kĕris Pĕnyalang* because that type was generally used for executions.

The *bahari* blade is long and narrow, sometimes flat, or diamond-shaped in section, but sometimes with a raised rib running down the middle: it may have *pamur*, or have a plain dull black surface, not unlike black sandpaper, but there are also cases where it has a smooth or almost burnished surface, when it called *Kĕris Mĕlela*. The *Kĕris Mĕlela* belonging to the Sultan of Kelantan

described by Dr. Gimlette, 'Malay Poisons', p. 7, may have been one of the shorter form of the Sumatran type: Dr. Gimlette says it was short and straight and had no damask (*bĕsi mĕlela* means undamasked steel) and was reputed to have magic power although the lack of damask, which the meteorite *bĕsi pamur* produced, might be thought to involve the loss of it.

The typical hilt follows the general outline of the Java pattern, though a blade will often be found fitted with a hilt of the *Jawa dĕmam* Peninsula type, doubtless to suit the taste of the owner. The longer Java pattern gives a better balance in the hand—more like the handle of a foil—but the plain Java design is given more ornament, and the tip is often of a flower-like or foliated design.

The *sampir* of the sheath combines the Java and Peninsula types: the two ends may be rather high, and the rest not so square and heavy as the Peninsula type. The *sarong* is narrow, may have a number of silver bands, and may end on a rounded point, or, especially if metal-cased, in a square *buntut*. A reason for the square tip, given to me by a Brunei Malay, was that the *kĕris* could be worn at the back, and in an emergency a kick with the heel would jerk the blade up and enable the hilt to be grasped and the blade drawn over the shoulder. Gardner mentions the same trick, but neither of us have been able to see it demonstrated. The name *Kĕris Tajang* refers to this.

(vi) The Patani type. (See Pl: IX). This is also called the *Kĕris Pĕkaka* or *Pĕkakak* 'The Kingfisher'. This is reference to the hilt, which may be derived from the bird-headed Garuda, but it is often much more like a demon, or one of the gods or demigods of the *Wayang Kulit*, though they do not have such long noses. It is worth remembering, however, that the *Wayang Kulit* was, and still is, very popular in Patani. Firth, 'Malay Fisherman' p. 18, speaking of some of the Kelantan boats, say that "the crutches to hold mast and sails on board when taken down are often highly sculptured in floral or bird designs, and even occasionally in the form of a figure from the local shadow-play." Whether the Ashmolean *kĕris* with the broken nose is to be put down to Patani or Java is open to question. A form of hilt showing a demon head with the teeth and tusks and a long nose, though not a beak like the 'kingfisher' type, is given by Professor Bezemer in Indonesian Arts & Crafts, Netherlandsch Indie, Oude en Nieuw as 'Javanese'. This may be an early type of the *Kĕris Patani* and show a connection with the old Hindu religion and the *Wayang Kulit* plays. The Patani blade is fairly long, and may be almost or quite as long as a *Kĕris Bahari*. A blade of Mr. Gardner's which is fitted with a *Pĕkakak* hilt, has 31 waves.

The sheath resembles that of the *Kĕris Bahari*. Javanese influence coming through Menangkabau and Sumatra, as well as direct, was strong in the Patani district, and may explain why a *Kĕris* of Sumatran type with a hilt recalling the *Wayang Kulit* should often have been chosen rather than one of the Peninsula or Bugis design.

(vii) The Kĕris Suluk type. (See Pl: X & XI). This types is a very well defined development of the original *kĕris* in the Peninsula it even has a distinct name, the *sundang*, but in Borneo it is always called either *kĕris* simply or *Kĕris Suluk* as opposed to *Kĕris Jawa* or *Kĕris Bugis*. The Sulus wanted a cutting rather than a thrusting weapon, perhaps as being more suited for piratical attacks at sea,– a straight heavy type the *Rajah Laut*—so they designed a new hilt, but retained the characteristic blade with a *ganja*.

Blades.

Some are still fairly short and light, but the tendency is towards extra weight and length, and the point is almost rounded. They may show *pamur* down the centre of the blade, often with a broad plain edge, or even the whole blade may be smooth if not actually burnished: in these cases there is often a floral design or an Arabic inscription inlaid in silver. Blade are straight or wavy, and often have a groove, or two grooves with a ridge between, running down nearly to the point, with the *pamur* showing only in the grooves.

The hilt is set at a slight angle, leaning towards the *dagu*, with an upward crest on the upper, *aring*, side and a downwards prong on the lower side, which prevents the hand from slipping. It is made of wood or ivory or metal, and the grip is bound with plaited rings of rotan or silver or brass wire. There is also a metal loop on one or both sides of the blade which is held by the serrated edge of the *aring* or *janggut*, and is connected to a flat metal strip which runs up the hilt and is held there by the rotan or wire rings: the object is to prevent the blade from getting loose and twisting round when a blow is struck.

The sheath generally has a separate *sampir* of Peninsula or Bugis type, but occasionally the whole sheat is made of two pieces of wood stuck together with bands of metal or rotan. The *buntut*, if there is one, is of any type, Java, Peninsula or Bugis.

Kĕris Manufacture.

The actual process of manufacture in modern times—and there is no reason to suppose that it has changed in any essential since early days—is given by W. Rosenhain, *Notes on Malay Metal-*

work, Journal Authropological Institute, Vol. 31 February 1901, and again by I. H. N. Evans, *Ethnology and Archaeology of the Malay Peninsula*, p. 55, and Gardner, *Kĕris and Other Malay Weapons*. A rough summary is that strips of different metals, when welded together, make up a laminated bar and the edges of laminations produce marks or lines, which are the *pamur*: this pattern is finally brought out by an acid bath which eats away parts of the softer metals and may also increase its visibility by altering the colour of some of the metals. The earliest workers could produce hair-like lines only but later smiths found out how to control the *pamur* markings and to produce any required pattern.

Pamur.

The nature of the *pamur* took an important part in deciding if a weapon was lucky or unlucky for any given purpose: one lucky for trade might be bad for war. Newbold, British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca, Vol. 2, p. 202, gives a translation of a Malay Manuscript on this subject and Winstedt's English-Malay Dictionary, s.v. 'damask' gives a long list of names of *pamur*, but to attempt the compilation of a complete list, though interesting to a collector, would not repay the time and trouble involved. The names are often fanciful and based on very far-fetched analogies—e.g. "fish-navel" or "the grass hopper's legs" and probably the names varied in different districts. Newbold gives a plate, apparently copied from diagrams in his Malay Manuscript showing ten forms described, but Professor W. W. Skeat's copy of this book has pencilled notes giving different *pamur* names to several of them.

One legend said that the straight *pamur* lines were derived from the hair of a girl who was sacrificed when the manufacture of the blade was begun, in order that her spirit might enter into it.

Kĕris Measurements.

Various systems of measurements have been recorded by Newbold, Skeat, Gardner, Keith, Evans and others, but it is not necessary to repeat them here in detail. They fall into two classes, (a) comparative measurements depending only on the blade itself, e.g. the number of times that the width of a blade at a given place will go into its length, (b) a combination of a blade measurement with a personal measure of the owner, e.g. the width of his thumb joint compared with the length of the blade, with a formula of the 'soldier, sailor, tinker, tailor' type. The results will show whether a blade is lucky or unlucky either in itself or for a particular owner.

Kĕris Magic.

It has already been suggested that the *kĕris* in its original form in Majapahit had a magical or talismanic value rather than as

an actual weapon, being made from meteoric ore with supernatural qualities, strengthened by the figure of the god on the hilt. It cannot have been long, however, before the smiths thought of adding other metals and so forming a servicable weapon. The introduction of Islam was bound to modify this: the figure of the god himself had to go, but, if one was not too strict, some type of monster or jin might be allowed, and be as efficent: the *bĕsi pamur*, the supernatural ore, could still be used, and power be ascribed to the foreign metal: a *kĕris* must have three kinds of iron, a good *kĕris* would have more: the *kĕris* of Hang Tuah was made up of 20 kinds, and in the story books tht steel of the hero's *kĕris* was taken from "what was left over from the making of the bolt of the Ka'aba at Mecca": it could kill a man if driven into his footprints in the sand, or poison the fish at the river's mouth if washed in the headwaters. An Islamic magic could thus replace the Hindu, and the head of the deadly cobra could supersede the Garuda either deliberately or by a mistaken identification. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 4, quotes from a Malay charm book's account of the Creation, which describes a very anthropomorphic serpent, perhaps related to the Indian Nagas which in old sculptures are represented as having human form with a snake attached to their back and its hooded head rising behind their necks. Some such figure may have suggested to a Malay workman the *Jawa dĕmam* type of hilt, which varies from an accurate representation of the human form to one in which nothing but the hood is recognisable.

A *kĕris bĕrluah* might wound or destroy a man if it was merely pointed at him: the Bali carved *kĕris* holders all hold the *kĕris* point downwards; when on Malay ceremonial occasions, a *kĕris* was carried on a cushion it must have pointed somewhere, but as it was not held in the hand the magic power perhaps was not evoked. McNair (p. 304) quotes an edict by the Sultan of Menangkabau, the preamble of which describes him as possessed of "a *kĕris* formed of the soul of steel, which by a noise expresses its unwillingness at being sheathed, and shows itself pleased when drawn: of a date co-eval with the creation."

The old stories of the 'poisoned' *kĕris* may also have been started by these stories of its magic power. There is no clear evidence that blades were actually poisoned, even in older times, though poison was used for arrows and blow-pipe darts. The roughness of the blade, would naturally cause a rather jagged and dangerous wound, and the acids and sulphur and arsenic which were used in the manufacturing and cleaning processes might well tend to make any wound septic.

Kĕris in the regalia. In spite of the respect paid to it and the powers attributed to it, the *kĕris* had sometimes to give place

to the sword and spear, perhaps because the latter was the older weapon but Curtis seems to go too far when he says that for this reason the *kĕris*, though a royal weapon, does not form part of any coronation regalia. The Malay Annals, it is true, do not include a *kĕris* in the list of Perak regalia, but Swettenham (British Malaya p. 210) gives a photograph of 'Perak regalia' which shows four. Skeat (Malay Magic p. 26) includes a *Kĕris Panjang*, the *Bĕrok bĕrayun*, in the Selangor regalia and in Jelebu a sword *pedang pĕmanchor* and a *kĕris panjang*.

Caldecot says that the *kĕris pĕkaka* of Jelebu was named *Sigar jantan*—why, he could not say, but no unimportant weapon would have a special name: this *kĕris* was also associated with a spirit called *Biring Bĕrkilang* who guarded the Pĕnghulus of Jelebu.

Newbold records a *kĕris* said to have come from Majapahit, in the regalia of the Bali State of Kloukong, and Collet illustrates a 'Kris d'investiture' from Acheh. Perhaps a distinction should be drawn between articles actually used in the Installation ceremony (*tabal*) and those brought out on other state occasions. In Rembau (Parr and Macray, Journal of the S.B.R.A.S. No. 51) the Undang might display a naked *kĕris panjang*, and at an Undang's funeral four naked straight-bladed *kĕris panjang* are displayed in court-yard.

Wilkinson, Papers on Malay Subjects. Life and Customs, Pt. I states that 'at his Coronation a Sultan wears....a gold-sheathed *kĕris*, a golden-hilted sword and a silver seal. A Perak prince at his wedding does not wear the two last: the reason is breast ornaments, bracelets and *kĕris* are true regalia: the sword and seal are dynastic heirlooms, so the bridegroom does not copy them.' Winstedt, Papers on Malay Subjects, Life and Customs, Pt. I p. 74 says that the Sultan of Perak must wear the *Kĕris pestaka* at his installation, though the sword *Chura si-manjakini* is the most important of the all the regalia. The *kĕris*, which had no tradition or history attached to it, was also known as *Kĕris tĕrjewa lok lima*.

The Wearing of the Kĕris.

The anonymous Historical Description of Macassar says 'Sometimes 2 *Crits* are carried, one in each hand, that is the left is used for guarding,' very much, one might think, as in the European 'sword and dagger' duels. Skeat has a note that Malays never, as a rule, carry more than two, one long and one short. Raffles (Vol. II p. 91) says that the Javanese, in full war costume, carry three, one on each side and one behind, one being a weapon of his own selection, one a *pĕsaka* heirloom, and one given to him on his marriage by his father-in-law, this last being worn on the left side for immediate use. Chester states that in the Peninsula it

is the *kĕris* of the man's own choice which is worn on the left side. In ordinary dress, Raffles (see Pl: XII, XIII & XIV) says that every Javanese carries one *kĕris*, and in Court dress a knife of the kind called *wedung* is worn on the left side and one *kĕris* stuck in the waist band, behind on the right side: in his illustration the *kĕris* hilt projects in front of the right elbow. In other plates he shows 'a Madurese' wearing the *kĕris* behind but with its hilt projecting behind the wearer's left arm and 'A Regent of Java, in undress' wears it behind. Crawfurd, History of Indian Archipelago, I p. 213, says 'in full dress, 2 or 3 or even 4 *kĕris* are worn: their value and beauty are a test of rank and wealth'. In a photograph published in a Japanese paper in 1943 or 1944 showing the three great princes of Java at a meeting with the Japanese C. in C. or Governor of Java, each wears a short *kĕris*, perpendicular, in his belt at the middle of his back.

The laws of Malacca—and doubtless other states had their own similar regulations—laid down rules as to who might wear a *kĕris* with a gold hilt or sheath encased in gold, when the tip of the hilt was to be worn, in peaceful fashion, turned towards the body, or when, ready for action, with the tip pointing outwards, and again when, at Court, the hilt was to be concealed under a fold of the sarong.

Execution by the kĕris.

In some cases the Sultan sent his own *kĕris* to be used at an execution, to signify his consent or approval.

The condemned man was made to sit but there was no rule as to his being bound: in some cases an assistant may have stood on either side, holding an arm. The executioner stood behind, and placed the point of the *kĕris* on a small pad of cotton-wool behind or over the collar bone on the left side (Newbold, Vol. I p. 237, describes an actual case when the *kĕris* was used on the right side—perhaps the executioner chose whichever was more convenient to himself) the blade being held perpendicular, and it was then driven down to the heart. The sentence may have directed that the thrust should be made quickly or slowly. The use of the cotton-wool was important, it was to prevent a flow of blood, and was held in place with one hand as the blade was withdrawn. Caldecot, in his paper on Jelebu states that only the Ruler could use the beheading sword for executions, as it shed blood: the Pĕnghulu could use the *kĕris* with its pad of wool.

Acknowledgements.

I have to express my thanks to Professor E. Evans-Pritchard of the Institute of Social Anthropology, Oxford, and to Miss P. H.

Puckle, the Secretary and librarian of the Institute, for permission to make use of its rooms and library, which includes many books from the library of Professor W. W. Skeat, some of which bear copious marginal notes by him. I also owe a great deal to Enche' Abu Bakar bin Pawanchee of the Raffles Museum, Singapore, who not only gave me valuable criticisms and suggestions, but typed out the whole of my somewhat illegible Mss, and prepared the line drawings and illustrations which do so much to elucidate the text. To the Secretary of the Royal Batavian Society I am indebted for a note on the temple sculptures in Java, and references to various books and papers: unfortunately I have not been able to consult these, as I am not at present within reach of the Raffles Library or any similar institution.

G. C. Woolley.

Note on the illustrations.

Most of the drawings have been made from specimens in Raffles Museum, Singapore. Some have been based on prints from certain publications because of expediency or where there are no such specimens in the museum. Where these occur, only essential points have been taken. For example, plates XII, XIII, and XIV have been made from Raffles' History of Java with the background and all unnecessary details left out. In plate XV a member of the museum staff kindly held the *kĕris* in the required positions.

The following list shows from what publications some of the drawings have been based and are therefore acknowledged as such:—

Plate II. Nederlandsch Indie, Oud en Nieuw, 1936. Nos. 1, 2 & 4.

Plate III. Nederlandsch Indie, Oud en Nieuw, 1936. Nos. 1, 2 & 3.

Plate XII. Raffles' History of Java. Nos. 1 & 2.

Plate XIII. Raffles' History of Java. Nos. 1 & 2.

Plate XIV. Raffles' History of Java. Nos. 1 & 2.

All the text figures have been drawn from the museum specimens.

Abu Bakar bin Pawanchee.

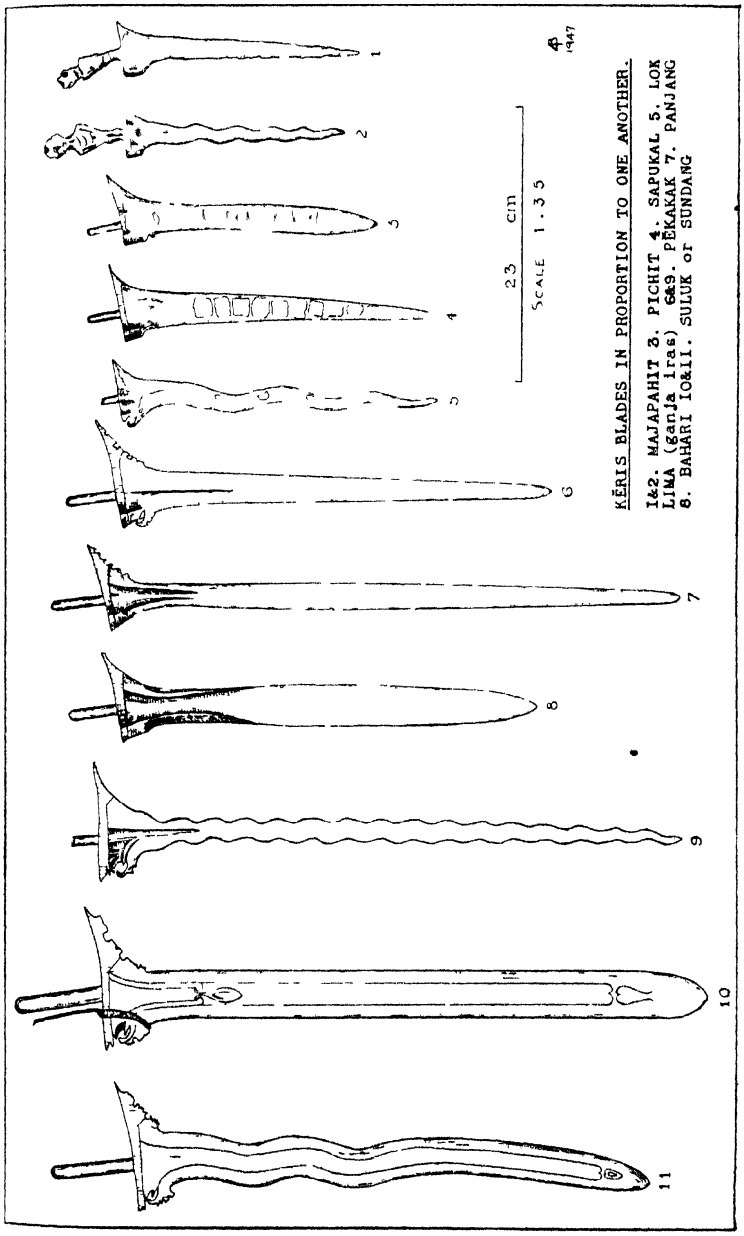


PLATE I. Types of Kĕris Blades.

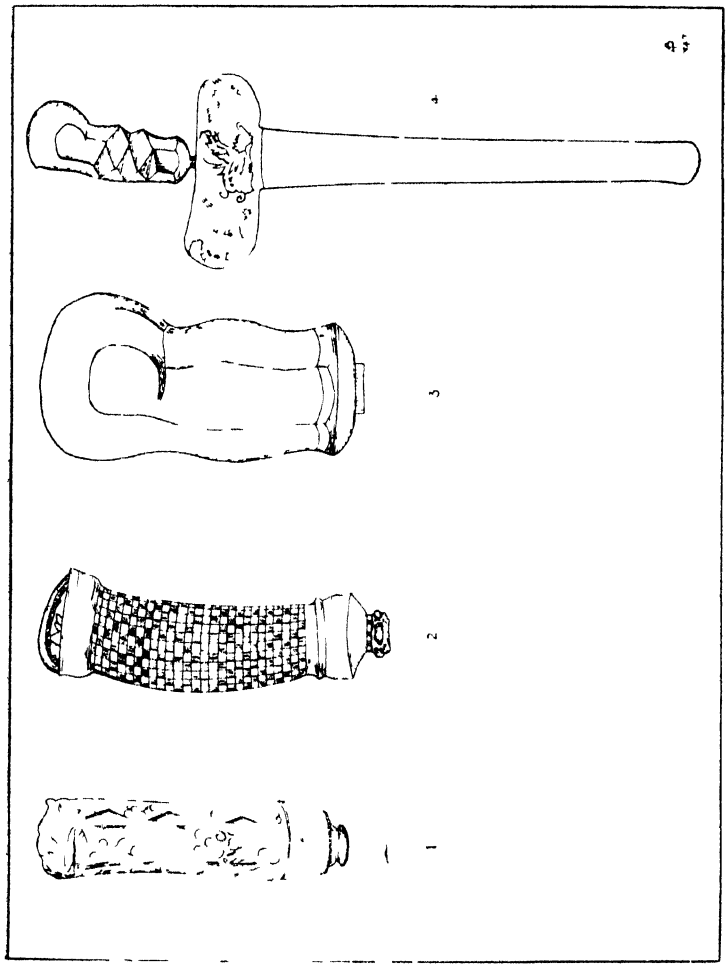


PLATE II. Development of Balinese Kĕris Hilts, No. 4 with Sheath.

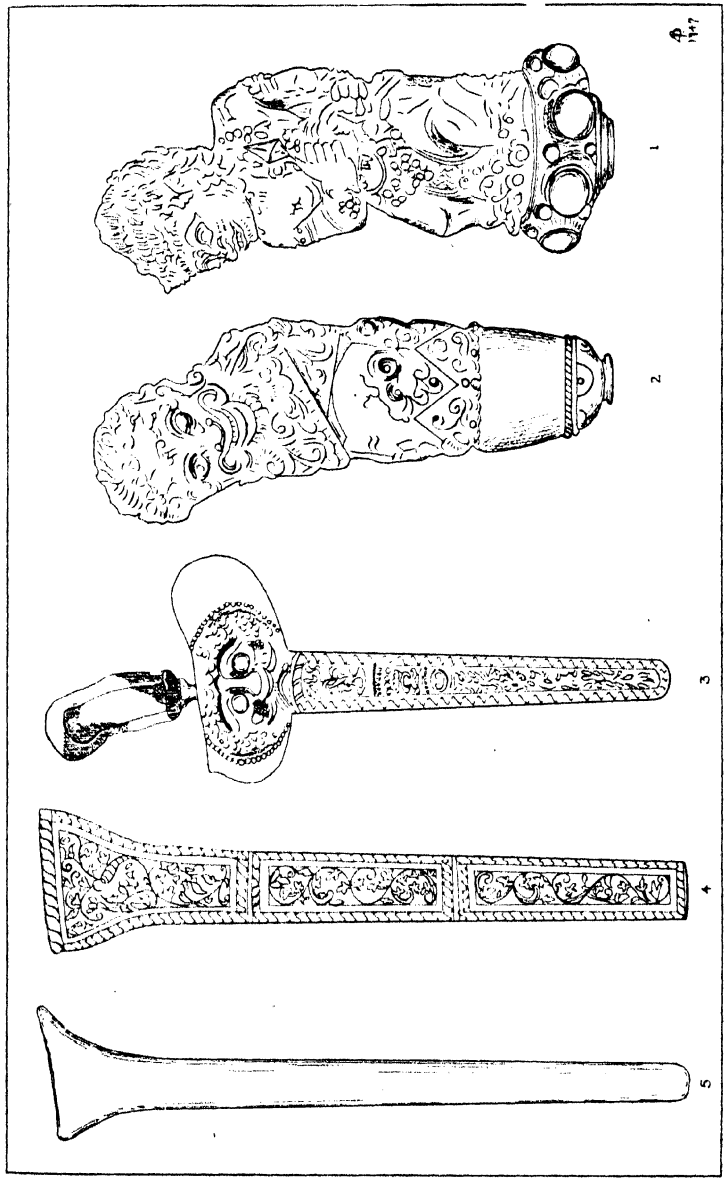


PLATE III. Development of Madurese Kĕris Hilts and Sheaths.

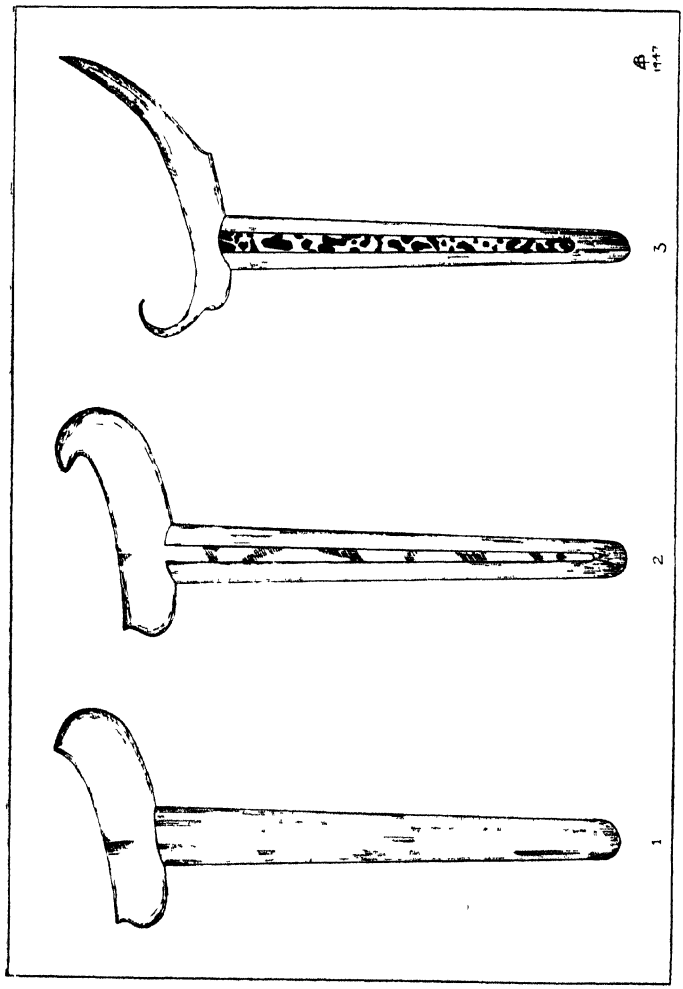


PLATE IV. Development of Javanese Kĕris Sheaths, (1) Metal Casing, Batang, (2) Metal Casing and Panel Wood Grain, (3) Metal Casing and Panel Showing Tortoise-Shell.

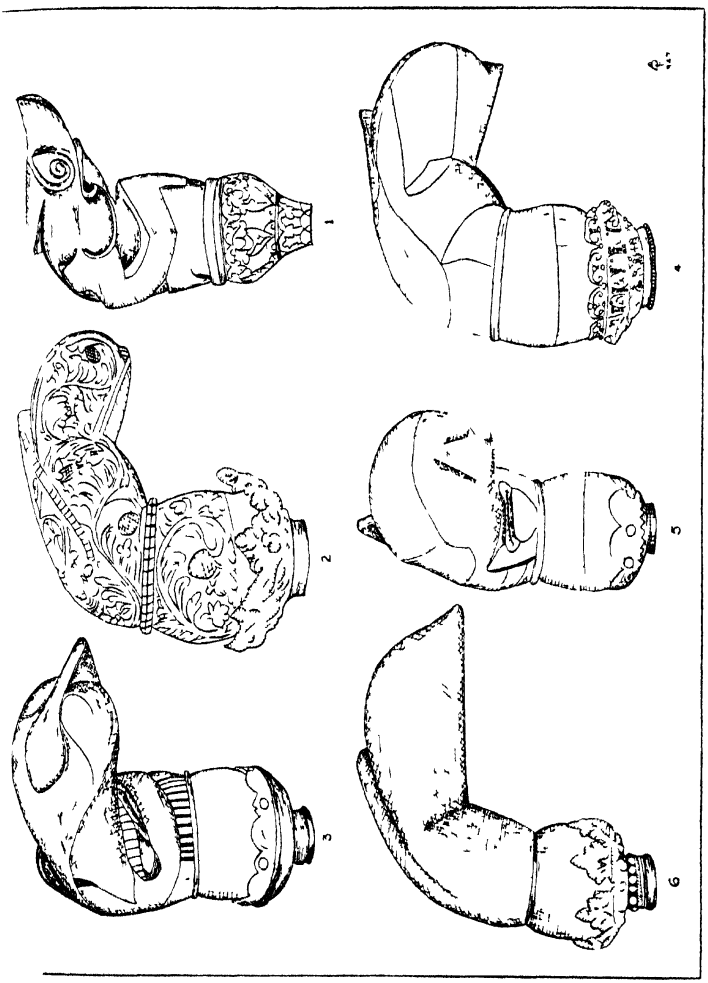


PLATE V. Development of Java Dĕnam Kĕris Hilts, (1) Very Human", (2) Foliated, (3) Cobra or Hooded, (4) Plain Type with Lines (Side View), (5) Plain Type (Front View), (6) Plainest Type with Lines.

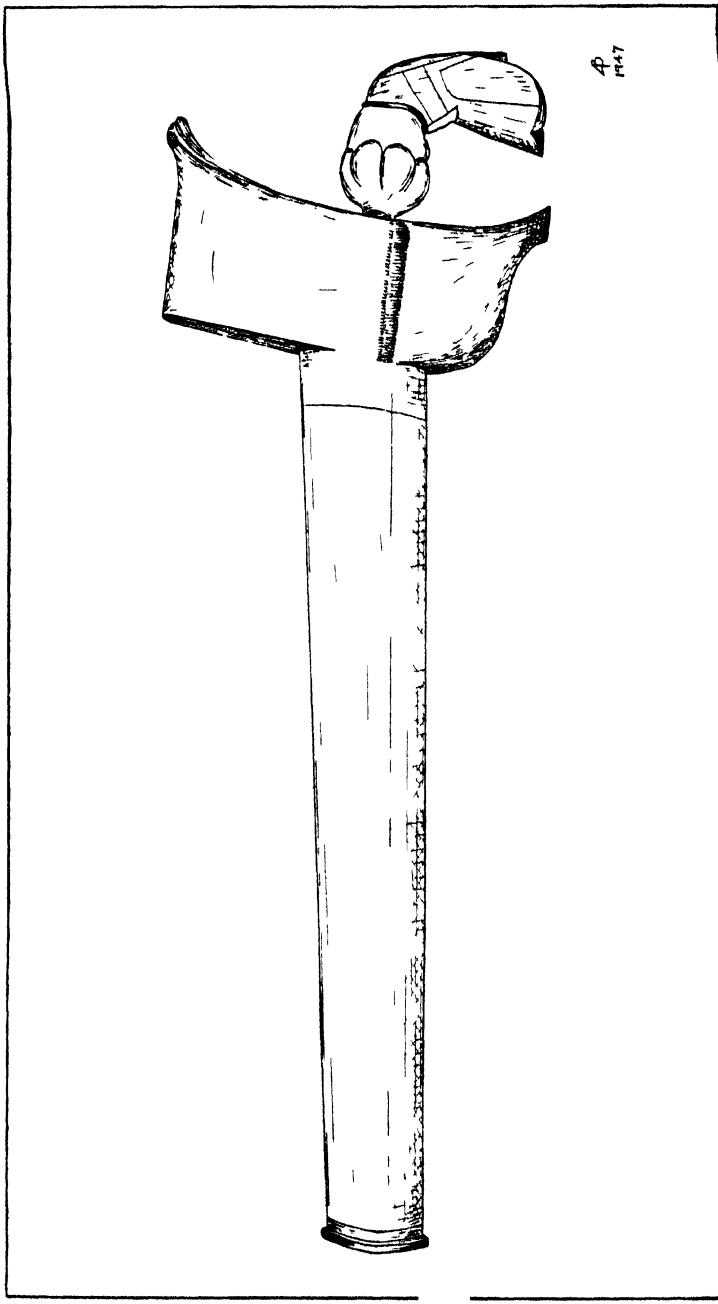


PLATE VI. Kĕris in Sheath, Peninsular Type.

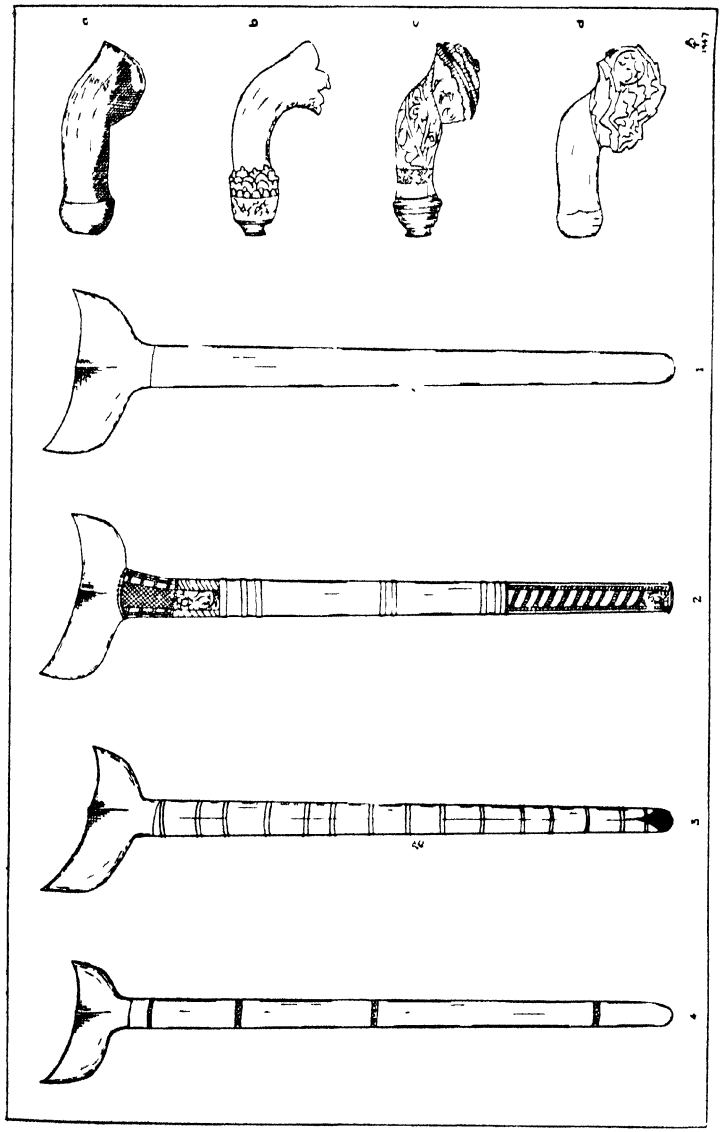


PLATE VII. Development of Sumatran Kĕris Panjang Hilts and Sheaths.

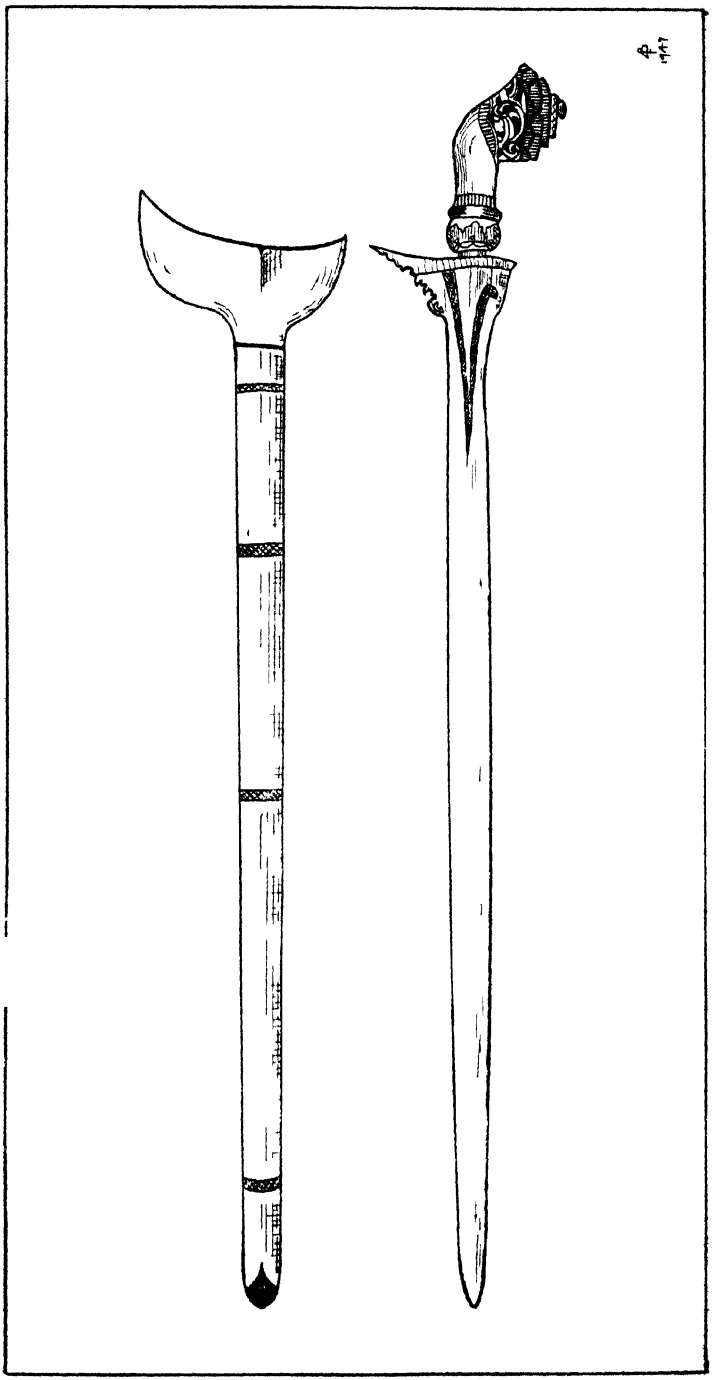


PLATE VIII. Sumatran Kĕris Panjang and Sheath.

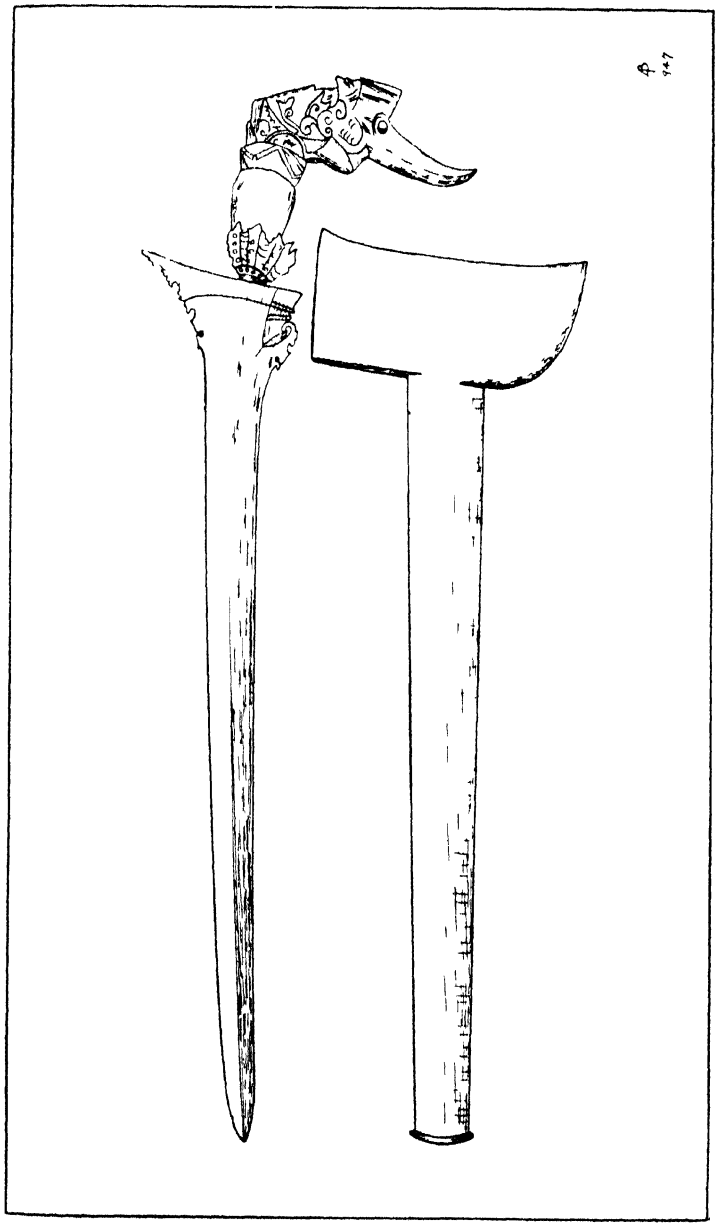


PLATE IX. Kĕris Pĕkakak and Sheath (Patani)

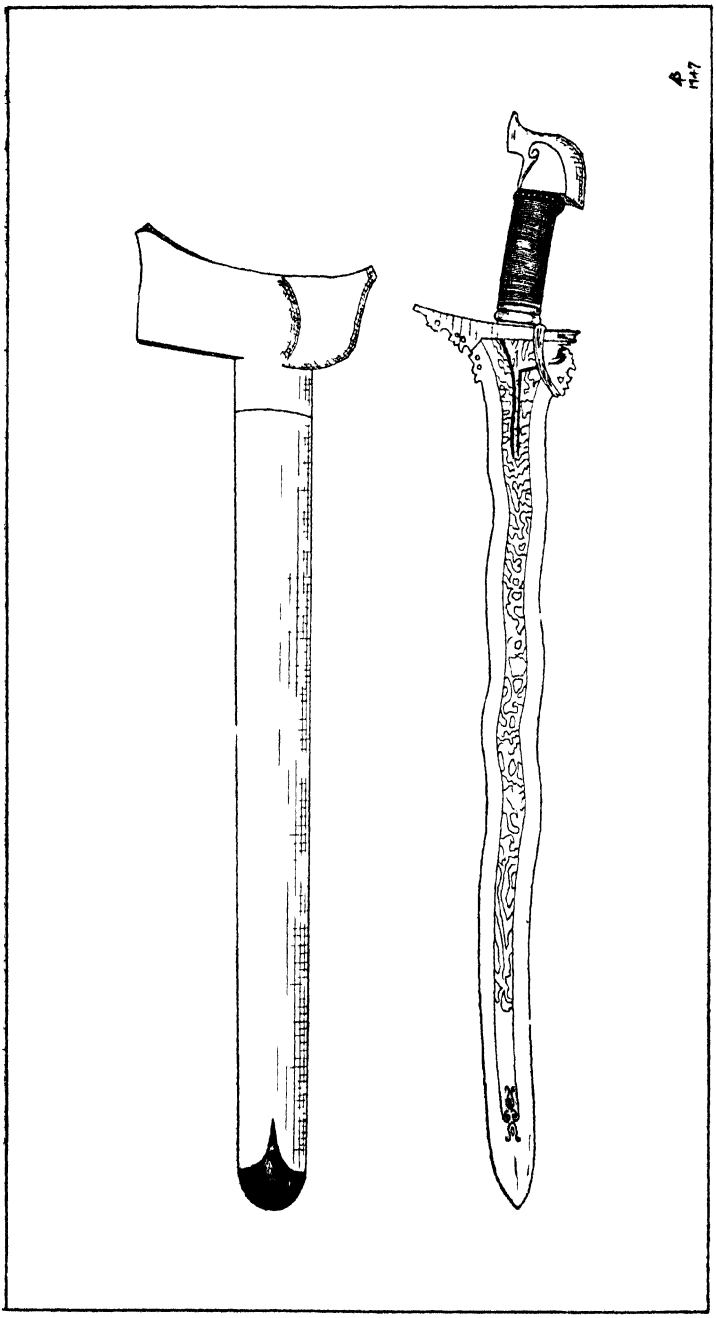


PLATE X. Kĕris Suluk (Sundang) and Sheath.

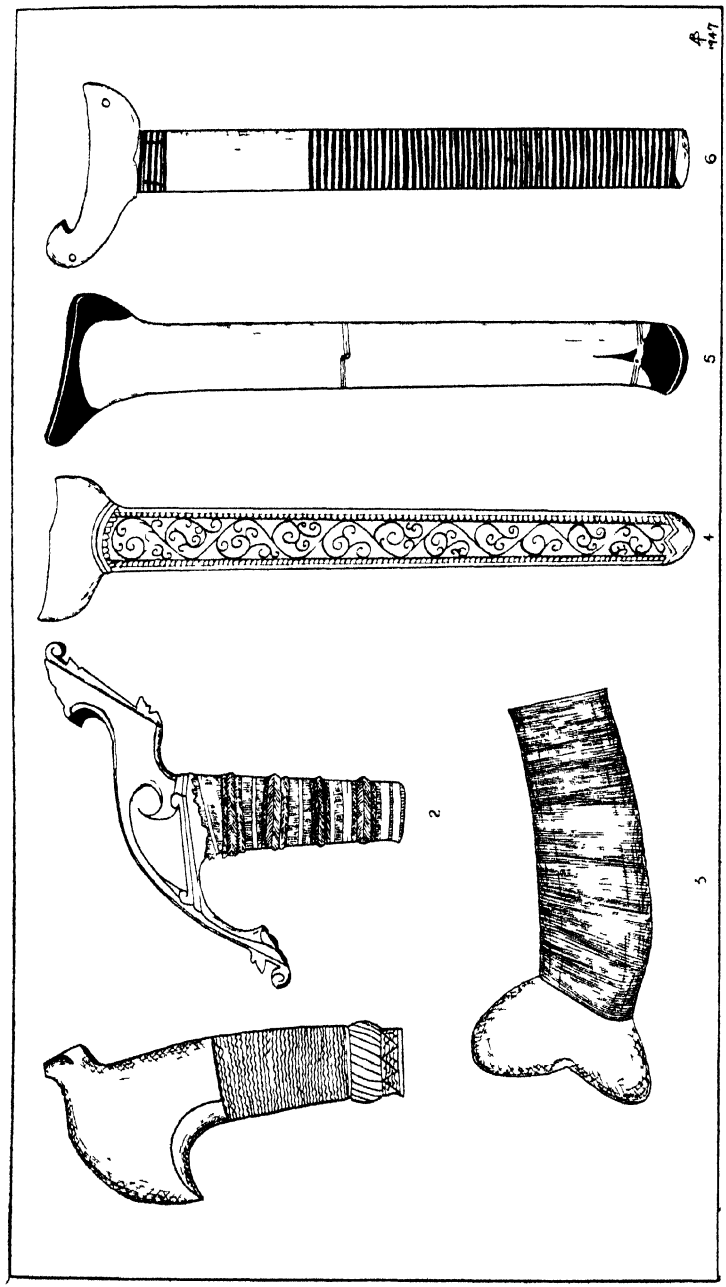


PLATE XI. Types of Kĕris Sulok (Sundang) Hilts and Sheaths.

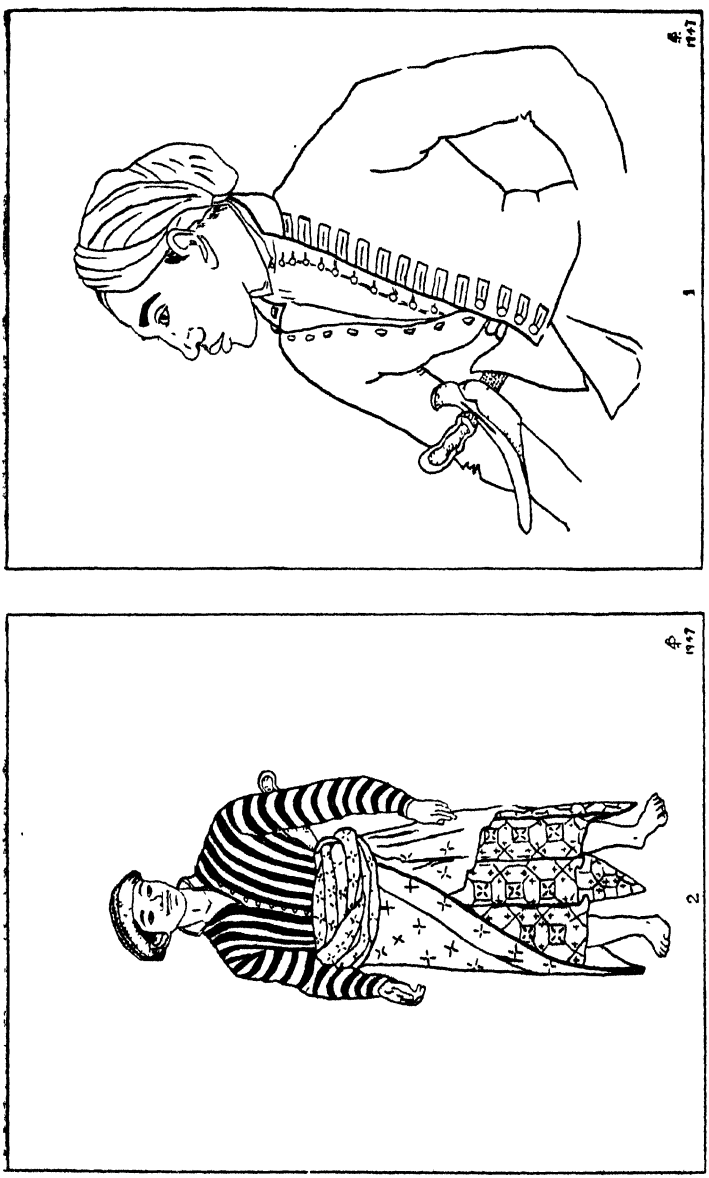


PLATE XII. (1) Raden (Javanese Prince) Wearing Kĕris.
(2) Mĕntri (Madurese State Minister) Wearing Kĕris.

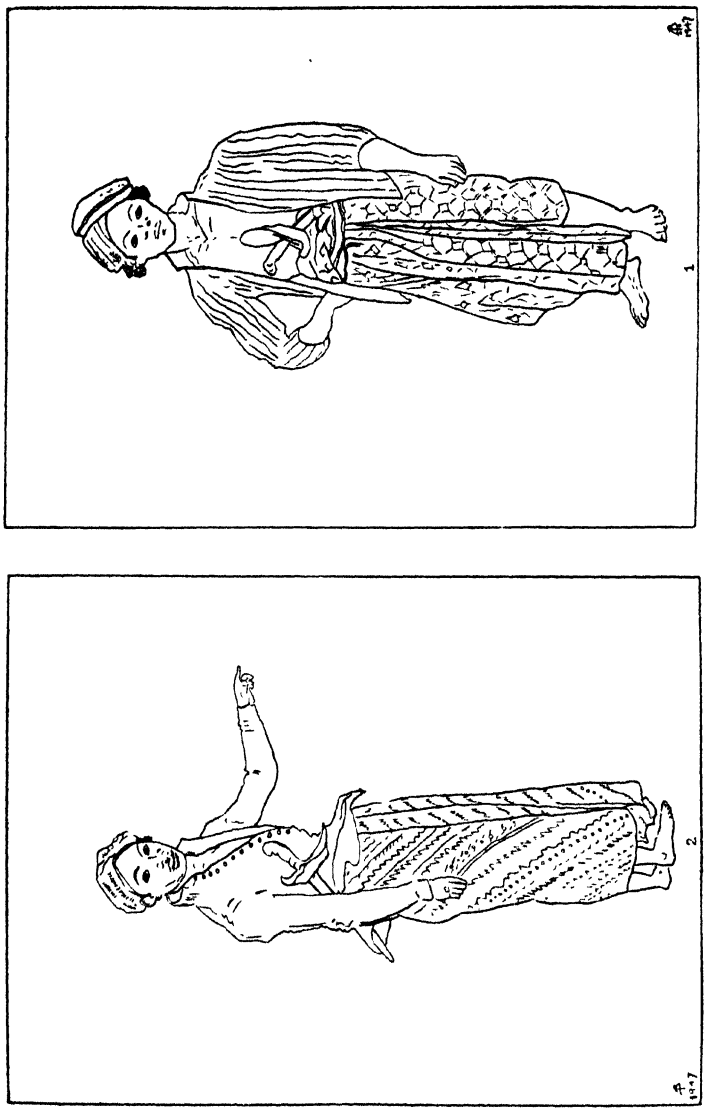


PLATE XIII. (1) Javanese Peasant Wearing Kĕris.
(2) Javanese Chief Wearing Kĕris.

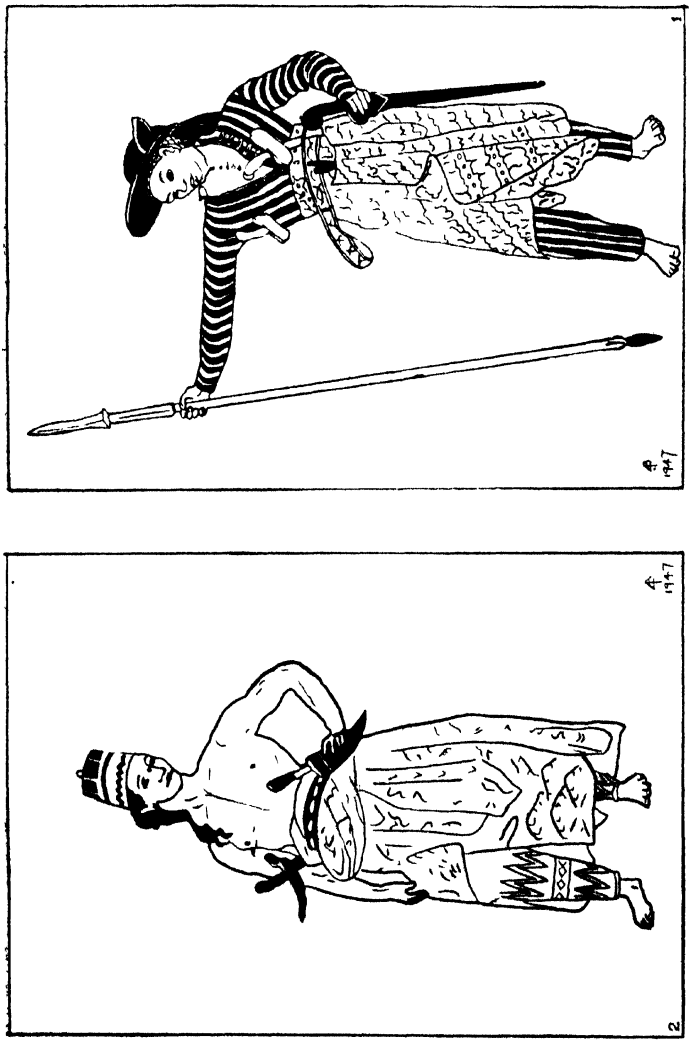


PLATE XIV. (1) Javanese Warrior Wearing Two Kĕris.
(2) Javanese in Court Dress, Wearing Kĕris & Wedung.

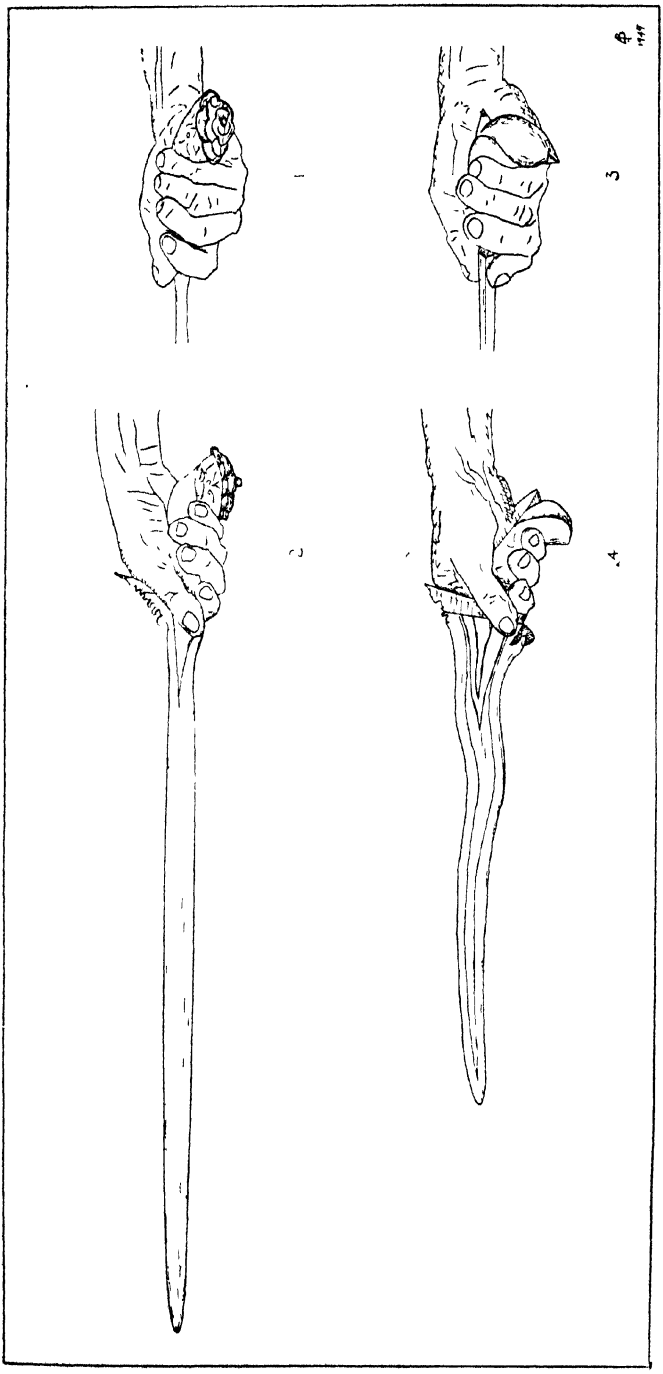


PLATE XV. Grip of, (1) Kĕris Panjang seen from below, (2) with arm outstretched, (3) Common Kĕris, seen from below, (4) with arm outstretched.

Glossary of Kĕris Terms.

Alang: medium. K. Alang, a Sumatran type of medium length. (Also called *K. Anak Alang,* Skeat).

Angit: (Bajau) the wire or rotan binding round the grip of the *K. Suluk* hilt.

Aring: fretted work under the pointed end of the *ganja.*

Asang-asang: (Bajau) the metal hook or ring that helps to fasten the blade of the *K. Suluk* to the hilt. See also *Lakai-lakai* and *Sigi.*

Awak: = *kambing kachang.* (G. C. W., Brunei).

Awar = *pĕnongkok.* (G. C. W.)

Bahari: a complimentary term 'good'. v. *K. Bahari.*

Bari: a variant for *Bahari.*

Batang: the part of the sheath which covers the blade = *sarong* (Dennys).

Batir-batir: gold loop ornament on the *kĕris* sheath through which the *tali-tali* passes.

Bawah: *b. kĕris,* the metal cup at the base of k. hilt.

Bawang: a bulb. v. *K. Bawang.*

Beka: a name for *Pĕtai* tree. v. *K. Buah Beka.*

Bekang: *K. Sudu Bekang,* a trowel-like k.

Bĕlalai: elephant's trunk. A projection on the *ganja* of a *kĕris* under the *dagu.* = *Tulale* (Java) or *Kuku Alang.*

Bĕlurah: a groove in k. blade. (Skeat).

Bĕrlok: wavy, sinuous, of k. blade.

Bĕrpamur: damascened.

Bĕsi: iron or steel.

Betala: (mentioned in Newbold, in MSS quoted but not explained).

Buntu: a metal sheath casing with no slit in it (Gardner).

Buntut: posterior, butt-end: *chap* of a k. sheath = *sampak sarong k.*

Chamang: chap of k. sheath (= *buntut*) when made of precious metal and adorned.

Chĕrita: *K. Cherita* a k. with 9 or more waves (Skeat, 13-19).

Chichak: lizard. *Kĕpala c.* Corner of the collar guard guard (*ganja*) of a k.

Choban: a rough needle of horn or bamboo. v. *K. Choban.*

Dagu: chin, the short broad end of the *ganja* in a k. *Burok Dagu,* the rough natural corner under the *ganja Rĕtak Burok Dagu,* a 'lucky' crack under the *ganja.*

Dongkok: = *pĕndongkok,* metal cup at base of hilt.

Dulang-dulang: metal cup at base of k. hilt.

Duri Pandan: ornamentation on top of a k. blade, at back (Skeat), (? = *janggut*).

Ekor buaya: crocodile tail; a tool use in k. making.

Ekor Udang: prawn's tail; the back, long pointed end, of a *ganja* (Skeat).

Gabus: *K. Tĕrapang Gabus,* a k. with the whole sheath, including the *sampir,* covered with gold plate.

Gandik: top of k. blade, under the *dagu* (Gardner. ? *gandin*).

Ganja: Collar guard on k. blade: if made in one piece with the blade, *G. iras;* if separately, *G. mĕnumpang*; if made with a fretted pattern on the underside, *G. rawan, G. bĕrkĕrawang.*

Harubi: a k. with a golden hilt, also *mĕrubi.*

Hujong: the point, tip, of a blade, also *ujong.*

Hulu: the head, handle, hilt, also *ulu.*

Iras: parent stock, original block, v. *Ganja iras.*

Janggut: beard: the fretted edge at the top of the blade under the *aanja* (Raffles).

Kachang-kachang: ornamentation on top of k. blade, in front (Skeat). (? = *janggut*).

Kalok: a crook, bend *lok, kelok, K. Bĕrkalok,* a wavy sinuous k.

Kambing kachang: the hollow in the middle of the blade just under the *ganja* (Gardner). also *awak* (G. C. W. Brunei.)

Kenchana: *ulu* k.: gold-hilted.

Kĕris: the Malay dagger, also spelt, in English books, kris, kriss, creese, crease.

Kĕris: the following meanings, where not otherwise stated, are those given in Wilkinson's M-E dictionary. A number of other Javanese names are also given on the plate showing 41 'common' varieties in Raffles' History of Java.

K. Anak Alang: another name for *K. Alang* (Skeat).

K. Andus: a *K. Suluk* with 21 or more waves (Banks).

K. Anjur: Brunei name for the *K. Panjang* of Sumatra. (G. C. W.)

K. Apit Liang: a *K. Suluk* with 5 waves. (Banks).

K. Bahari: a k. with a long narrow straight blade, Sumatran or Patani.

K. Bari: ? = *Bahari.*

K. Bawang: or *Bawang sa-Bongkol,* a gold-handle k.

K. Bĕlingkong: a K. Suluk with 3 waves (Banks).

K. Bĕrkalok: a wavy, sinuous k.

K. Bĕrlok: a wavy, sinuous k.

K. Bĕrpamur: a k. with a laminated or damasked blade.

K. Bĕrsalut: a k. with a metal sheathing on the scabbard.

K. Buah Beka: a trowel-like k. with a blade like *Pĕtai* fruit, i.e. broad and rounded. (a k. with a rounded point Gardner).

K. Bugis: a k. of which the handle stands out at right angles.

K. Chĕrita: a k. with 9 or more waves. (Skeat, in note on Newbold, with 11-13 waves; in note in Wilkinson's dictionary, with 13-19 waves).

K. Choban: a k. with twin grooves down the centre of the blade, leaving a needle-like projection down the centre (Gardner).

K. Gajah Tikor (? Likor): a k. with one wave *di-pangkal* (Skeat).

K. Hanuman: a k. with a monkey head under the *dagu*.
K. Harubi: a k. with a gold hilt, also *mĕrubi*.
K. Jalak Jantan: a straight k. which has no *kachang-kachang* (Skeat).
K. Jalar Jantan: a k. with blade set at a slight angle to the hilt (Gardner).
K. Jawa Dĕmam
K. Jawa Dingin
K. Jawa Gigil
K. Jawa Sĕjok
} a k. with a hilt of the 'fevered Javanese' type, or 'Garuda' or 'Cobra' or *raksaksa* (demon) type.
K. Jĕnoya: a *Kĕris Suluk* with 7 waves (Banks).
K. Kakatua: a k. with a cockatoo hilt.
K. Lamba: a k. with 3 waves *di-tĕngah* (Skeat).
K. Langsuyar Bisa: (Wilkinson, s. v. *'Kĕris'* not explained).
K. Lemona: a k. with 21-31 waves (Skeat).
K. Majapahit: earliest form of k.; hilt and blade in one piece.
K. Mĕlela: a k. with a plain steel, undamasked blade.
K. Mĕrubi: a gold-hilted k.; also *harubi*.
K. Naga: a k. with a dragon down the centre of the blade.
K. Pajajaran: = *K. Majapahit*.
K. Pandak: a short k. of Sumatran type.
K. Panjang: the long Sumatran type k.
K. Parong:
K. Parong Sari:
} a k. with 7 or less waves. (Skeat, with 3 waves, or, elsewhere 15-29 or 21-29 waves).
K. Pasupati: a Javanese type k. (illus. in Raffles).
K. Patani: the Patani type k.
K. Pĕkakak: the Kingfisher hilted Patani type k.
K. Pĕndek: = *K. Pandak*.
K. Pĕndok: a k. with gold casing at bottom of scabbard.
K. Pĕndua: a second or reserve k.
K. Pĕnimbul: a k. with 5 waves (Skeat).
K. Pĕnyalang: the long Sumatran execution k.
K. Pichit: a k. with 'finger-marks' showing on the blade.
K. Raja Laut: a *K. Suluk* with a straight blade (Banks).
K. Rantai: a *K. Suluk* with 9-19 waves (Banks).
K. Rĕntu: Brunei name for Sumatran type k. with many waves (G. C. W.)
K. Sapukul: a straight-bladed k.
K. Sĕmpana: a wavy, sinuous k. with 3, 5 or 7 waves. (5-7 Gardner).
K. Sĕmpana Kĕling: a k. with 3 waves (Gardner).
K. Sĕmpana Bisu: a straight k. (Skeat).
K. Sonak Udang: a 3-waved royal k. in Raman. *Sonak* = sting.
K. Sudu Bekang: 'cake-spoon', a trowel-shaped type of k.
K. Suluk: the Sulu sword-*kĕris*, also called *sundang*.
K. Surau: (Wilkinson, s. v. *'kĕris'* but not explained.)
K. Tajang: = *K. Patani*. vide Tajang.
K. Tambang Sarai: a k. with 13 or 15 waves (Gardner).

K. Tĕjewa: = *K. Tĕrjewa.*
K. Tĕrapang: a k. with gold casing on whole sheath except the *sampir.* (in Menangkabau, on whole sheath).
K. Tĕrapang Gabus: a k. with gold casing over the *whole* sheath (including the *sampir*).
K. Tĕrjewa: a k. with 5 waves, in Perak regalia (Winstedt); with 1 wave *di-ujong* (Skeat); with 3 waves *di-ujong* (Skeat).
K. Tĕtarapan: a k. with a hollow along the blade.
K. Tuasik: a k. with 7-9 waves (Skeat).
Khĕrsani: *bĕsi* k. irong from Persian Gulf, Khorasan.
Kuku Alang: 'hawk claw' *bĕlalai gajah.*
Kukut: *tulang k.* raised rib down centre of blade.

Lakai-lakai: (Brunei) the metal hook or ring that helps to fasten the blade of the *K. Suluk* to the hilt, see also *Asang-asang* and *Sigi.*
Lambai: *lambai gajah* = elephant's tusk, a projection on the *ganja* end of k. blade – *lidah tiong.*
Lidah Tiong: Tiong's tongue = *lambai gajah*, above the *bĕlalai gajah.*
Lok: a wave in a k. blade.

Majapahit: Hindu-Javanese state, 1294-1400.
Mata: eye. Blade or cutting edge of weapon; the point, tip.
Mĕlela: undamasked.
Mĕrubi: gold-hilted = harubi.

Pajajaran: Javanese kingdom, 1300-1500 (associated like Majapahit with the oldest k.)
Paksi: the tang of a blade = *puting* or *tangkai.*
Pamur: mixed i.e. meteoric iron, the damask on a k. made by the use of *bĕsi pamur;* in later times the pattern could be controlled and ornamented damasks be produced.
Pandak: short = *pĕndek*, especially of the short Sumatran type of k.
Panjang: long, especially of the long Sumatran rapier-*kĕris.*
Parong: sinuous. *K. Parong* with exceptional number of waves, with 21-29 waves (Skeat). cf. *Parong Sari.* (Wilkinson, 7 or less waves — ? a misprint). *Hikayat Hang Tuah* mentions a *K. Parong Sari* with 11 waves.
Pasupati: a name of a Javanese type of k.
Patani: *Kĕris P.* the 'kingfisher-hilt' type.
Pĕkakak: Kingfisher. *K. Pĕkakak* = the Patani k.
Pĕmendak: the cup-like ring at base of k. hilt = *pĕnongkok, pĕndongkok.*
Pĕndek: short = *pandak*, especially of short Sumatran type of k.
Pĕndok: metal casing on lower part of *kĕris* sheath.
Pĕndongkok: the cup-like ring at base of k. hilt. = *pĕnongkok.*
Pĕndua: *K. Pĕndua*, a second or reserve k.
Pĕnimbul: *K. Pĕnimbul*, a k. with 5 waves. (Skeat).
Pĕnongkok: = *pĕndongkok.*
Pĕnyalang:: *K. Pĕnyalang*, the long execution k.

Pichit: *K. Pichit*, a k. forged by finger pressure.
Puting: the head or shank of a blade.

Rĕtak: a crack or crack-marking on k. *R. Bandut*, near the *aring*, is lucky; *R. Dagu Burok* at broad end of *ganja*, in a straight k. *R. Mayat*, 'Corpse grooves' (Skeat, Malay Magic, p. 30) start from the base of the blade.

Sampak: *S. Sampak* = *Buntut*, chap of Sheat.
Sampir: *Sampiran*, the cross-piece of k. sheath.
Sapukal: *K. Sapukal*, a straight k. (Peninsula). Javanese *sapukal* (v. illust. in Raffles Hist. of Java) is not always straight; also = *ganja iras*, a k. hammered out of one piece — *sapukal* — without a separate piece added as *ganja*.
Sari: flower-like. *K. Parong Sari*, a k. of 5 or 7 waves (Wilkinson) vide *'Parong'*.
Sarong: sheath, strictly the part covering the blade as distinct from the *sampir* and *buntut*.
Sĕlarak: a metal sheath casing with a slit closed at the top (Gardner).
Sĕmpana: *K. Sĕmpana*, a sinuous k. with 3, 5 or 7 waves (Skeat, 5 waves).
Sigi: band of thin metal roung a k. sheath. Also (Gardner) the metal hook that helps to fasten the blade of the *K. Saluk* to the hilt. See also *Asang-asang* and *Lakai-lakai*.
Silang: cross-wise; *Silang k.* the long, sharp end of the *ganja*.
Sudu: *S. Bekang*, a variety of k. with a short broad blade.
Sundang: the Sulu *K. Saluk*.
Surau: the name of the traditional maker of the *K. Pichit*.

Tajang: kicking with the heel; *K. Tajang*, a name for the *K. Patani* because it was worn at the back and could be 'kicked up' to be drawn over the shoulder. Also (Skeat) a k. with 3 waves.
Tangkai: stalk, the tang of a blade = *puting*, *paksi*.
Tapeh: a metal sheath casing with a slit in it (Gardner).
Tedas: the cutting edge of a k. covered with wax when the blade is treated with acid to bring out the *pamur* (Skeat).
Telutu: the centre part of blade, treated with acid to bring out the *pamur* (Skeat).
Tĕrapang: a gold casing over the sheath of a Malay k.; if it covers the *sampir* also, it is *K. Tĕrapang Gabus*; in Menangkabau *tĕrapang* covers the whole.
Tĕrasek: a k. with 9-13 waves (Skeat).
Tĕtĕrapan: *K. Tĕtĕrapan*, a k. with a hollow along the blade.
Tuah: *bĕrtuah*, lucky, luck-giving, of a talisman, etc.
Tulang: bone; the raised centre rib down the blade (Gardner) or *kukut*.
Tuli-tuli: the silver — or gold-thread loop attach to sheath of k.
Tuntong: the point of a k.

Warangka: = *sampir* (Javanese), the cross-piece of a sheath.

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* * * * * *

The Secretary of the Royal Batavia Society has sent me the following list of works in Dutch concerning the Temple Sculptures:—

(A). ON TJANDI SUKUH:

DR. MARTHA A. MUUSSES, De oudheden te Soekoeh, (with photographs of Bima forging the Kĕris).

"DJAWA", (a monthly magazine), September, 1924. Further illustrations on the same subject.

DR. W. F. STUTTERHEIM. Enkele oudheden van Java en elders, Chapter I "Bijl of Koedi", (illustrated as before) in "Djawa" 1936.

(B). ON TJANDI PANATARAN:

DR. J. L. A. BRANDES, Beschrijving van Tjandi Singasari en de wolkenteeneelen van Panataran, Batavia, 1909.

DR. W. F. STUTTERHEIM, Rama-legenden und Rama-reliefs in Indonesia, Teil. II. Die Rama-reliefs van Panataran.

A search in the "Oudheidkundig Verslag" (reports of the Government Archaeological Services), might also produce references.

A Note on Sai

By W. LINEHAN

The Portuguese writer, d'Eredia, writing in 1613 A.D. mentioned the river *Cea* as a gold-producing area. Cea has been identified by Mr. Justice Mills in his translation of d'Eredia (J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. VIII, Pt. I, 1930) with the Sai or Telubin delta in Patani.

The late Mr. V. B. C. Baker (J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. XV, Pt. I, pp. 27-8) unwittingly referred to my "History of Pahang" (J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. XIV, Pt. II, 1936) in such terms as would lead it to be believed that I had made mention of Sai therein. Mr. Anker Rentse (J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. XX, Pt. I, 1947, pp. 24-5), following Mr. Baker's account, also credits me with the mention of Sai. In fact there is not a single reference to Sai in my "History".

Mr. Baker appears to have thought that when the Malays spoke of *orang Siam* they meant "the men of Sai". But, although Sai was a territory situated within the jurisdiction of Siam, the Malays never confused the names *Siam* and *Sai*. To them *Sai* meant the territory of that name in Siam, while *Siam* meant the country of Siam (and *orang Siam* meant the men of the country of Siam, from whatever stock they came).

Although Mr. Baker's conjecture that, in the eyes of the Malays, the word *Siam* was equivalent to Sai is not correct, it is highly probable that he is right in his view that it was miners from Sai, entering Pahang by the Galas river and by Pulai (the route followed by the pre-war eastern railway) who played a notable part in developing some of the gold-fields in Ulu Pahang. In the Mukim of Gua, in the vicinity of the gold-field of the river Tui—prehistoric finds in which were described by Mr. Tweedie in J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. XX, Pt. I, 1947—is a place-name, *Gua Sai*, "the Cave of Sai."

Sai, at one period, was included in the kingdom of Patani. The rebellion of Patani against Siam in 1830—1831 resulted in its dismemberment into the petty States of Sai, Legeh, Jala, Jaring, Reman (or Raman), Nongchik and the present attenuated province of Patani.

The Sources of the Shellabear Text of the Malay Annals

By W. LINEHAN

Shellabear, in the introduction to his Jawi edition of the Malay Annals, (Singapore, 1896), mentions the materials on which he based his text. These were as follows:

(1) Leyden's translation, London, 1821, (to which further reference is made below).

(2) A copy of an edition printed in Singapore (probably at the Mission Press subsequent to the year 1831) and obtained by Shellabear in the Logan Library, Singapore. It was without either date, imprint or title page, but had an introduction, probably by Abdullah Munshi, who, however, did not indicate the source from which he got his materials. "The text of this old Singapore edition has ever since been considered as the standard". Shellabear based his edition mainly on this text.

(3) An uncompleted revised edition by M. Ed. Dulaurier (Imprimerie Nationale, Paris, 1849) almost identical with (2), but written after comparison with Leyden's translation, and with a MS. "A" which Pijnappel, in his account of the Malay MS. in the Leiden Library, considered to be the best of the MS. of the Malay Annals in that collection.

(4) The first volume of a French translation by M. L. Marcel Devic (Paris, 1878).

(5) An edition, printed in Holland in 1884, reproduced from (2) but with parts of Abdullah's introduction and sections of the text omitted.

(6) W. E. Maxwell's MS. which bears the copyist's date 1266 A.H. and in which "Quotations in Arabic and Javanese are for the most part omitted."

(7) Munshi Muhammad Ali's MS. Both this and (6) are practically identical with MS. "A" of Dulaurier (which differs very considerably from (2)). From this and from (6) Shellabear obtained additions which had not previously appeared in any published text.

In the Preface to his first (Romanised) edition (Singapore, 1898) Shellabear states that he was able to compare the text of his Jawi edition with an MS. in the possession of Mr. R. J. Wilkinson.

It will be seen, therefore, that although he bases his text mainly on (2) Shellabear has also used the other material specified above. This must be borne in mind when I refer to the "Shellabear text" in my paper "Notes on the Texts of the Malay Annals", which appears in this issue of the Journal.

Col. James Low, in his translation of the Kedah Annals (*Hikayat Marong Mahawangsa*), wrote the following note regarding Leyden's translation of the Malay Annals:

> "I have for convenience sake used Leyden's Translation of these Annals where it gives the whole of the original (passage) but have reverted on the latter where that is not the case. The *copy* in the Arabic character in my possession, which was purchased from a shop-keeper, seems to have been made about twenty years ago and to have been in the possession of some English orientalist, as it has marginal annotations, where he thought the sense obscure. He states in a note that 'this (Leyden's) translation is merely a free rendering of some of the principal incidents it contains. Ibrahim the Moonshee made a copy of the Salelata Salatin (Malay Annals) at Malacca, and took it with him to Bengal, where he was in the service of Dr. Leyden. Ibrahim read the book to the Doctor and explained the meaning to him, and *he* wrote down what he seems to have considered as worthy of notice. This is the account which Ibrahim gives me. It would indeed be tedious to translate all the prolixity and repetitions of a Malayan author, but this translation is tolerably faithful. There is considerable variation in the Malayan copies.' These remarks seem to me quite justifiable."

Shellabear, it appears, was not aware of this reference to Leyden's translation which may also have escaped the notice of other commentators on the texts of the Malay Annals.

Notes on the Texts of the Malay Annals

By W. LINEHAN

The text of the Malay Annals recorded in MS. No. 18 of the Raffles Collection in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, was published in romanised script by Sir Richard Winstedt in J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. XVI. Pt. III, 1938. The *body* of this text is, on good grounds, considered to be one of the earliest, if not the earliest, version of the Annals, in the composite form in which we know them, yet discovered, and to have been written before 1536 A.D.[1] The *Preface* to the text was written in 1612—1613. The view here put forward is that, not only the body, but the Preface is, in all respects, among the earliest and the least corrupt that we possess. Here, too, is discussed the identification of the place called *Goa* in the Shellabear Preface of the Annals.[2]

Following are the relevant extracts from the Prefaces of Raffles No. 18 and of Shellabear.[3]

1 The first written material (pedigrees etc.) which formed a basis for the chronicle that ultimately emerged as the Malay Annals, though in the Malay language, must have been expressed in an Indian alphabet or an alphabet derived from an Indian such as the Old Javanese script. Before the introduction of Islam this earlier alphabet was used in Malaya. One result of its replacement by the Arabic script was that any Malay records written in the earlier script, if they did survive, though in the Malay language, could not be read (or could only indifferently be read) by Malay writers almost certainly by the end of the 15th century. When was the earlier alphabet in use in Malaya replaced by Arabic? We may get an indication of the date from the "ordeal" stone in the ancient pre-Muslim and Muslim graveyard at Pengkalan Kempas in Negri Sembilan. On two faces of this stone is commemorated, in the Malay language, in Arabic script, the death in 1467 A.D. of a chief. On the two other faces, prefaced by a religious invocation in Arabic script, is a record of the same event written in the Old Javanese alphabet, in the Malay language but interspersed with Javanese words. The date on the tombstone (1467 A D) seems to provide the turning date by which the earlier script was replaced by the Arabic as the alphabet generally in use in Malaya. Accounts of the Pengkalan Kempas monuments by Mr. I H N Evans, the late Mr. C Boden Kloss and the late Dr. P V van Stein Callenfels are given in the Journal of the F M S Museums, Vol IX, Pt III, 1921, and Vol. XII, Pt IV, 1927. As to the writing used in Malacca, see the description of that country written in the Hai-Yu (1537)—Groenveldt, "Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca," Second Series, Vol. I, p 246—referring, no doubt, to the period prior to the Portuguese conquest of 1511, where it is said that the people "write with Indian letters".

2 See my note in this issue of the Journal entitled "The sources of the Shellabear Text of the Malay Annals".

3 Words which have no bearing on the present theme and which are not necessary for an understanding of the sense of the passages are omitted.

RAFFLES NO. 18 PREFACE

" sa-ribu dua-puloh ĕsa tahun, pada tahun *du al-awal* (Dal awal) pada dua-bĕlas hari bulan Rabi'u-l-awal pada hari Ahad pada waktu dhoha pada zaman kĕrajaan Paduka Sĕri Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din Ri'ayat Shah.... sĕdang bĕrnĕgĕri di-Pasir Raja, dewasa itu bahawa Sĕri Narawangsa yang bĕrnama Tun Bambang anak Shĕri[4] Agar Raja, Pĕtani, ia-itu datang mĕnjunjongkan titah Yang Pĕrtuan di-Hilir . . .Dĕmikian bunyi-nya titah yang maha mulia itu: 'Bahawa hamba minta di-pĕrbuatkan hikayat pada Bĕndahara, *pada hari pĕrtuturan* (= pĕraturan) sĕgala raja-raja Mĕlayu dĕngan isti'adat-nya supaya di-dĕngar oleh anak chuchu kita yang kĕmudian dari kita dan di-kĕtahui-nya-lah sĕgala pĕrkataan shahadan bĕroleh fa'idah-lah mĕreka itu dari-pada-nya.' Sa-tĕlah fakir . . mĕnĕngar titah yang maha mulia itu maka tĕrjunjong-lah atas batu kĕpala fakir dan bĕrat-lah atas sĕgala anggota fakir. Maka fakir bĕrgunchang-lah diri fakir pada mĕngusahakan.... Maka fakir karang-lah hikayat ini dan fakir himpunkan dari-pada sĕgala riwayat orang tuha-tuha dahulu kala supaya akan mĕnyukakan duli hadhrat bagnda. Maka fakir namaï-nya hikayat ini Sulalatu's—Salatina yaani pĕraturan sĕgala raja-raja."

Following is a translation of this passage:

" in the year 1021, in the year *dal awal*, on the 12th of the month Rabi'u'l-awal[5], on a Sunday at the hour of early forenoon, in the reign of Seri Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din Ri'ayat Shah while he had a settlement at Pasir Raja, at that time Seri Narawangsa, who was named Tun Bambang, son of Sheri Agar Raja, of Patani[6], came bearing a commaand from the Prince Down-stream. This was the Prince's command: 'I ask the Bendahara[7] to make a history about the institutions

4 An archaic from of Sĕri.

5 13 May, 1612.

6 The correct translation is as given above, and not "Sri Akar, the ruler of Patani". The eldest son of the late Raja of Patani is called *Tengku Seri Akar Raja*. The second son, Tengku Mahmud Mohaidin, considers that the original version was probably *Seri Akar 'di-Raja*, the title of a chief. As to the name *Tun Bambang*, see the pedigree of the Orang Kaya Maharaja Perba of Jelai, given on pp. 201—205 of my "History of Pahang" where mention is made of a "Tun Bandan" of Patani, a garbled reference, perhaps, to the same person. The Tun Bambang of Patani mentioned in the Preface may indeed have been a Patani Chief under whose direction miners from Sai (a territory at that time included in Patani) worked the gold-fields on the Tui in Ulu Pahang. The river Tui is in the vicinity of Gua where the associations with Sai are still commemorated in the name *Gua Sai*, "the Caves of Sai". See my paper on *Sai* appearing in this issue of the Journal. Historical contacts betweeff Patani and Pahang at the beginning of the 17th century are dealt with below.

7 Sir Richard Winstedt, in his translation of this Passage (*loc. cit.*, p. 39), omits mention of the word *Bendahara* which appears in the corresponding Malay text.

of all Malay kings and their customs so that our descendants who come after us may listen to it, and that they may know all that has been related and furthermore, that they may benefit by it.' When the humble writer.... heard the command of His Highness, humbly and willingly did he accept the task laid upon his head, and heavy on his limbs it lay. And the humble writer bestirred himself diligently to carry out (the task) And the humble writer composed this history.... and he compiled it from all the lore of the people of old in order to gladden the heart of His Highness. And the humble writer named this history Sulalatu's-Salatina, that is to say, 'The Institutions of Kings' ".

THE SHELLABEAR PREFACE

(There is no interruption in the sequence of the text as written but to facilitate reference to its respective portions, these portions are here designated as Part I and Part II).

Part I.

"Pada suatu masa bahawa fakir dudok pada suatu majlis dĕngan orang bĕsar-bĕsar bĕrsĕnda gurau. Pada antara itu ada sa-orang orang bĕsar tĕrlĕbeh mulia-nya dan tĕrlĕbeh bĕsar mĕrtabat-nya dari-pada yang lain, maka bĕrkata ia ka-pada fakir, 'Hamba dĕngar ada hikayat Mĕlayu di-bawa oleh orang dari Goa,' barang kita pĕrbaiki kira-nya dĕngan isti'adat-nya supaya di-kĕtahui oleh sĕgala anak chuchu kita yang kĕmudian dari-pada kita dan boleh di-ingatkan-nya oleh sĕgala mĕreka-itu shahadan ada-lah bĕroleh fa'idah ia dari-pada-nya.' Sa-tĕlah fakir mĕnĕngar dĕmikian jadi bĕrat-lah atas anggota fakir Tun Muhammad nama-nya, Tun Sĕri Lanang timang-timangan-nya, Paduka Raja gĕlaran-nya Bĕndahara .. Mĕlayu bangsa-nya dari Bukit Si-Guntang Mahameru, Malakat nĕgĕri-nya, Batu Sawar daru's-sallam.

Part II.

"Dĕmikian kata-nya. Tĕtĕkala hajrat al-nabi salla'llahu alaihi wa-sallam sa-ribu dua-puloh satu tahun ka-pada tahun Dal pada dua-bĕlas hari bulan Rabi'u'l-awal ka-pada hari Khamis ..pada zaman kĕrajaan Marhum yang mangkat di-Acheh Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din Ri'ayat Shah ..sĕdang baginda bĕrnĕgĕri di-P'asai dewasa itu-lah datang Raja Dewa Said ka-pada hamba Sĕri Narawangsa yang bĕrnama Tun Bambang, anak Sĕri Akar Raja, Pĕtani, mĕnjunjongkan titah Yang di-P'ĕrtuan di-Hilir Sultan Abdu'llah Ma'ayat Shah Demikian bunyi titah yang maha mulia itu: 'Bahawa beta minta pĕrbuatkan hikayat pada Bĕndahara pĕri pĕrsĕtua dan pĕraturan sĕgala raja-raja Mĕlayu dĕngan isti'adat-nya sa-kali supaya di-kĕtahui oleh sĕgala anak chuchu kita yang kĕmudian dari-

pada kita di-ingatkan oleh mĕreka-itu shahadan bĕroleh fa'idah-lah ia dari-pada-nya.. . ' ".

A translation of this passage follows:

Part I.

"One day the humble writer was sitting engaged in light conversation in the company of chiefs. Among them was a chief of higher station and rank than the others, and he remarked to the humble writer, 'I hear there is a Malay history brought by people from Goa. Could we not improve it, and all that it relates, so that it might be known to all our descendants after us, and be remembered by them and that they might derive advantage therefrom?' When the humble writer heard this, heavy on his limbs lay the task ..Tun Muhammad his name was, familiarly known as Tun Sri Lanang, and Paduka Raja Bendahara was his title.. by race a Malay from Bukit Si-Guntang Mahameru, Malakat his country, Batu Sawar the abode of peace.

Part II.

"And this is what he says. It was in the year 1021 of the Prophet (God bless and save him) in a Dal year, on the 12th of the month Rabi'u'l-awal on a Thursday in the reign of the late Sultan who died at Acheh[8], Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din Ri'ayat Shah.. ..while the king was settled at Pasai, that Raja Dewa Said came to me Sri Narawangsa, named Tun Bambang, son of Sri Akar Raja, of Patani, bringing a command from the Prince Down-stream, Sultan Abdu'llah Ma'ayat Shah. This was the Prince's command: 'We ask the Bendahara to make a history of the principal events and of all the Malay kings together with their customs so that it may be known by all our descendants after us and that it may be remembered by them and that they may derive profit therefrom.. ' ".

The following are among the points which indicate that the Preface to Raffles No. 18 is earlier and less corrupt than, at least, the sources from which Shellabear compiled the Preface to his edition.

1. The Shellabear Preface mentions Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din as dead at the time that Preface was penned whereas Raffles No. 18 makes no mention of his death. The inference is that the latter was written between the 13th May, 1612, the date on which the order was given to compile the Annals, and the 6th June, 1613, the date of that Sultan's death. This inference is

8 On 6 June, 1613.

strengthened by the fact that the down-stream prince (who, on the death of his predecessor in June, 1613, became Sultan Abdull'ah Ma'ayat Shah) is not described as Sultan in Raffles No. 18 Preface, whereas he bears that designation in the Shellabear Preface. The Shellabear Preface was written certainly after the 6th June, 1613, as were all the other Prefaces that mention Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din as deceased and his successor Sultan Abdu'llah Ma'ayat Shah as reigning.

2. It is highly probable, as I attempt to show below, that the name written as *Raja Dewa Said* in the Shellabear Preface is a corruption of *Raja Dewa Sait* which itself originates from a corruption of an earlier text, perhaps, the Raffles No. 18 Preface. The name does not appear in Raffles No. 18, and, its absence, so far from being a defect in that Preface, as thought by Sir Richard Winstedt, appears to be yet another indication that the Preface is one of the earliest, if not the earliest, of which we have knowledge.

It is suggested that the creation of the words *Raja Dewa Said* occurred in the following way. A copyist, transcribing from the Preface of Raffles No. 18 (or its counterpart) made the mistake (not uncommon among copyists) of reduplication: he wrote twice the words *dewasa itu*. This resulted in the juxtaposition of the words *Pasir Raja dewasa itu dewasa itu*. A later copyist, using this corrupted text, wrongly read *Pasai* for *Pasir*. This left the following word *Raja* disconnected with any word that made sense, but the copyist's difficulty was solved (for himself but not for others!) by interpreting the first *dewasa itu* (ديواسئيت) as *Dewa Sait* (ديواسئيت), words which, it will be seen, are of exactly the same lettering in Malay script. *Sait* was not a name known to Malays, so in some instances, copyists transformed the word into *Said* (سعيد), a word which has an almost identical pronunciation, and which, as a personal name, was well known to Malays. Then, to cap all the corruptions, later copyists of some texts of the Preface, with a knowledge of the historical correctness of Pasir Raja as the place of residence of Sultan Ala'u'd-din, changed *Pasai* back to *Pasir Raja*, leaving the other corruptions undisturbed.

The reading *Raja Dewa Said* or *Raja Dewa Sait*, to make sense necessitated further changes, and the copyist who wrote the text on which the Shellabear Preface was based proceeded to make these changes, it is suggested, in the following way. He transposed *datang* so as to come immediately before *Raja Dewa Said*; for *bahawa* wrote *ka-pada*; transposed *hamba* (a word used correctly in the Preface of Raffles No. 18 as a reference by a raja to himself in an affectation of humility) so as immediately to precede *Sĕri*

Narawangsa, and replaced it by the royal *beta;* and deleted *ia-itu*. All these alterations gave some sense to the passage.

This explanation of the various processes involved in the creation of the fictitious *Raja Dewa Sait* would appear to cover all the corruptions, in this respect, of the various texts of the Prefaces to the Annals. Thus, for instance, of the MS. of the Annals in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, Raffles collection Nos. 35, 39 and 80 have *Pasir Raja* and *Raja Dewa Sait;* the Maxwell bequest No. 26 does not mention Raja Dewa Sait (or its variation)[9]. As we have seen, the Shellabear Preface has *Pasai* and *Raja Dewa Said*. Leyden's translation of the Annals has *Pasai*, and *Raja Dewa Saii*.

The Shellabear Preface appears to consist of two introductions written at different times, the one superimposed upon the other. I have designated them above as *Part I* and *Part II* and will here so refer to them.

Part II, as I have attempted to show, derived its source from the Raffles No. 18 Preface (or a counterpart of it) and emerged as a corrupted form of that Preface.

Part I (which does not appear in Raffles No. 18) refers to a chronicle or history brought from a place which is called *Goa*, the spelling of which, in old Malay script, was گوه , or, in more modern script گوا . *Goa* or *Gua*, in the Malay language, may mean either the Portuguese town of *Goa*, or a *cave* or *caves*. The *Goa* of the Shellabear Preface, and indeed of all the Prefaces that mention that name, has hitherto been generally accepted as meanthe Portuguese headquarters in India. The view here put forward is that we need not look so far afield for the identification of this place, and that we are likely to find it much nearer home: that the term refers, not to the Portuguese *Goa* but to one of two localities in Pahang:[10]

> (1) a locality called *Gua* (centred about a place called *Gua Sai*) situated on the river Jelai north of Kuala Lipis, in the vicinity of the ancient gold-fields of the Tui, just south of Bukit Betong which has long been the head-quarters of one of the major chiefs of Pahang, the Orang Kaya Maharaja Perba of Jelai;

9 Sir Richard Winstedt, *loc. cit*, pp. 37-39.

10 Sir Richard Winstedt's view as to the "history from Goa", from which I differ, is given in J R A S M B , Vol. XVI, Pt. III, 1938.

(2) the Kota Gelanggi group of caves around which so many legends gathered and which are the principal and most famous caves of Pahang.[11]

For the purposes of the present theme it will be profitable to examine the history of Johore and of its sister State, Pahang, during that short but very troubled period between May, 1612 (the date on which the order was given to compile the Malay Annals) and the 6th June, 1613 (the date of the death of Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din Ri'ayat Shah), and to endeavour to glean therefrom some information which would enable us to identify the *Goa* of the Shellabear Preface.

On the 13th May, 1612, the Yang di-Pertuan di-hilir (of Johore), then in the position of crown prince, ordered the Malay Annals to be compiled. In September, 1612, Johore forces sacked Pahang. According to Dutch records, the Johore ruler himself was making preparations to go to Pahang and drive home the attack on that country. In that year, according to the same authority, the Queen of Patani who had not seen her sister, the wife of the Sultan of Pahang, for 28 years sent a fleet to Pahang to collect her relative and bring her back to Patani. According to Chinese records,[12] referring to events which may reasonably be ascribed to this particular time, the king of Pahang (Sultan Abdul Ghafur), having betrothed his daughter to the son of the "viceroy" of Johore,[13] received his prospective son-in-law in Pahang. But there appeared to have been another suitor for the Pahang princess: the son of the king of Brunai. A quarrel broke out between the rival suitors; the "viceroy" of Johore went home, collected an army and attacked Pahang. The people of Pahang, taken unprepared, dispersed without fighting; and the king of Pahang fled to the "gold mountains". "At that time the spirits in the country wailed for three days, and half of the people had been killed". Thus the Chinese record.

11 "History of Pahang", pp. 241-247. J R A S M B , Vol. XIV, Pt. II, 1936. See also pp. 29-34. That the fame of Kota Gelanggi extended beyond the borders of the present boundaries of Pahang is indicated by the Negri Sembilan legend (recorded by Wilkinson in his "Malay History, Pt. V, Notes on Negri Sembilan", pp. 7-8, Government Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1911) that Batin Sĕri Alam, the fabled ancestor of the ruling chiefs of Sungei Ujong, Kalng, Jelebu and Johol is still in hiding in the caves of Kota Gelanggi. This legend is worth comparing with that of *Toh Sri Lam* (perhaps a variant of *Batin Sĕri Alam*) described in the Appendix to my paper, "The Prince of Chini", which appears in this issue of the Journal.

12 "History of the Ming Dynasty", quoted in "Notes on the Malay Archipelago" by W. P Groenveldt: Miscellaneous Papers relating to Indo-China, referring to the period Wan-Li (1573—1619).

13 Probably Raja Bongsu *alias* Yang di-Pertuan di-hilir, later Sultan 'Abdu'llah Ma'ayat of Johore, who, when he was crown prince or "viceroy", ordered the compilation of the Annals.

On the 7th May, 1613, the Sultan of Acheh conquered Johore and carried off to Acheh the Johore Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din Ra'ayat Shah who died there in captivity on the 6th June, 1613, and was posthmously known as *Marhum Mangkat di-Acheh.* In June, 1613, the Yang di-Pertuan di-hilir became ruler of Johore with the title of Sultan 'Abdu'llah Ma'ayat Shah.

We have seen that the ruler of Pahang, Sultan Abdul Ghafur fled to the "gold mountains" which, in Pahang, can be no other region but Ulu Pahang. According to Dutch records, the Sultan owned gold-mines which, in Pahang, are all situated in Ulu Pahang. From Perak Malay records we know that this ruler had special connections with Ulu Pahang because he gave the watershed of the Tembeling as a present to one of his sons on the occasion of the latter's marriage with a Perak princess. According to a family-tree of the Maharaja Perba of Jelai it was this Sultan who gave the family its chieftaincy. A tradition in the family of the headmen of the Orang Kaya Setia Wangsa of Lipis relates that the Orang Kaya Maharaja Perba of Jelai first settled in the Jelai about 1591 A.D., that is to say, during the reign of Sultan Abdul Ghafur. All this information shows the close ties that existed between that Sultan and Ulu Pahang where, according to the present thesis, is situated the *Goa* of the Shellabear Preface.

On his flight to Ulu Pahang, Abdul Ghafur must have been pursued by his Johore enemies. Nowhere is this expressly stated, but it is not an unreasonable assumption. When Iskandar Muda of Acheh sacked Pahang, in 1617 A.D., his forces penetrated as far as the Bertam, and their incursion is still commemorated by the name of rapids on that river, *Jeram Musoh Karam,* "The Rapids of the Enemy's Boat-wreck." The *Gua* in Pahang (whether situated in the place at the present time so named, or at Kota Gelanggi) lie much further down the main waterway, and are much more accessible to invading fleets of boats coming from the estuary of the river Pahang.

The identification of *Goa* with the Portuguese possession of that name seems to have originated with Leyden whose translation of the relevant passage reads:

> "I happened to be present at an assembly of the learned and noble when one of the principal persons of the party observed to me, that he has heard of a Malay story which had lately been brought by a nobleman from the land of Gua ..."

In fact, none of the Malay texts (so far as I am aware) give *tanah Gua* or *negeri Gua* of which "the land of Gua" would be an accurate translation. If the compiler of the Annals who mentioned *Gua* (or *Goa*) had meant the place of that name in India he would almost certainly have referred to it by one of these terms.

The view, then, here put forward is that the *Goa* of the Shellabear Preface is, not *Goa* in India, but a place in Pahang, and, leading from that conclusion, that the "history brought from Goa" was a history brought from Pahang, in fact one of the spoils brought back from that country by the Johore forces. This history was quite distinct from the history in Raffles No. 18 (though the materials on which both were based were in many respects the same). It was "improved" (*di-pĕrbaiki*) by a Johore editor (who incidentally also had access to Raffles No. 18) and in its "improved" form eventually emerged as one of the sources of the Shellabear text.

But this "history brought from Goa" still retained something of its Pahang flavour even after "improvements". It retained, for instance, the passage describing Pahang at the time of its capture by the Malacca Malays from the Siamese (or Siamese-dominated) ruler, Maharaja Dewa Sura, about 1454 A.D. A translation of this passage follows:

> "In Pahang was a settlement called Pura. The river of the country was shallow, its strands pleasant; the waters of the river ran fresh right into the sea. Alluvial gold was to be found there, broad plains, and jungles stocked with elephants, bison (said to be not very much smaller than elephants), deer and monkeys."

The passage does not appear in Raffles No. 18 text. Similarly with the episode about the capture of Maharaja Dewa Sura, which event occured about the same time: the Shellabear text relates how he was captured at a certain rapids (on the Tembeling) which, from the circumstances surrounding the capture, was thereafter called *Jeram Koi*. Raffles No. 18 text gives no indication of the locality of his capture except that it was in the hinter-land of Pahang. The accurate descriptive passage about Pahang and the Jeram Koi episode afford a local colour to the Shellabear text which can only have been given by somebody well acquainted with Pahang.

Again, (to go back to a much earlier phase of history), there is a legend recorded in both Raffles No. 18 and the Shellabear texts about the capture by a Raja Shulan (thought to be the Chola prince, Rajendra Chola I, who carried out raids in the region of Malaya about 1025 A.D.) of a place called *Gelang Gui*, "whose black stone fort still exists". Raffles No. 18 text does not attempt to locate Gelang Gui but the Shellabear text places it the upper reaches of the river Johore. A conjecture put forward in the "History of Pahang" (written before I had had the opportunity to read the relevant passage in Raffles No. 18) was that Gelang Gui (or its variant reading Lenggui) really referred to the caves of Kota Gelanggi in Pahang, and that the legends about the place were altered, in what emerged as the Shellabear text, to suit Johore pride

by locating the place in Johore.[14] The silence of Raffles No. 18 text as to the location of this place corroborates the view put forward in my "History". In fact the placing, by the Shellabear text, of Gelang Gui in Johore was one of the "improvements" of that "history brought from Goa".

It may be contended that, while *Goa* does not refer to the Portuguese place of that name, it does not necessarily mean that *Goa* in Pahang is designated: there are many places in Malaya to which the term *goa* "cave" could have referred. That contention is perfectly valid, but in the circumstances attending the period at which the sources of those Prefaces to the Annals which mention Goa were written, Pahang, for the reasons here given, has a special claim to preference.

To sum up the view here put forward. The nucleus of the Malay Annals was written in Malacca, and by 1511 A.D., no doubt, at least one copy of this nucleus was in existence. When Malacca fell to the Portuguese in that year the fugitive Sultan Mahmud fled to Pahang (where he stayed a year). His entourage must have brought with them this early version of the Annals, and also a copy (or we may assume that a copy was made during his sojourn in Pahang). When he departed from Pahang a copy remained behind, and Pahang writers took the opportunity to introduce into this version Pahang local colour in the respects indicated above. When Johore forces invaded Pahang in 1612 A.D. they managed to obtain, at a place popularly known as *Goa* (probably the Gua north of Kuala Lipis where ancient gold-fields were situated), this version of the Annals, and it became known as "the history from Goa". A Johore annalist then proceeded to "improve" it, and, in its "improved" form it eventually emerged as a source of the Shellabear text of the Annals. The other nucleus of the Annals, also emanating from Malacca before 1511 A.D., fortunately suffered comparatively few "improvements" (except that its record was brought up to about 1536 A.D.), and eventually emerged as the Raffles No. 18 text.

It may be asked whether Pahang, during the 16th century, showed any traces of literary endeavour which would support the view that a version of the Annals was worked upon in that country. This question will, it is hoped, be answered in the near future by the publication in this Journal of a Malay legal digest written in Pahang, about the end of the 16th century, and edited by Sir Richard Winstedt and Mr. J. E. Kempe.

14 Dr. Quaritch Wales (J R A S M B , Vol. XVIII, Pt. I, pp. 77-78) is satisfied that no such fort ever existed on the Johore river, and is inclined to accept the view put forward in the "History of Pahang" (pp. 241-247) that Gelang Gui emanates from a legend based on Kota Gelanggi.

The Kings of 14th Century Singapore

By W. LINEHAN

Mr. R. J. Wilkinson, in his "History of the Peninsular Malays"[1], and Sir Richard Winstedt, in his "History of Malaya"[2], are at one in rejecting the account given in the Malay Annals of the Kings of 14th century Singapore on the ground that the version is unreliable. Later, however, Sir Richard Winstedt, in the introduction to his edition of the Annals known as Raffles' collection No. 18 (in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London)[3], appears to modify his rejection of, at least, part of this account given in that MS. The publication of the whole of Raffles MS No. 18[4] which, there is good reason to believe, is one of the earliest, if not the earliest and the most authentic version of the Annals yet discovered, provides a favourable opportunity for examining the chronology of the 14th century Singapore kings set forth therein, and assessing what value, if any, it possesses.

In the present paper, when the Malay Annals are mentioned, the Raffles No. 18 text is meant. In the preliminary examination the material which I use is, with one exception, taken entirely from the Annals: the only outside material utilized is the date, taken from the "History of the Ming Dynasty",[5] of the death of the first king of Malacca (who was the last ruler of Singapore). According to the Chinese record that king died between 1412 A.D. and 1414 A.D., (say 1413 A.D.). Having thus arrived at a chronology for the kings of Singapore, I compare that chronology with material derived from other sources, and then I reach conclusions.

VERSION OF THE MALAY ANNALS.

The Malay Annals give us the following information. Sri Tri Buana, a prince from Palembang, of the fabled Bukit Si-Guntang royal stock from which the kings of Malacca later claimed descent, was the founder of the Settlement of Temasek, or Singapore. (The name Tri Buana did not occur only in the list of Singa-

1 2nd edition (Kelly and Walsh, Singapore, 1920).

2 J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. XIII, Pt. I, 1935.

3 J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. XVI, Pt. III, 1938 (p. 32).

4 The last chapters of Raffles No. 18 text had been published by Dr. C. O. Blagden in J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. III, 1925.

5 "Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca", by W. P. Groeneveldt, reprinted in "Miscellaneous Papers relating to Indo-China and the Indian Archipelago", Second Series, Vol. I, pp. 248-250 (London, Trubner & Co., 1887). The Chinese rendering of the name of the first chief, or ruler, of Malacca, *Pai-li-su-ra*, is generally accepted as being equivalent to *Parameswara*.

pore kings: in the form Tribhuvana it appeared as the name of a ruler of Majapahit (1329—1350). Much later it emerged as the name of a Bendahara of Pahang.) As he approached the shore at Telok Blanga[6], when first taking possession of the island, a storm arose, and to avoid ship-wreck he had to jettison his crown[7]. As he and his retinue were amusing themselves on the plain of Kuala Temasek they saw an animal resembling a lion; (so) the name of the settlement was changed from *Temasek* to *Singapura*, "Lion-city". Sri Tri Buana asked his adoptive mother, Wan Sri Benian, queen of Bentan, for help in colonizing the new settlement, and she sent him numbers of subjects, horses and elephants. By his wife Wan Sendari he had two sons. After reigning forty-eight years Sri Tri Buana died and was buried on the "hill of Singapore"[8].

He was succeeded by a son whose title on the throne was *Paduka Sĕri Pikrama Wira*. The Batara of Majapahit, angered that Paduka Sri Pikrama Wira had failed to do him homage, sent an expedition to conquer Singapore. The Javanese army landed on the island and bitter fighting ensued. "The history of the war between Singapore and Java is a very long one; if we related it all, the people who heard it would be bored, wherefore we abbreviate (*simpankan*) it, for a slow and long-drawn-out narrative would not be pleasing to people of intelligence. Singapore was not conquered, and all the Javanese returned to Majapahit".

6 On the brow of the hill, now known as Mount Faber, directly behind Telok Blanga, on the opposite side of the road to Radin Mas English school, in the compound of a Government house is a grave formerly venerated as a shrine (*kĕramat*) but now almsot forgotten. The legends about this shrine, if they still exist, are worth collecting. It is possible (but not probable) that they have associations with the landing of the founder of 14th century Singapore at Telok Blanga. There is another sacred grave (outlined by bricks) in the compound of a Government house on the left-hand side of Nassim Road as one proceeds to Raffles College. This, too, merits investigation.

7 An attempt, perhaps, to explain away Sri Tri Buana's lack of royal regalia, the possession of which was indispensable for the installation of a Malay king. These insignia of royalty even had their own guardian spirits. There were instances in Malay history where a ruler could not be installed because a rival had made off with the regalia. If a ruler were dispossessed, and later reinstated, one of his first concerns would be to secure the safety of these royal insignia.

8 This refers almost certainly to the hill, known in Malay history as Bukit Larangan "the Forbidden Hill", and now known as Fort Canning; the neglected tomb there is probably the memorial of this founder of ancient Singapore. It is interesting to note that, on the very day on which the Japanese occupied Singapore and hoisted their flag on Fort Canning, Malays expressed to the writer their conviction that this was a bad omen for the invaders. The Japanese flags hoisted on Fort Canning, owing perhaps to their poor texture, deteriorated rapidly and had often to be replaced; this decay was especially noticeable in that part of the flag depicting the "Rising Sun". The Japanese, eventually hearing the Malay legend about Fort Canning, at the end of 1943 had the flagstaff removed. A more pedestrian explanation may be that the flagstaff was got rid of because it was likely to attract the attention of allied bombers.

After reigning fifteen years, Paduka Sri Pikrama Wira died and was succeeded by his son who assumed the title of *Sĕri Rana Wikerma*, or *Sĕri Rama Wikerma*. This prince had friendly contacts with the Raja of Perlak (a little State in north Sumatra which, by 1290 A.D., according to Marco Polo, had come under the influence of Islam). He died after a reign of thirteen years, and was followed on the throne by a son called *Dam Raja* or *Damar Raja* who, on his accession, assumed the name of *Paduka Sĕri Maharaja*.

The new king had a son, Raja Iskandar, whose head was dented by a mid-wife, from which deformity the child was called Raja Iskandar *Dzul'l-Karnain* ("Alexander of the Two Horns"). During the reign of Paduka Sri Maharaja occurred the attack by *todak* (translated by Wilkinson as *garfish*) on Singapore. A boy (*budak*) came forward and suggested a successful way of meeting this attack. After the todak had been destroyed by the device suggested by the boy, the chiefs gathered around the king and said "Your Majesty, if this boy grows up his ingenuity will certainly be great. It is better that we kill him." Paduka Sri Maharaja agreed, and the boy was killed. His death laid a curse upon Singapore. (It is possible that this legend contains a veiled reference, not yet elucidated, to actual happenings in the Singapore of this period). After reigning for twelve years and six months, Paduka Sri Maharaja died and was succeeded by his son who assumed the title *Sĕri Sultan Iskandar Shah*.

The new ruler took as one of his concubines the comely daughter of his treasurer, Sang Ranjuna Tapa. The new addition to the harem was slandered by the other royal concubines, and was punished by being publicly exposed[9] in the market-place on the orders of the king. Her father, furious at his daughter's shame, violently protested, and them sent a message to Java to the effect that if the Batara of Majapahit wanted to attack Singapore he should come quickly, and that the writer of the message would assist the attackers. The Batara of Majapahit sent a big expedition to attack Singapore. The affronted chief, Sang Ranjuna Tapa, was in charge of the rice granaries. When asked for rice for the defenders he said that supplies were exhausted, for he was disaffected. At dawn Sang Ranjuna Tapa opened the gates of the fort to the Javanese who entered and engaged in a fierce battle with the defenders. Blood flowed like water, and that explained the blood which is still to be seen on the plain of Singapore[10].

9 Raffles MS. No. 18 uses the word *pĕrjĕngkikan*. Che Zainal Abidin, Chief Malay Translator of the Education Department, identifies this word with *jĕnggi*, a term used in the Negri Sembilan, meaning "to expose for long in the sun".

10 The reference is to the red laterite formation of the ground.

The men of Singapore were worsted in the fight; Sultan Iskandar Shah broke off the battle and fled from Seletar to Muar. After conquering Singapore, the Javanese returned to Majapahit. The fugitive ruler, after sojourning in various places, eventually made his way to Malacca where he founded the kingdom of that name. "Sultan Iskandar Shah reigned in Singapore for only three years. When Singapore was conquered by the Javanese he went to Malacca and was established (*karar*) in Malacca for twenty years. He was, therefore, a king (*di-atas kĕrajaan*) for twenty-five years[11]. The vicissitudes of life came and Sultan Iskandar Shah died". Thus the Malay Annals.

Working back from 1413 A.D., the date given by the Ming chronicle as that of the death of the first ruler of Malacca (who is accepted as having been the last ruler of Singapore), and utilizing the periods of reign of the Singapore kings supplied by the Malay Annals, we arrive at the following chronology:

Sri Tri Buana, 1st ruler, reigned 1299—1347 A.D.

|

Paduka Sri Pikrama Wira, 2nd ruler, reigned 1347—1362 A.D.

|

Sri Rana Wikerma, 3rd ruler, reigned 1362—1375 A.D.
(Raja Muda)

|

Paduka Sri Maharaja, 4th ruler, reigned 1375—1388 A.D.
(Dam Raja or Damar Raja)

|

Sri Sultan Iskandar Shah, 5th ruler, reigned in Singapore 1388—1391 A.D.; in Malacca 1393—1413 A.D.

According to this chronology Singapore, otherwise known as Temasek, was founded in 1299 A.D. and was destroyed in 1391 A.D.; and Malacca was founded in 1393 A.D.

How does the foregoing chronology fit in with data from other sources? Let us here examine these sources so far as they are available.

In 1388 A.D., according to a Javanese history, the *Pararaton* (written at the end of the 15th century), Temasek was one of the ten countries that a famous minister of Majapahit, Pateh Gajah Mada, swore he would conquer. Writing in 1349 A.D. the Chinese chronicler, Wang Ta-Yuan, made mention of *Tan-ma-hsi* (Tema-

11 This statement may be read as meaning that he ruled in Singapore for three years, was a wanderer for two years, and was ruler of Malacca for twenty years. In the eyes of his Malay chroniclers he had the attributes of kingship for twenty-five years.

sek), and said that a short time before that date the town had successfully resisted an attack by Siamese war-boats. In 1360, a Siamese record, the *Kot Monthieraban*, mentioned Ujong Tanah (the extreme southern part of the Malay Peninsula) as being subject to Siam[12]. If Ujong Tanah included Singapore, the Siamese account would fit into the Chinese account to the extent that both agreed that Singapore was subject to Siamese influences about the middle of the fourteenth century. The Malay Annals are silent as to Siamese aggression about this period. In 1365 A.D. a Javanese work, the *Nagarakrtagama*, made mention of Temasek, among other places, as being subject to Majapahit. This provides some indication that the chronological list is correct in assigning 1347—1362 A.D. as the period of reign of Paduka Sri Pikrama Wira, the second ruler of Singapore, for the Malay Annals record that while this prince was on the throne Majapahit made one of her attacks on Singapore.

In 1373 A.D., according to the "History of Ming Dynasty"[13], a king *Tan-ma-sa-na-ho* (a term which is sometimes conjectured to include a Chinese rendering of the word Temasek)[14] was one of the three rulers of the empire of San Fo-ts'i (identified with Sri Vijaya). In 1376, according to the same record, this king died and was succeeded by a son Maharaja *Wuli*[15] who dared not ascend the throne without the authority of the Chinese emperor. If we assume the correctness of the identification of *Tan-ma-sa-na-ho* with Temasek, the date given for the death of this king (1376 A.D.) agrees substantially with the date given in the chronology for the death of Sri Rana Wikerma, the third ruler of Singapore, that is to say, 1375 A.D. In 1377 A.D., following the same Chinese account, the emperor sent a seal authorising Maharaja Wuli to succeed his father, but the Javanese, who had already conquered San Fo-ts'i, waylaid and killed the imperial envoys.

12 Siamese records relating to Malaya still await examination.

13 Groeneveldt, *loc. cit.*, pp. 192-194.

14 Coedes ("Histoire Ancienne des Etats Hindouises d'Extreme-Orient", p. 316) who renders the Chinese name as *Ta-ma-chu-na-a-tcho*, however, says "This name, which is doubtless, only a simple transcription of Maharaja has been restored by J. L. Moens (*Crivijaya, Yava en Kataha*, Tijd. Bat. Gen 77, 1937, p 456) to Haji Dharmacraya with the inversion of the two terms following the Chinese syntax. It will be remembered that Dharmacraya designated the region of the upper Batang Hari where the statue of Amoghapaca, brought from Java, had been erected in 1286". It may be that *Tan-ma-sa-na-ho* is a rendering of *Temasek-Ratu*, that is to say, *Ratu Temasek*, "the king of *Temasek*".

15 It is possible that *Wuli* is the Chinese rendering of the Arabic word *wali* which has long been adopted into the Malay language. *Wali u'l-ahd* means, in Arabic, heir-apparent or crown prince. If we accept this conjecture then *Maharaja Wuli* is the Chinese attempt at rendering the term *Raja Muda*, "heir-apparent". We need not be deterred from this conjecture by the use of the Arabic *wali* in describing a prince of Singapore of 1375 A.D., as the Malay Annals record that his father, the third ruler, had contacts with Perlak a place which, according to Marco Polo, had been converted to Islam as early as 1290 A.D.

Of the non-Malay records, it is only the Chinese and the Javanese that deal with events occurring in the reigns of the first three rulers of Singapore. Portuguese chronicles, to which we come later, treat only of the last and last-but-one rulers. It will be seen that there is nothing in the Chinese and Javanese records which conflicts with the chronology of the first three kings given above. On the contrary, these records, in the respects indicated, support the correctness of the chronology.

We now give the details set forth in the various Portuguese records which, it has already been mentioned, deal only with the last two rulers or chiefs of Singapore. It is evident that the Portuguese had access to sources which, unfortunately, are no longer available.

The younger d'Albuquerque (whose account was published in in 1557) says that "Paramicura" (Parameswara), a pagan king of Palembang, married a daughter of a "Bataratamurel" (conjectured to be the Batara of Tumapel). Faithless to his promise to pay tribute and a be vassal of his father-in-law, he was attacked and driven out of his kingdom by the Batara whereupon he fled to Singapore with his wife and children. The local chief "Tamagi"[16] received him hospitably. After eight days Parameswara treacherously slew his host and made himself master of Singapore where, with the help of five thousand followers from Palembang, he held sway for five years. At the end of that period, the king of Patani, brother of the murdered Tamagi, with the help of Singapore subjects who were oppressed by the usurpers's exactions, drove out Parameswara.

de Barros (writing in 1553).—After the death of a Javanese ruler "Pararisa" a dynastic war broke out[17] and many nobles fled ths country, among them a Parameswara who accepted the hospitality of "Sangesinga"[18], king of Singapore. After a short time

16 *Tamagi* is a not improbable Portuguese corruption of *Damar Raja*, one of the names by which the Malay Annals describe the fourth magnate of Singapore.

17 Sir Richard Winstedt ("History of Malaya", p. 38) conjectures that "Pararisa" may be a rendering of *Bhra Hyang Wrcesa*, king of Tumapel 1389-1428 A.D., Tumapel being one of the two kingdoms into which Majapahit split on his accession; but the date of that king's death (1428 A.D.) makes it impossible that it was in fact after this occurrence that Parameswara went to Singapore. If, however, we assume that "Pararisa" referred to the Majapahit ruler, the famous Rajasanagara who died in 1389, then the date of Paremeswara's *coup d'etat* in Singapore, as related by de Barros, substantially corresponds with the date given in the chronological list for the death of Paduka Sri Maharaja, that is to say, 1388 A.D. For the history of Rajasanagara see Coedes, *loc.cit.*, pp. 310-314.

18 An attempt at *Sang Singa* (*pura*) = "Lord of Singapore".

Parameswara murdered his host, and with the aid of his Javanese followers and the "Cellates" (the local *orang-laut* or sea-gypsies) gained possession of Singapore. He was driven out by the king of Siam, the father-in-law and suzerain of the murdered king. Parameswara fled to the Muar river and built a wooden fort at Pagoh as a protection against an attack by the Siamese[19]. The sea-gypsies followed him, but, fearful of their numbers, Parameswara bade them go elsewhere to make a settlement, so they went off and founded Malacca. Special attention must be paid to de Barros in view of the verdict of Fr. Schurhammer (quoted by Fr. Cardon in J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. XX, Pt. I, 1947, p. 188) that he is the most trustworthy of all Portuguese historians.

de Couto.—This writer says that the last-but-one king of Singapore was of Palembang descent, and that the last king of Singapore and first of Malacca was called *Raja Sabu*[20], or *Iskandar Shah*. Raja Sabu was betrayed to the Javanese by his treasurer whose daughter had been his mistress and had been publicly humiliated by him for infidelity. The Javanese invaders made him flee "to the coast of Malacca to a place called Sencuder (conjectured by Winstedt to be Skudai) close to Ujantana (Ujong Tanah)", where, before founding Malacca, he remained some time.

d'Eredia (writing in 1613).—Malays inhabited Patani and Pahang before the foundation of Malacca. Prior to the foundation Malacca the ruler of Pahang "governed" Singapore, and the ruler of Patani, then "the metropolis of the Malays", was a tributary of the king of Siam. Parameswara (written by d'Eredia in the feminine form Permicuri), by birth a Javanese hailing from Palembang in Sumatra, fled to Singapore from the anger of his father-in-law "the Emperor of Java Major". No sooner had he arrived in Singapore than he treacherously killed the "Xabandar"[21] of Singapore, a relative of the ruler of Pahang, despite the hospility offered him by the Singapore chief. After this murder, Parameswara decided to make a settlement in Malacca for his own safety,

19 Going up the Muar river towards Pagoh, one sees a screen of hills in the back-ground. There is a tradition among the Muar Malays that on the occasion of an attack by the Siamese this screen of hills was pointed out to to the invaders as being the end of the river, so they abandoned their attack. It is possible that this tradition relates to the Siamese pursuit of Parameswara after his flight from Singapore and his taking refuge in the Muar river. It may of course equally well relate to later Siamese attacks on Malacca in the first half of the fifteenth century.

20 A name possibly derived from Pulau Sambo which lies just off Singapore. If this conjecture is correct it would be an indication that this last magnate controlled Singapore only to the extent of being able to pester the town by his piratical activities directed from one of the islands in its vicinity.

21 Shahbandar, "Port Officer". The use of the word to designate the chief magnate of Singapore indicates that Singapore had by then lost its status as a kingdom and that it was ruled from elsewhere.

for he stood in fear of the lord of Pahang who was making warlike preparations to capture him because of his treachery. d'Eredia then goes on to say that (? after his establishment in Malacca) Parameswara allied himself in marriage with "the lords and monarchs of Patani and Pahang who belonged to the family of Malays". Thus the Portuguese records.

It will be seen that all these Portuguese authorities, except de Couto, agree that the last magnate of Singapore was driven out by the Siamese (or by one of the Siamese-controlled kingdoms of Patani or Pahang). The Malay Annals, on the other hand, (followed by de Couto) state that the last magnate was expelled by the Javanese. All records which advert to the foundation of Malacca are agreed that the last magnate of Singapore was the founder and first ruler of Malacca.

The Chinese records (if *Tan-ma-sa-na-ho* contains a reference to Temasek) indicate that Maharaja Wuli, here identified with Paduka Sri Maharaja of the Malay Annals, the fourth, and last-but-one magnate of Singapore, was never acknowledged as king, and that San Fo-ts'i (the Malay empire of Sri Vijaya of which Temasek formed part) had been conquered by the Javanese between 1376 and 1377 A.D., that is to say, the very time about which, according to the chronology above given—a chronology which, it may be repeated, with the exception of one date derived from Chinese records, is based entirely on the Malay Annals—Sri Rana Wikerma, the third ruler and the father of Paduka Sri Maharaja, died. d'Eredia refers to the last-but-one magnate merely as "Port Officer" (*Xabandar*), a title which corroborates the inference deduced from the Chinese records that this chief was never acknowledged as king, and which would also strengthen the belief that, although Singapore was almost destroyed by the Javanese about 1376 A.D., it still continued to be inhabited by a chief who was under the domination of the Siamese, either directly, or through the Siamese-controlled countries of Pahang or Patani.

From de Barros, if my conjecture as to his *Pararisa* is correct, it may be inferred that the Palembang usurper murdered Paduka Sri Maharaja, the ill-fated chief of Singapura, the protégé of Siam, in 1388—1389 A.D., the time about which, according to the chronology above given, Paduka Sri Maharaja died.

The Malay Annals say that the fifth and last magnate of Singapore, Sri Sultan Iskandar Shah, was descended in a direct line from the founder of Singapore; they make no mention of what is recorded in almost all the Portuguese authorities that this last magnate was a usurper who had treacherously murdered the fourth magnate. This last ruler of Singapore appears to have married a daughter of the royal family of Majapahit (Coedes, *loc. cit.* p. 320),

and this would explain the reason why his son who succeeded him as king of Malacca was designated in the Malay Annals as *Sultan Megat* (Megat being the title of the offspring of a royal mother and of a father inferior in rank to the mother).

One of the conclusions here reached is that the Malay Annals suppressed the fact that Sri Sultan Iskandar Shah, although himself of noble stock, was a usurper not descended from the royal line of Singapore. This magnate was the founder of the line of Malacca kings under whose direct patronage were composed the written materials, in the form of pedigrees, which formed a nucleus of the record that eventually emerged as the Malay Annals. It would have been a stain on their escutcheon had they acknowledged descent from the pirate prince of Singapore who had made himself master of that island by murdering his host. So the Malay record was altered to make it appear that Sri Sultan Iskandar Shah was a direct descendant of the Singapore royal line.

Then, the Annals attribute the attack on Singapore (culminating in its final abandonment) to the Javanese, whereas the Portuguese accounts (with one exception) state that this attack was made by Siamese or Siamese-controlled forces. It is difficult to give an opinion as to which is correct, for the last magnate of Singapore appeared to have been obnoxious both to the Javanese and to the Siamese: when he had established himself in Malacca we find him appealing to the emperor of China for help against Siamese aggression, and about 1408 A.D, according to the Ming chronicle, he was falsely laying claim to possession of Palembang which then was under Java, a claim which cannot have been pleasing to the Javanese. However, the Malay account of the Javanese attack on Singapore in the reign of Sri Pikrama Wira would appear to indicate a certain confusion in the mind of the Malay chronicler as to these attacks. The reason he gives for not dilating on the subject—its prolixity—certainly did not deter him from violating the canon of conciseness in many other respects. Because of this admission by the Malay Annals, and of the practical unanimity of the Portuguese writers, including de Barros, I am inclined to accept the Portuguese version that the final abandonment of Singapore was due to the hostility of the Siamese (or of one of their satellite kingdoms, Pahang or Patani).

The great sack of Singapore by the Javanese, about 1376 A.D., did not mean the total abandonment of the city, but Singapore never regained its former status, and from that date until 1388 or 1389 A.D. the city was under the authority of a chief, the son of the preceding ruler but himself never acknowledged as king, who to safeguard himself against further Javanese aggression, had placed himself under the protection of Siam. This protection did not avail him against the treachery of the pirate prince, Sri Sultan

Iskandar Shah, the Paremeswara of the Chinese and Portuguese records, who murdered him and usurped his place. This pirate prince, however, must have been a man of parts for he laid the foundations of the kingdom of Malacca, and was successful in saving the infant State from destruction at the hands of its Siamese enemies.

The conclusions here reached are set forth briefly in the following table of the rulers or chiefs of 14th century Singapore.

No.	*Name*	*Date of Rule*	*Events during Rule*
1.	(M) Sri Tri Buana	c. 1299—1347 A.D.	First king and founder of 14th century Singapore. Buried on Bukit Larangan (Fort Canning).
2.	(M) Paduka Sri Pikrama Wira	c. 1347—1362 A.D.	Son of No. 1. Attacks on Singapore by Siamese and by Javanese.
3.	(M) Sri Rana Wikerma (alias Sri Rama Wikerma alias Raja Muda) (C) Tan-ma-sa-na-ho	c. 1362—1375 A.D.	Son of No. 2. Contact with Perak. Great sack of Singapore by Javanese at end of reign but this did not lead to abandonment of Singapore.
4.	(M) Paduka Sri Maharaja (alias Dam Raja alias Damar Raja) (C) Maharaja Wuli (P) Tamagi alias Xabandar alias Sangesinga	c. 1375—1389 A.D.	Son of No. 3. Not acknowledged as king. In control of Singapore with the status of a chief under protection of Siam. Murdered by No. 5.
5.	(M) Sri Sultan Iskandar Shah (alias Raja Iskandar dzu'l-Karnain) (C) Parameswara (P) Parameswara alias Raja Sabu	c. 1389—1391 A.D.	An exiled prince, of Javanese origin, from Palembang. Murderer of No. 4. The usurper of the Singapore chieftaincy. Piratical in his activities. Expelled from Singapore in 1391 A.D. owing to the hostility of the Siamese. A fugitive 1391—1393 A.D. Founded Malacca in 1393 A.D. Constantly threatened by attacks from Siam. Acknowledged king of Malacca by emperor of China 1405 A.D. Laid claim to Palembang about 1408 A.D. Died 1413 A.D.

M = the name according to the Malay Annals.
C = accepted version of the name according to Chinese records.
P = the name according to Portuguese records.

The Prince of Chini

By W. LINEHAN.

The "history of the Ming dynasty"[1] records that in the year 1411 a king of Pahang styled *Pa-la-mi-so-la-la-lo-si-ni* sent envoys with tribute to the Emperor of China, that, in the following year, Pahang was visited by the famous Chen-Ho, and that in 1414 and 1416 Pahang again sent tribute to China. In my "History of Pahang"[2] it was conjectured that the name of the Pahang king was the Chinese rendering of *Parameswara Telok Chini*, "the Prince of Chini Haven". There it was pointed out that *Chini* (a Siamese word meaning *gibbon*) was the name of a mountain, a lake, a stream and a village on, or near, the river Pahang about 40 miles from its estuary. *Telok Chini* designates the big bend in the vicinity of Chini. The locality is also known as *Bintang*, "The Star", possibly because from it radiated several routes. Mention was made, too, of the fact that relics of the civilized people who had inhabited Pahang before its conquest by the Malacca Malays about 1454 had been found in this, and in neighbouring localities. And I drew attention to the importance of Chini in Malay legends: "For the Malays, Lake Chini has associations with the past: in their eyes the lake and its adjoining mountain are sacred, and they credit the place with the possession of a white crocodile, styled 'Seri Pahang': the glory of Pahang." White has always been the colour of royalty with the Malays and also the magic colour denoting good luck. The Perak royal family, even to the present day, will not kill a crocodile, a taboo dating perhaps from the days when the crocodile was the totem of Perak royalty. On a panel of the Perak State Trumpet (illutrated in J.R.A.S.M.B., Vol. XX, Pt. I, 1947, p. 132), used on the occasion of the installation of a ruler, is depicted a dragon or crocodile, possibly a symbolic representation of this ancient crocodile cult of the Perak royal family.

In my "History", however, when describing the Chini region, I omitted to enlarge upon the possible significance of a place called *Belukar Bata*, and the importance of Chini as the starting-point of of a section of one of the ancient trans-peninsular routes to the west of the Peninsula. I now write to repair the omission, and in the hope that archaeological investigations will be carried out in the Chini region, especially at *Belukar Bata*.

1 Book 325, quoted in "Notes on the Malay Archipelago" by Groenveldt: "Miscellaneous Papers relating to Indo-China", 2nd Series, Vol. 1, p. 256 (London, 1887).

2 J R A S M B, Vol. XIV, Pt. II, 1936, (pp. 5, 6).

Belukar Bata is mentioned in my "History" (p. 239) in the following terms: "A place now in the heart of the jungle between Lake Chini and Ulu Jeram (Ulu Rompin), Pekan District. The spot has not yet been investigated. The name indicates the presence of pre-Malaccan buildings". The name *Belukar Bata* may be translated "the secondary jungle marked by bricks". The significance of the name lies in the fact that the Malacca Malays who conquered Pahang about 1454 did not usually build in brick, and that such brick remains as have been found in Pahang (including remains at Kuala Chini) have been shown to be those of structures built by their predecessors. Apart from the name, however, there are indications, which I mention below, that Belukar Bata may contain ancient remains, perhaps those of an ancient temple or even of a town.

In 1925, as District Officer of the Pekan district of Pahang, in company with Mr. Mumford, the Police Officer, I had occasion to visit the Chinese *panglong*, or wood-logging concerns, situated here and there on the river Rompin. Complaints had from time to time been received of the ill-treatment of workers employed in these *panglong*, and as our inspection to be of any use had to be a surprise one, instead of going to Kuala Rompin by launch and then going up that river, we decided to proceed from Pekan (our headquarters) up the river Pahang to Chini, from there to go overland to the river Jeram, one of the head-streams of the Rompin, and thence to proceed down the Jeram and the Rompin to Kuala Rompin, inspecting the *panglong* on our way. We put this project into practice.

After reaching Chini we camped for the night on the western shore of Lake Chini, a large expanse of water or, more properly, of water-logged land full of clumps of reeds, really a great marsh rather than a lake in our sense of the word. After spending the night warding off the attacks of swarms of mosquitoes, we broke camp early the next morning and proceeded on our way to the Jeram, following roughly the southern boundary of the Chini Forest Reserve. We had gone only a short distance when we came upon a mound of somewhat considerable extent covered with giant grass, evidently frequented by elephants for the imprint of their bodies could be seen all around. Che Puteh, the Chini headman who was our guide, said that this spot was called *Belukar Bata*. The mound, from a casual examination of it, appeared to be artificial. It was tempting to examine it further by digging a trial trench, but time pressed as we had to reach the Jeram before nightfall, so I regretfully left the place with the intention of returning later when the opportunity arose. That opportunity never came.

As we proceeded along the jungle track, the Malay guide came back with the news that there was a cow-elephant and calf ahead.

No ballerina could have exceeded the delicacy with which we tip-toed past that elephantine group. Later we startled a young gaur (*seladang*) heifer which clattered off along the track ahead of us and then plunged into the jungle.

Well before nightfall we struck the river Jeram at a point marked by a Sakai clearing called *Kebun Pa' Nyatoh* "Old Nyatoh's clearing" (aborigines are often named after an animal or, as here, after a tree). We found the river Jeram to be a delightfully cool, crystal-clear stream flowing—where there no clearings—between dark aisles of forest. Bathing in the stream we found to our surprise that its bed was littered over a large area with potsherds. The few fragments which were picked up appeared to be of the plain, common variety, but the quantity in which they were present was impressive. None were carried away for examination. Next morning we daparted down-stream in aboriginal canoes which skilfully negotiated rapids the existence of which gave their name to the Jeram river.

From the abundance of the pottery found in this remote, now little-known river, and from the historical associations of Chini outlined here and in my "History", it appears highly probable that the Chini-Jeram route which we followed was one of those long-used portages, or trans-peninsular land-river routes which were the highroads of communication from the east to the west of the Peninsula from ancient days right up to the time when rail and road communications were first established in the country. From the Jeram, access to the Bera lake, either direct or by going downstream to meet the jungle track from Kuala Lepar[3], was easy, and from the Bera led the well known route by Ulu Muar (the *Penarekan* or "Portage" so well-known to the Malays and the Portuguese) to the mouth of the Muar river and to Malacca.

Questions arise as to the prince of Chini who flourished about 1411 A.D., and was given the dignity of record in Chinese annals. If he was the king of Pahang why did he live 40 miles or so up

3 The Lepar track appears to have been one of the routes by which merchandise arriving at Kuantan by sea was carried to the Penarekan and thence into the Straits of Malacca either at Muar or Malacca. This Lepar track may also have been used for the transport of goods brought to Kuantan from the region of the river Tembeling, for there was an ancient route leading from that river *via* the Tekai to Kuantan. Before Malacca was founded (at the end of the 14th century) one of the islets in the Straits of Malacca situated between Malacca and the mouth of the Muar (possibly Pulau Besar which lies at the entrance of the Muar) was used as an entrepot for barter between the east and the west. Pulau Besar merits archaeological investigation. The word *Muar* is derived from the Sundanese (?) term *muara* meaning *estuary* (the Malay *kuala*). The fact that the river was known as "the river mouth", without any further definition, is an indication of its importance in the past. Similarly Kuantan which also means *estuary*.

the river Pahang instead of living at or near its mouth where he might have been expected to get the immediate benefit of sea-borne trade? And was this king of Malay, or Thai, or pre-Thai Siamese stock?

There was little trade in those days, as now, *via* Kuala Pahang because of the silting caused by the north-east monsoon at the estuary. Any sea-borne trade of importance must have been unloaded at Kuantan, the only port which remained open during the north-east monsoon. Then sea raids, especially by the Javanese and to a very much lesser degree by Siam, were prevalent about this period, and it was natural for the Chini prince to seek a settlement which was not in too close proximity to the sea-coast. Towns in the vicinity of the sea were always liable to sudden attack by sea; if they were up-river, warning would always be conveyed to them. And there were the advantages of having a settlement which lay astride a well-known land-route. Apart from these considerations it is likely that the Thais, and their Mon-Khmer speaking predecessors in Siam, penetrated the lower part of the Malay Peninsula overland, and that they did not worry much in those days about sea-control, chiefly, perhaps, because they could not gain control of the sea in the face of the opposition of Javanese sea-raiders.

Near Chini, on its down-stream side, there is a village called *Kampong Melayu*, "the village of the Malays", a thought-provoking name for a place on a river which today, and for the past 500 years or so, has been occupied almost exclusively by Malays. The inference is that the village was so named at a time when people other than Malays were in occupation of that part of the river which lay above Kampong Melayu. This inference is corroborated by traditions current among the Malays inhabiting the Pahang immediately above Chini that they were partly of "Siamese" stock, and by the record in the Malay annals that, when the Malacca Malays conquered Pahang about 1454, they found there a prince of "Siamese" stock of the family of "Paduka Bubunnya". The fact that this "Siamese" prince made practically no resistance against Malacca is perhaps an indication that he was a ruler, alien either in race or religion, to at least a part of his subjects. Then, a short distance above Chini, in the vicinity of Lubok Paku, is a village Singgora, called after the town of that name in Patani.

Let us mention some of the chief events, about this period, relating to the southern part of the Malay Peninsula, which may have a bearing upon the origins of the king of Chini.

In 1360 A.D., the Siamese record, *Kot Monthieraban*, claimed *Ujong Tanah* (the southern end of the Malay Peninsula) as tributary to Siam. The Portuguese writer, d'Eredia, referring to the history of the Peninsula in the period preceding the foundation of

Malacca (which event occurred about 1393 A.D.) described the king of Pahang as of Malay stock, the lord of *Ujong Tanah,* and a relative of the last-but-one chief of Singapore.

In 1365 A.D., according to the *Nagarakrtagama,* Pahang (meaning the whole of the southern part of the Peninsula) was a dependency of Majapahit. As the Dutch, even to-day, call Malaya *Malacca,* deriving the name from the Town and State which at one time was the most important in the south of the Peninsula, so, at a much earlier period the Javanese knew the same region as *Pahang,* deriving that the name from the, then, most important State in the south. This conquest of Pahang by Majapahit, which appears to have taken place about 1286 A.D., [4] may have been in the nature of a successful raid rather than a permanent subjection of that country.

In 1378 A.D., according to Chinese records, a king of Pahang, *Maharaja Tajau,* sent tribute to the Emperor of China, seeking, perhaps, Chinese assistance against an attack by the Javanese[5]. In the preceding year the Javanese had waylaid and killed envoys from the emperor of China as they were conveying a warrant to *Maharaja Wuli,* conjectured to have been a prince of Singapore, authorising him to succeed his deceased father as ruler of Singapore[6].

In 1411 A.D., the king of Pahang (the prince of Chini) sent envoys to China.

About 1447 A.D., a Siamese expedition invaded Malacca overland through Pahang, but was destroyed. The invaders must have followed the Bera and the Chini tributaries of the river Pahang, routes which converged at Lake Bera to form the *Penarekan* "the Portage", which led through Ulu Muar to the estuary of the Muar and to Malacca. By this date Pahang was certainly a tributary of Siam and must have afforded free passage, if not active assistance, to the Siamese forces.

4 Dr. Quaritch Wales, "Archaeological Researches on Ancient Indian Colonization in Malaya" M B R A S, Vol. XVIII, Part I, 1940 (p. 83).

5 The emperor of China was almost universally regarded in the Malay Archipelago of those days as the suzerain and protector of the little States. The sending of missions to him by one of the latter often meant that the State was in trouble of some sort, for instance, that it was being attacked, or was in danger of attack, by an enemy. The States placed all the more confidence in the emperor because China was so remote and so disdainful of these distant "barbarians" that there was little danger of active interference from that quarter. Then the magnificence of the gifts presented by the Emperor to these envoys from outlying countries was a personal inducement to the States to send tribute from time to time.

6 See the paper on "The Kings of 14th century Singapore", appearing in this issue of the Journal.

About 1454 A.D., the Malacca Malays invaded and conquered Pahang by sea, concentrating their attack on a settlement called *Pura* (or *Inderapura*), afterwards known as Pekan[7]. The Malay Annals, describing Pahang at the date of this conquest, say: "In olden days Pahang was a great kingdom, it was subject to Siam, and was ruled by Maharaja Dewa Sura of the family of Paduka Bubunnya".[8] About 1500 A.D. the Raja of Ligor, on the command of the king of Siam, invaded Pahang over-land but suffered an overwhelming defeat.

The indications are that the pre-Malaccan Kings of Pahang were of the Ligor royal dynasty; and that dynasty appears to have been of Malay, non-Muslim stock. Ligor, in the 13th century, whether on her own initiative, or at the dictate of the Thai ruler, was powerful enough to send two expedition against Ceylon[9], and the extension of Ligor influence in Pahang and the south of the Peninsula was not surprising. When the Thais conquered Ligor the latter's outlying vassals fell, too, into Thai hands, but the Thais may well have allowed the royal family of Ligor, with whom, no doubt, they eagerly formed connections, to rule in Pahang[10].

After writing the above note, I happened to come upon a copy of "Fasciculi Malayenses, Anthropology, Part I" which has a bearing upon my remarks about the sacred crocodile of Chini and the conjecture that the Chini prince was of Ligor royal stock. As the *Fasciculi Malayenses* are not easy of access, I append the relevant extract here (Appendix A). Attention is invited to the mention of Ligor in the extract as being the place about which centred the crocodile cult, to the names *Toh Sri Lam* and *Toh Sarilang*, and to the occurrence of the term *Sri* both in the first and second names (Toh Sarilang = Toh Sri Lang = Toh Sri Lam) and in the name of the sacred crocodile of Chini. *Toh* or *Datoh*, with reference to ancestral worship, means an ancestral deity or spirit.

Appendix A

Extract from *Fasciculi Malayenses*. Anthropology. Part I.

"Anthropological and Zoological Results of An Expedition to Perak and the Siamese Malay States, 1901—1902", undertaken by

7 Both *Pura* (Sanskrit) and *Pekan* (Malay) were the generic names for a town, or mart.

8 The typical name used in the Malay Annals for the Thai royal dynasty.

9 See "History of Pahang," *loc. cit*, p. 9.

10 Right up to the end of the 19th century Kedah and Kelantan, loose dependencies of Siam, sent their tribute of "golden flowers", not to the king of Siam, but to his vassal the raja of Ligor—an indication of the ancient greatness of the Ligor State.

Nelson Annandale and Herbert C. Robinson (Longmans Green & Co., London, 1903).

Crocodile Cult.

While questioning people regarding the fish cults at Patani, I heard that there was also a family whose members might not kill, or even be present at the capture of, a crocodile, and was so fortunate as to meet a very old woman belonging to this family who had a clearer idea of her family obligations than any other observer of an animal cult whom I came across. She told me that her family was called *Kaum Lomak*, and that it was a branch of 'Toh Sri Lam's Family,' and she gave me the following legend to account for the latter name and the origin of the family. At a village on the Patani River, formerly called Parek, but now as Petiaw (Petioh), there once lived a maiden whose name was Betimor. Her father's name was Jusuf, the descendant of Maw Mi. She had three sisters, who were named Bedjitam, Berbunga, and Meh Sening. Her two brothers were called Maw Mi and Pandak. Betimor went down to the river to bathe and was lost in the water: the bubbles rose up where she disappeared, and her jungle knife was left on the bank. Three days after she appeared in a dream to her father and told him that she had become a crocodile and must now be called 'Toh Sri Lam. So her father made 'turmeric rice' (*nasi kunyit*), parched rice (*beritis*)[11], and 'red rice' (*nasi merah*), and took them with a white fowl and some wax tapers to the bank of the river where his daughter had been drowned. There she appeared to him, turned to a crocodile as far up as her waist. Afterwards she became altogether a crocodile, and, leaving her own village, went to a place called Ampat Palam, where her footprints were formerly shown. So far the old woman: the following additions to the legend were told me by a boatman on the Patani River, who was not himself a member of the crocodile family. In her old age, 'Toh Sri Lam went to war in the State of Ligor. (Another Patani man told me that she went to fight with the Datoh of Kedah). She came out of the water in the likeness of an old woman and asked some people in a passing boat to take her with them. When they reached Ligor, she begged them to put her ashore and to watch what would happen. Then she dived into the water and swam away, gradually turning into a large crocodile before their eyes. She still remains in the Ligor River, where she causes a great whirlpool by continually turning round and round and lashing about with her tail. The boatman said that he had gone up this River himself in the train of some great Siamese official, and had seen the footprints of Toh Sri Lam on the bank. When the procession of boats approached the pool in which she lives, they lit torches and lamps and made as much noise as possible, firing off guns and beat-

11 Usually, *bĕrteh*.

ing drums, in order to drive her away and to prevent the boats being overwhelmed in the whirlpool.

The old woman claimed descent from Maw Mi, one of Toh Sri Lam's brothers, and said that others branches of the family had another brother or sister as an ancestor or ancestress. All collateral descendants of Toh Sri Lam call her *Datoh*, and regard her as their guardian. Formerly they made sacrifices to the crocodile of Patani River, but the custom has now died out. They believe that Toh Sri Lam had direct crocodilian descendants, which are distinguished from other crocodiles by being 'white,' that is, of a pale colour. 'White' crocodiles are *kramat*, or sacred; they are held in reverence by other people as well as those who belong to the crocodile family, and, like all animals that are *kramat*, are believed to refrain from doing injury to human beings except under special circumstances. It is only descendants of Toh Sri Lam who are prohibited from killing or capturing ordinary crocodiles; but if a person who belongs to her family is present when any crocodile is killed or captured, he will have a bad attack of fever.

All descendants of the brothers or sisters of Betimor can invoke the aid of Toh Sri Lam in sickness or other misfortune, or they may even do so on behalf of other people for hire. A shrine still exists at the place where Betimor became a crocodile, and any one may dedicate offerings and make petitions to Toh Sri Lam there; members of the crocodile family being privileged to do so either at the shrine or at home, wherever they may happen to live. My informant, though herself one of the privileged family, had visited the shrine at Petioh no less than three times. On one occasion, a raft loaded with merchandize belonging to herself and her husband had stuck on a snag in the river, and it was found impossible to get it free until the pair 'went to their ancestor' and offered three fathoms of white cloth to cover the shrine. As a rule, however, the old woman sacrified to her *Datoh* in her own house offering three wax tapers and some parched rice. She told me that she made use of no special formula in making her request, but said, 'Datoh Sri Lam, your granddaughter begs to be freed from sickness and brings you food.' If the petition happened to take any other form in her mind, she made use of it. After the offering had been dedicated at home, it was taken and laid on the bank of the river. If my informant was ill or unfortunate she would make a vow to dedicate an offering once a month or oftener for a stated time.

It is dangerous for anyone to promise an offering to Toh Sri Lam if he does not really intend to make it, for persons who do not fulfil their vows to her become very sick and are irresistibly attracted to the river, into which they rush and in which they remain until

the incensed *Datoh* is appeased with an enormous offering of food and wax tapers.

The family of Toh Sri Lam reckons descent in both the paternal and the maternal line; thus, the grandchildren of my informant, whether they were the children of sons or of daughters, were both liable to the prohibitions, and are able to perform the private sacrifice. Her husband, who was not a member of the family by birth, had become, as it were, affiliated to it by marriage; he was in the family, but not of it. He was not allowed to take part in the capture or killing of crocodiles, but could not make the private sacrifice, not being an actual descendant of Betimor's parents.

The cult of the crocodile as an ancestor or ancestress does not appear to have been originally confined in the Malay Peninsula to Patani, where it is now all but extinct. I believe that at least one important native official in the State of Perak claims to be descended from a crocodile, and what is evidently no more than another version of the Patani legend of Toh Sri Lam, is related by Mr. W. W. Skeat[12] who had heard it from a Labu Malay in Selangor. In it, Toh Sarilang is a little boy who is turned into crocodile in the same manner as Toh Sri Lam, and who tells his mother how to cure the crocodiles when they become ferocious. Mr. Skeat, however, makes no mention of any ancestral cult connected with 'Toh Sarilang. In other parts of the Peninsula the crocodile is regarded as a being of extraordinary discrimination,[13] and many curious beliefs are held regarding it. (For example, it is believed, both in Patani and in Kedah, that if a mosquito curtain is washed in the river all the crocodiles will become ferocious and attack human beings). At Lampam, in the State of Patalung (Muang Talun), the brother of a local Siamese raja has set up in the market-place of a crocodile shrine[14] in which fishermen, about to set out to their work, make petitions before the skulls of crocodiles arranged upon a shelf.

12 Malay Magic, pp. 285, 286, London, 1900.
13 Skeat, t. c. pp. 290, etc.
14 Scott. Geograph. Mag., 1900, p 521

A Note on the "Orang Liar" of Ulu Kĕpasing, Pahang

By Edna Windsor.

I am indebted to one of our "Sakai" *jĕlutong*(1) headmen for the following information about a group of aborigines who live in the Kĕpasing area, a tributary of the Kĕratong in Ulu Rompin, eastern Pahang. I had collected data and a vocabulary from him before the Japanese invasion, but lost my papers during the war. When the headman came into Kuantan hospital in April, 1947, I visited him daily and made notes. Unfortunately he died after an operation for a tumour, which proved to be a malignant growth of the liver. He, a very trustworthy man, was one of very few jungle dwellers who have had any contact with these "Orang Liar"(2) as they call them. As the name they call themselves is not known, I shall call them that throughout this paper. The group numbers twenty or thirty people.

Appearance: "Orang Dalam", "Orang Sungai", or "Orang Bukit" are the names by which we differentiate the peoples in Pahang, who are usually lumped together under the name "Sakai". The "Orang Liar" are a little shorter in stature than these and their hair is short and very woolly. They wear no clothes except a breech clout of bark cloth; that of the women being smaller than the men's. The women do not wear anything over the breasts. Their eyes are very bright and keen and they quickly discern any movement of bird or monkey. Their heads are never still as they take darting glances about and around them all the time.

Habits: The "Orang Liar" live in the head waters of the Kĕpasing and never come out to the larger rivers, such as the Kĕratong, Rompin, or Jĕram. They are difficult to contact, being very shy and scared of the other jungle folk. They live in caves, but as they are nomadic, they build shelters of leaves and branches where they choose to stop at night when wandering. They make fire from a spark obtained by hitting a stone and a piece of iron together. Their vessels are short lengths of hollow bamboo, but they do not cook their food to any great extent. When they have finished a meal they throw away what remains, and do not keep anything for the next. When our headman was with them they

1 A tree, *Dyera costulata* Hook, widely distributed through the jungles of Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula. The latex is an important constituent of chewing gum.
2 "Wild Folk"—Malay.

were eating ten monkeys a day. Their other food is fish, which they catch in the streams with hooks made of bamboo. They also rely a great deal on a very large tuber, as big as a man's head, which they half roast in the embers of their fires. The "Orang Liar" dig pits to trap wild pigs. They shoot birds and monkeys with their blow-pipes, which are made in two halves joined and bound with rotan. They have large-headed iron spears, and long jungle knives with blades two fingers wide; my informant could not find how they obtained these, or if they made them themselves.

The "Orang Liar" do not plant any crops, and their nomadic life seems to result from camping where fruits are ripe in the jungle, and going back to the caves for the rainy season. The point about them which amazed our headman most was that they did not eat salt. They located some *jĕlutong* trees for him and he tried to pay them in salt, tobacco, and cloth, but they would have none of these things. They had not the slightest interest in tobacco and knew nothing of money. He tried to get them to tap the *jĕlutong* trees for him, they refused as it would restrict their movements.

They have a small kind of dog, but no cats. They keep *bĕrok* monkeys (*Macaca nemestrina*) but will not have gibbons, as apes make too much noise and would give away the whereabouts of the tribe. As they live in the hills where the streams are small, they have no dug-out boats of any sort and cannot make them, though they have a name for boat. All the "Orang Dalam" I have met had dug-out canoes.

The dead "Orang Liar" are not buried or placed in trees, but are left as they die in the jungle. The rest of the tribe wanders on, taking care to cross a stream. They told our headman that in days gone by, before their grandfathers' time, they used to eat human flesh, but as far as he could find out this seemed to be a kind of ritual. The rest of the jungle dwellers are in awe of this group of people. When our headman went into their area to find *jĕlutong* trees, several of his tribe tried to dissuade him from going. It took him a long time to meet them, though he was aware of them. Whenever he did meet them the women were always pushed into the back-ground, or in the caves if they were living there, and he never heard any women's names. He became very friendly with two men, Pa' Sentap and Pa' Memalun but he could never pursuade them to come down to the river, and back with him to his village. The "Orang Liar" have no names for numbers at all, only using words for "few" or "many", although it is usual for "Orang Dalam" to count at least up to "three".

Speech: I have a list of forty-four words used by the "Orang Liar", thirty-three of which, Mr. H. D. Collings, of the Raffles Museum, tells me, are Sĕmĕlai. (A Mon-Khemer speaking group of Tasek Bĕra in Pahang). The remaining eleven words are given below as their origins are uncertain. In writing these words. *ĕ* is short as in romanised Malay, and the glottal stop is shown by *'*.

Orang Liar	*English*	*Possible kinship. (The numbers refer to Skeat and Blagden's word list)*
tĕ lung	trap	
da da	few	
ran yi	ill	nyi = sick, S. 187.
sah nay	dont want	
da' rah in	small river	da' = water, *Sĕmĕlai.*
gam bong	elephant	
pĕn yow	tiger	
cha roh	spear	taro' S. 369.
dĕr	house	deh. II. 153.
kĕr lum pong	boat	
ka luna	wild tuber	

It is possible that the words for "elephant", "tiger", and "wild tuber" are tabu words.

Mr. Collings in a letter to me suggests that these "Orang Liar" may be a branch of the Tĕmo', a group of negritoes who live to the east of Tasek Bĕra. The fact that they are short and have woolly hair bears this out. But there would also seem to be some mixture with the Jakun as is shown by such names as Pa' Sentap and Pa' Memalum: *Pa'* means *father of* and it is a wide spread "Malayan" custom for a man to drop his own name and take on that of his child. The wooden blowpipe bound with rotan is also a Jakun weapon. That so many Sĕmĕlai words were recorded, although in a rather gutteral form, may be due to my informant himself being a Sĕmĕlai; it is often hard to get a jungle dweller to be critical about such things.

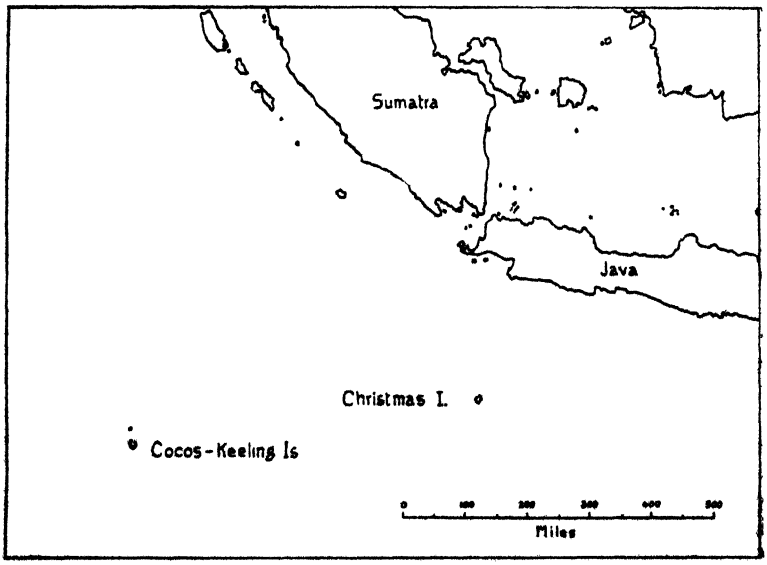
In conclusion it would seem that these "Orang Liar" are very different from their neighbours the Sĕmĕlai, although they may have many words in common, and they also differ much from the Jakun of Ulu Bĕba, Merchong, Rompin and Ĕndau.

Notes on the Cocos-Keeling Islands

By C. A. GIBSON-HILL, M.A.

The Cocos-Keeling Islands lie out in the eastern portion of the Indian Ocean, between 11° 49′ and 12° 12′ south of the equator, and 96° 49′ and 96° 56′ east of Greenwich. They are approximately 600 miles south-west of Java Head, and 530 miles from Christmas Island, the nearest point of land. The group consists of an atoll of about twenty-five islands surrounding a pear-shaped lagoon, seven miles wide and nine miles long, and a single island, 1,250 yards wide and 2,250 yards long, fifteen miles further north.

The group has been known since the beginning of the seventeenth century. The northern island appears to have been called *Keeling Island* or *North Keeling* continuously since its discovery. The main atoll has borne several different names. From the references in Dampier's *New Voyage Round the World* (Chapter 17)



SKETCH MAP OF THE INDIAN OCEAN, SOUTH OF SUMATRA AND JAVA, SHOWING THE POSITIONS OF CHRISTMAS ISLAND AND THE COCOS-KEELING GROUP.

it would seem that at least as early as the late seventeenth century English sailors called it *Cocos*. This is not a very distinctive appel-

lation, though eminently suitable: it is derived from the name for the coconut, and has also been given to several other islands, including one in the eastern Pacific, 625 miles south-west of the isthmus of Panama, and an islet in the Andaman group. The Dutch at this time and later usually referred to it as the *Triangular Islands*, and mark it thus on their charts. Early in the nineteenth century it became known as the *Borneo Coral Reefs*, from the name of the boat in which the founder of the present settlement reached it. He himself, in his journal, always refers to the group as *Keeling's Islands* or *Keeling Island*. The use of a collective title, to include both the north island and the main atoll, dates from the work of Horsburgh (1762-1836), the hydrographer to the East India Company, who evolved the present name of the *Cocos-Keeling Islands* in 1805. In the latter part of the nineteenth century the owner changed this to the less euphonic *Keeling Cocos Islands*. Cocos-Keeling is, however, the form accepted in the Colonial Reports (1897-1904), and it is accordingly adhered to here.

Landing is difficult on North Keeling, and the island is only visited at wide intervals. The main atoll has been inhabited permanently since 1827. The principal settlement is now on the island known locally as Pulo Selma, or Home Island. There are also a few people living on the most northerly island in the atoll, Pulo Luar (or Horsburgh Island), and a relay station for the trans Indian Ocean submarine cable, with a staff of about thirty, on the neighbouring island of Pulo Tikus (Direction Island). The native inhabitants are descended largely from men from the ports and coastal districts of Java. They speak a form of Malay exhibiting certain definite differences from that current in Johore. Wherever Malay names are quoted in the following account they are the local words. They are spelt as nearly as possible in accordance with local pronunciation, using the same system of phonetics as that followed by R. J. Wilkinson (*A Malay-English Dictionary* (Romanised), Mytilene, 1932). I have every sympathy with attempts to standardise spelling, but this course must be adopted here, for consistancy, as certain of the words are of European origin.

I lived for the first ten and a half months of 1941 on Pulo Tikus. At this time the Malay community, following over a hundred years of development in semi-isolation, had come to present a number of points of interest. Towards the end of my visit small garrisons of Ceylonese troops were established on the two northerly islands, Pulo Luar and Pulo Tikus. These were withdrawn early in 1942, but in 1944 part of the atoll was taken over by the R.A.F., who established a large air base on Pulo Panjang. Both these contacts with the outside world must of necessity have made considerable alterations in the economy and social life of the native inhabitants. Finally in 1944 the owner of the islands died, and in the very altered financial circumstances in which his son inhe-

rited them it is inevitable that further changes will take place. Already it has been announced that a proportion of the inhabitants whom the produce of the atoll cannot support are to be transferred to Singapore or the Malayan Union.

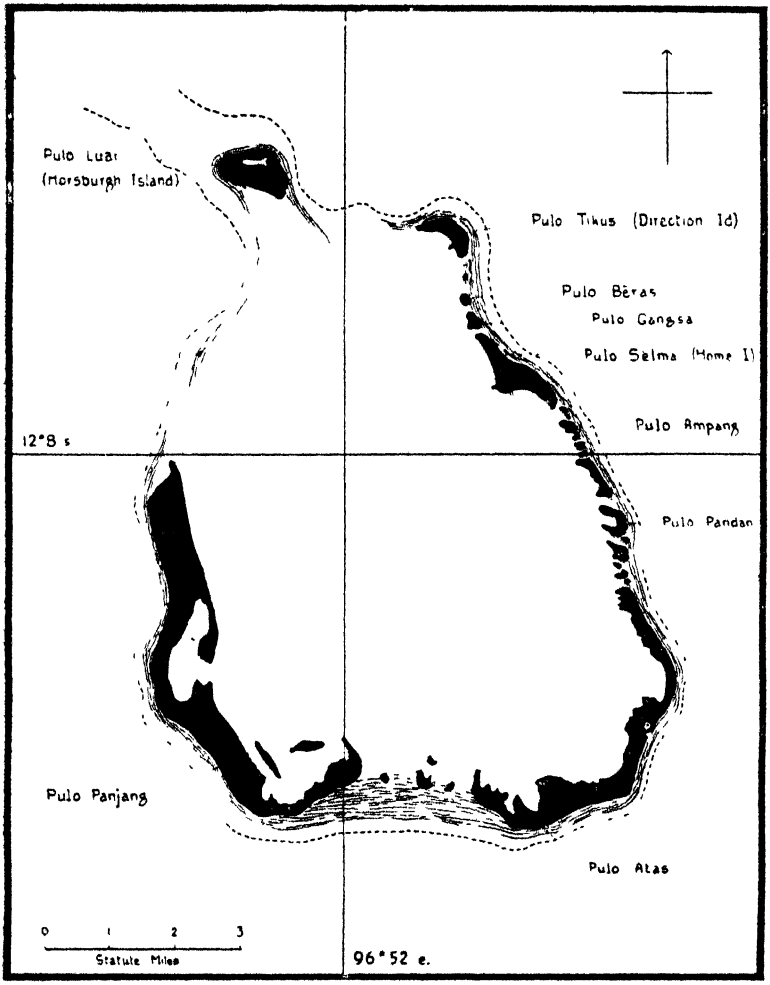
During my stay on Pulo Tikus I made extensive notes on the atoll and its inhabitants. A great deal of the data thus collected, including the manuscript of a book on the islands, disappeared from the Raffles Museum during the Japanese occupation of Malaya. Nevertheless, in view of the changes that have taken place and that are likely to follow, it seems of value to attempt to reconstruct what is left to give an account of the development of the settlement, and a summary of its form as I knew it. In this context is should be understood that throughout, the islands described are the Cocos-Keeling Islands of 1941, a world before the deluge came.

Physical Background.

The islands of the main atoll vary in length from fifty yards to over five miles. For the most part they are between one and three furlongs wide. Each is connected to its neighbours by a barrier of coral reef, which is usually dry or practically dry at low tide. This barrier is broken at the north end of the lagoon, between Pulo Luar and Pulo Tikus, where there is a broad channel, deepening at its centre to five fathoms. There are also several shallow gaps in the long stretch of reef between Pulo Luar and Pulo Panjang, but at the time of my visit it had not been investigated thoroughly. The southern half of the lagoon is silting up, and large areas of it are dry at at low water.

The islands are built of coral clinker, thrown up from the surrounding reef. The majority have fairly steep, shingle beaches on their seaward side, and more gently shelving, sandy beaches towards the lagoon. For the most part they are saucer-shaped, with higher ground round the edge and lower areas in the centre. The differences, however, are slight. Pulo Tikus has a rim ten to fifteen feet above high tide level, while the centre of the island is only five to ten feet above the water. The highest point on the atoll is a dune of blown sand rising to about forty feet, known locally as *Gunong,* at the south-east corner of Pulo Atas, where the prevailing wind strikes it.

There is no real soil on the Cocos-Keeling Islands, but in places the coral fragments are covered with a thin layer compounded of decayed vegetables fibres and finely powdered sand. This is useless for most forms of cultivation, but on Pulo Tikus and Pulo Selma it is augmented in selected areas by soil brought from Christmas Island, and here a few fruits trees and some vegetables are grown. The garden of Pulo Tikus is completely artificial and



SKETCH MAP OF THE MAIN ATOLL, USUALLY KNOWN AS COCOS ISLAND OR COCOS, IN THE COCOS-KEELING ISLANDS, DRAWN PARTLY AFTER WOOD-JONES (CORAL AND ATOLLS, 1912, P. 138). THE UNEVEN, WAVY LINES REPRESENT AREAS OF CORAL WHICH ARE DRY OR LARGELY DRY AT LOW TIDE. PULO ACCORDS WITH LOCAL PRONUNCIATION OF THE MORE USUAL MALAY PULAU, MEANING AN ISLAND.

covers only about an acre; it is used to supply the members of the cable station with a small, regular quantity of fresh vegetables. The range of imported fruit trees grown on Pulo Selma is fairly wide and is given in detail later in this paper.

There is no free fresh water on the surface of the islands, but on the majority of the larger ones the rain water which filters down between the coral fragments is arrested at a depth of ten to fifteen feet by a saucer of coral breccia. In the case of Pulo Selma, Pulo Luar and at least the south end of Pulo Atas this water exists in great underground reservoirs, uncontaminated by the sea, and can be reached by sinking wells. Unfortunately on Pulo Tikus the sea finds its way into the fresh water catchment; the cable station is therefore entirely dependent on roof water, or in an emergency on well water brought over from Pulo Selma in kerosene tins.

In spite of paucity of the growing medium the islands are densely covered with vegetation, except where it has been cleared for the settlements. It consists largely of coconut palms, *Cocos nucifera* Linn., which must have been there since before its discovery. Certain authorities maintain that the coconut cannot established itself on an island without human aid, and that its presence must therefore indicate past inhabitants. Another, quoted by Burkill (*A Dictionary of the Economic Products of the Malay Peninsula*, 1935, Vol. 1, p. 598), suggests that the Cocos-Keeling Islands are its place of origin. Both theories are untenable. There can be no doubt, as Ridley (*Dispersal of Plants*, 1930, pp. 322-324) shows that seaborn coconuts can and do colonise suitable islands unaided. Wood-Jones (1912, p. 17), refuting Dana's statement that "there is no known instance that any island never inhabited has been found supplied with coconut trees," proves that there were palms on the Cocos-Keeling Islands at least two years before it was settled. He overlooks, however, a much earlier reference. Dampier, giving his reason for attempting to find the islands in 1688, says ".. they designed also to visit the Island Cocos, .. hoping there to find of that Fruit; the Island having its Name from thence." (ibid, last lines Chap. 16). Finally one might point out that there are coconut palms growing on one of the beaches on Christmas Island, which have sprouted from nuts thrown into the sea off the reef, and left to float ashore on their own.

On the seaward side the coconut palms are flanked by a thick growth of Tournefortia, *Tournefortia argentia* Linn., and Scaevola, *Scaevola frutescens* Krause. In a few places there are groves of Sea Trumpet, *Hibiscus taliaceus* Linn., Gĕronggang, *Cordia Subcordata* Lam., Waru Hutan, *Thespesia populnea* Soland, Mĕlati, *Guiettarda speciosa* Linn., *Calophyllum inophyllum* Linn., or Sea Lettuce, *Pisonia* sp. The majority of these trees, together with several scarcer species which will be mentioned later, are used locally for timber, and they are therefore almost certainly much less plentiful now than when the islands were first inhabited. There are also a few large patches of Pemphis, *Pemphis acidula* Forster, on the lagoon side of the islands at the south end of the atoll. In

some places, particularly on Pulo Selma and Pulo Luar, there are open areas covered with a coarse sea grass. Unfortunately this is too salt to be used for grazing. Attempts have been made to keep goats on it, but they soon became distended with colic and died. There were a few old sheep on Pulo Selma in 1941; they were fed only on leaves pulled from certain trees, and carried a flesh as tough as might be expected in the circumstances.

The island of North Keeling is similar in general formation to the islands in the main atoll, except that the interior is occupied by a shallow lagoon. The vegetation is like that on the main atoll, but owing to the difficulty of effecting a landing the timbers of economic importance have been worked less extensively. It thus has a rather smaller proportion of coconut palms in relation to the other trees. Several wells have been sunk, but in all cases the water obtained has been brackish. The Malays from the main atoll regard it as a good medicine for beri-beri and tuberculosis, but quite unfit to use for normal purposes. A more detailed account of this island will appear in the J.M.B.R.A.S., Vol. 21, pt. I.

Historical Note.

According to the accepted tradition the Cocos-Keeling Islands were discovered by William Keeling, a captain of the East India Company, while homeward bound from Bantam, in Western Java, in 1609. There is, however, no reference to them in the abridged version of his journal of the voyage which Purchas published in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, in 1625. Keeling died at Carisbrooke, in the Isle of Wight, on September 12, 1619, in his forty-second year, and is buried in the parish church there. His memorial tablet, which depicts him standing on the deck of a ship, describes him as groom of the chamber to James I, and "General for the Hon. East India Adventurers, where he was thrice by them employed". At the time of his death he was also captain of Cowes Castle.

William Keeling's first recorded voyage to the east began in March 1603/4 when he sailed with Sir Henry Middleton, on the East India Company's second official expedition. Middleton had with him four ships, of which Keeling commanded the smallest. She was the *Susan* of 240 tons, and carrying 88 men. This is the earliest traceable reference to Keeling, but he must have been a a man of some achievement to carry a command while still in his twenty-sixth year. The object of the expedition was trade with the Moluccas, but when they reached Bantam, Middleton left two ships, the *Hector* (300 tons) and the *Susan*, there. While they were at Bantam the men were attacked by a tropical fever which killed a number of the crew and several officers, including the captain of the *Hector*. After this Keeling took command of the larger ship, and sailed her back to England. He is said to have rounded

the Cape with a ship's company of fourteen sick men, ten of whom were Europeans and four Chinese.

Keeling reached England in May 1606. On March 12, 1606/7, less than a year later, he set out again in command of the East India Company's third expedition, sailing in the *Red Dragon*, a ship of over 600 tons burden and a veteran of the two previous expeditions. On this occasion he went as far as Banda, in the Moluccas. After obtaining a cargo of spices and pepper there he returned to England by way of Bantam and the Sunda Straits, arriving in May 1610. It is on this voyage that he is supposed to have sighted the island which bears his name. Keeling's third voyage, begun early in 1615, took him to India, Acheen and Teko, on the west coast of Sumatra, whence he returned to England in 1617. He had hoped to take his wife with him, but the Company forced him to leave her at home, awarding him £200 in compensation for doing so.

The islands are first mapped, but not named, in Blaeu's appendix to the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* of Ortilius, which appeared in 1631. They are among the additions subsequent to the edition



A COPY OF PART OF THE MAP OF THE EAST INDIES ILLUSTRATING DAMPIER'S *NEW VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD*, SHOWING THE POSITION AND NAME THAT HE GAVE TO THE COCOS-KEELING ISLANDS: THE UPPER DOUBLE LINE REPRESENTS THE EQUATOR, THE LOWER THE TROPIC OF CAPRICORN.

of 1606. They also appear, charted in almost their correct position but again not named, in Robert Dudley's *Arcano dell Mare*, published in Florence in 1645-46. The islands must have been well known to navigators by at least the last quarter of the seventeenth century. William Dampier on his way home from Sumatra in 1688 attempted to put in at Cocos, but he was carried by contrary winds until he was forty or fifty leagues east of the island. In this neighbourhood he found Christmas Island, where in spite of the absence of an anchorage, he was able to put two boats ashore and obtain the drinking water, timber and sea birds which he had hoped to get on the Cocos-Keeling Islands, but no coconuts. In his text Dampier refers to the position of the Cocos atoll as 12° 12′ north, but there is no doubt from the map that he gives that he meant to write 12° 12′ south. He places the group a little too far east, but it would seem that sailors were at least well aware of its correct latitude by this date.

The Cocos-Keeling Islands were at this time uninhabited, and they remained so until the beginning of the nineteenth century. The first settlement, which was only a temporary one and lasted less than a year, was made by a Captain Le Cour of the brig *Mauritius*, early in 1825: an account of it by A. S. Keating, one of the residents, is quoted in Holman's Travels (Holman, 1846, Vol. 4, p. 378). The next settlement, which proved permanent, was made by John Clunies-Ross and Alexander Hare in 1827.

Clunies-Ross was born in a crofter's cottage on the island of Yell, in the Shetlands, in 1785. His grandfather had moved there about forty years earlier to escape from the consequences of his participation in the rebellion of 1745. His early life was spent in the whaling industry, which he entered as apprentice to a Greenland fleet at the age of thirteen. By 1813 he had risen to the position of mate and harpooner on a ship working the tropical Pacific. In that year she was lying at Koupang, in the island of Timor, taking on water and stores preparatory to returning home. While she was there the *Olivia*, a small coasting brig hired by the British Government of Java, put in in need of a captain and navigator. The master of the whaling vessel was asked to supply a suitable man, and John volunteered for the job, on condition that his younger brother be allowed to accompany him to the *Olivia*. For the next two years he served as master of the brig, during the course of which he met its owner, Alexander Hare.

Alexander Hare was the eldest son of a respectable London watchmaker. He appears to have been charming, idle and dishonest. Darwin (1842, p. 541) dismisses him as a worthless character, but his information came from Clunies-Ross's agent. He began his working life as a clerk for the East India Company

in Lisbon. From there he drifted eastward to Malacca by way of of Calcutta, obtaining a succession of jobs by his charm and losing them fairly quickly by his dishonesty. While in Calcutta he met Stamford Raffles, who succumbed to his manner and seems to have been unaware of his shortcomings. As a result he was asked to join Lord Minto's expedition when the British occupied Java in 1811. The Dutch had abandoned the last of their ports in Borneo in 1809, and their withdrawal was followed by a period of lawlessness and piracy. On his arrival in Java, Raffles was asked for assistance, and he sent Hare to Banjarmassin as resident and commissioner for Borneo, with orders to suppress piracy. In this Hare was at least partially successful and he was given a grant of land by the Sultan of Banjarmassin.

Under the convention of London, signed on August 13, 1814, the British Government agreed to return Borneo and Java to the Dutch, but the islands remained in their hands until 1816. In the interval Clunies-Ross, himself apparently charmed by Hare, accepted the latter's offer of the post of harbour-master at Banjarmassin, which he held until 1823. Hare himself remained nominally in office until 1824, though for part of the time at least he was absent and the work was done by a younger brother, John Hare. While Clunies-Ross was harbour-master he began the construction of the *Borneo*, a ship of 428 tons. It would seem that labour and material were provided largely by John Hare, as the shares in her were held by John Hare (55/64), Alexander Hare (1/64) and Clunies-Ross (8/64), with Alexander Hare as manager. The ship was not completed at the time that Clunies-Ross's appointment terminated, but he remained on in Banjarmassin to see her launched early in 1825.

Clunies-Ross, who probably inherited some of his family's Jacobite feelings, does not seem to have wished to return to England permanently. Instead he was anxious to find a suitable island on the route between the East Indies and the Cape on which to instal his family. He considered several possibilities, including such remote places as Melville Island, Kerguelen, St. Paul's Rock, the Poggies and Christmas Island. Finally he decided on the Cocos-Keeling Islands. He arranged with Hare that they should occupy the islands jointly and use them as a depot for their merchandise. They hoped to buy spice and pepper in the east when the price was low, store it on the Cocos-Keeling Islands, and ship it on to Europe when there was a shortage.

In 1826 Clunies-Ross reached England on the first and only homeward voyage of the *Borneo*. The trip was not a success commercially and after taking on board his wife (an Englishwoman named Elizabeth Dymoke), his mother-in-law and several possible colonists, he returned to the Cocos-Keeling Islands to settle there. He reached the main atoll on February 27, 1827, and found Alexan-

der Hare, with his followers, already in residence. Clunies-Ross put his wife and the other Europeans ashore and went on to Java for stores, returning to the islands later in the year.

Alexander Hare seems to have settled on the island known as Pulo Bĕras, which must then have been much larger than it is now. He had with him a few menservants and a large harem of women collected from most of the ports and countries that he had visited. These he described as his "Fiddle faddle, which whether wise or no", he was "in the habit of considering necessary". They would appear to have included women from Sumatra, Borneo, the Celebes, Java, Madura, Bali, Sumbawa, Timor and New Guinea, and South Africa, India and China. The only account of his activities that survives is that contained in Clunies-Ross's journal, which is definitely hostile. The latter appears to have objected to the fiddle-faddles on moral grounds, and to have though that Hare treated his servants as slaves, rather than as nominally free employees. The distinction is often a subtle one.

Clunies-Ross had with him, in addition to the European colonists who appear to have been unmarried, only the crews, mostly men from Sumatra and Java, of their two trading vessels. Pulo Bĕras is near the north-east corner of the atoll. Clunies-Ross seems to have appreciated as soon as he arrived that it would be neither wise nor to his taste to settle too close to Hare. He therefore established his colony near the middle of Pulo Atas, at the extreme south-east corner of the lagoon. It is interesting that he should have been able to do so, as it is no longer possible to take a boat of more than a fathom draught within five miles of the place.

In spite of the distance between them quarrels between Hare and Clunies-Ross seem to have been frequent. An important consideration was the fact that whereas Clunies-Ross had with a number of men and few women, Hare had a considerable excess of women. The sailors made frequent attempts to persuade the latter to leave Hare and join them. When they did so Clunies-Ross refused to send them back, provided that the man was willing to go through what was taken to be a binding marriage service. After two or three years Hare, his retinue considerably depleted, gave up the unequal struggle and withdrew to Batavia where he died about 1832.

Alexander Hare's retreat from the Cocos-Keeling Islands left Clunies-Ross in sole possession of both the atoll and the *Borneo*. Three or four years later he moved the settlement to Pulo Selma where it has remained ever since. This island had the considerable advantage of a channel nearly a fathom deep running to within thirty yards of it. Clunies-Ross seems to have abandoned the idea

of trading with Europe in eastern commodities after his first voyage, and instead turned his attention to the coconut palm, the only natural product of the atoll of economic importance. Initially he dealt largely in the whole nuts, which he exported to Mauritius and Singapore, where they were "chiefly used, when grated, in making curries" (Darwin, 1842, p. 542). He also shipped a small amount of coconut oil, mostly to Mauritius. Later, in the time of his descendants, copra and oil became the important commodities, and the trade was transferred to a great extent to Java, which is much nearer to the Cocos-Keeling Islands.

The first account of Clunies-Ross's settlement is that given in the report of Captain Sandilands who visited the islands in H.M.S. *Comet*, in February, 1830. He had been sent there because Clunies-Ross, who had applied to the British Government to acknowledge his ownership of the islands and received no satisfaction from them, was believed to be negotiating with the Dutch. A Dutch gunboat, the *Blora*, under the command of Van der Jagt, had arrived there in October the previous year. Van der Jagt's report is not available, but that of Captain Sandilands survives in quotation. At the time of his visit the atoll had a population of 175 persons, of whom 20, including 10 children, were of European descent. The remaining 155 were mostly natives of Borneo, Sumatra and Java, but they included the wide range of women from Hare's harem.

The next visit of interest is that of Charles Darwin, who arrived on April 1, 1836, and left eleven days later. His examination of the coral reefs is of peculiar significance, in that Cocos is is the only atoll that he ever visited. Its structure, as he saw it, is therefore described in some detail in both his journal of the voyage of the *Beagle* (1842), and his monograph on the structure and distribution of coral reefs (1842a). Clunies-Ross was absent on a visit to Java during Darwin's stay on the atoll, and he viewed the island with a Mr. Liesk, who had been chief mate on the *Borneo*. Liesk does not appear to have got on well with Clunies-Ross and left shortly after Darwin's visit. Possibly as a result of this the general impression that Darwin gathered of the colony is rather unfavourable. He describes Clunies-Ross's house as "a large barn-like house open at both ends, and lined with mats made of woven bark". Of the kampong he says,

> "The Malays are now nominally in a state of freedom, and certainly are so as far as regards their personal treatment; but in most other points they are considered as slaves. From their discontented state, from their repeated removal from islet to islet, and perhaps also from a little mismanagement, things are not very prosperous." (p. 542)

> "The houses of the Malays are arranged along the shore of the lagoon. The whole place had rather a desolate aspect, for there were no gardens to show the signs of care and cultivation. The natives belong to different islands in the East Indian archipelago, but all speak the same language..... They appeared poor, and their houses were destitute of furniture; " (p. 547-8)

Nevertheless, Darwin is prepared to admit that on first entering the lagoon he found the scene "very curious and rather pretty" (p. 542). He also notes that already the whole prosperity of the islands was based on the coconut, and that pigs were kept for food, a point to which we will return later.

John Clunies-Ross died in 1854, 27 years after his establishment of the settlement. His journal ends in 1836, and there is little information about the remaining years of his life. The colony appears to have prospered. It is probable that the system followed by his son of importing male convicts from Bantam to work in the coconut plantations began during this period, but we have no statistics of the population at the time of his death. He is supposed to have spent much of his later years in study and writing, but only two publications have been ascribed to him. One is an essay criticising Darwin's monograph on coral reefs, which was published at Batavia the year after his death. Dr. Guppy (1889) ascribes it to the second Clunies-Ross: the Royal Society's Catalogue of Scientific Papers ascribes it to Sir J. C. Ross, the arctic explorer: only Forbes (1885, p.15n), and Wood-Jones (1912 p.24) following him, suggest that it was by John Clunies-Ross. The second work attributed to him is a two volume treatise answering Malthus's *Essay on Population*. Unfortunately there was a copy of this book on Pulo Selma during my stay on the atoll, and I read it. There can be no doubt from internal evidence, particularly its copious use of local illustration and example, that the J. C. Ross on its title page was an embittered gentleman farmer residing in the northern lowlands of Scotland.

John Clunies-Ross was succeeded as owner of the Cocos-Keeling Islands by his eldest son, John George Clunies-Ross. The date of his birth is not known, but he is thought to have been born at Stepney, possibly about 1809, during or following his father's stay in England before his last whaling voyage. In 1841 he married a Malay woman named S'pia Dupong, who is said to have been of the royal house of Solo in Java. He died late in 1871, from a sudden sickness described as Java fever. His ownership of the islands was relatively uneventful, except for the long-awaited inclusion of the group in the British dominions

in 1857, and a disastrous cyclone about the year 1862. The latter was followed by a second official visit from a British man-of-war, the *Serpent*, in 1864, and a certain amount of discontent among the imported Bantamese labour which ultimately lead to rioting and the destruction of Clunies-Ross's house.

The ceremony of incorporating the Cocos-Keeling Islands in the British dominions was performed by Captain Fremantle of H.M.S. *Juno*, who arrived on March 31 and remained there for three months. It was commemorated by a large inscribed board, which has long since disappeared, erected near the landing-place on Pulo Selma. The reason for this move on the part of the British Government, for which the first Clunies-Ross had petitioned as far back as 1826, is not clear. It has even been suggested that Captain Fremantle had really meant to take formal possession of a Cocos Island in the Andaman group (Forbes, 1885, p.16). It is more likely that the government, fearful of the attempts of other countries to out-flank its communications with India, was anxious to forestall them. The Clunies-Rosses, both father and son, had negotiated with the Dutch on several occasions, and appear to have flown the Dutch flag on their trading schooner. The atoll was visited by Dutch reconnaissance vessels in 1842 and 1844. While the *Juno* was still in the lagoon a Russian warship entered, and seeing a vessel already there merely saluted and withdrew.

The formal occupation of the Cocos-Keeling Islands altered the status of its owner. Instead of being absolute possessor of the atoll he became a governor under the crown, and was held to be responsible for the conduct of the colony. Probably as a result of this J. G. Clunies-Ross spent some time recording and codifying the local laws which had been formulated by his father. These, with certain modifications, remained the official legal code of the atoll until its incorporation in the Straits Settlements in 1903. In actual practice many of the local regulations remained effective much longer, and were still being enforced in 1941.

J. G. Clunies-Ross had seven sons and two daughters. He was succeeded as owner of the islands by his eldest son, George Clunies-Ross who had been born in 1842. After a childhood on the atoll he was sent to Elizabeth College, Gurnsey, and later to Glasgow University to study engineering. He returned to the Cocos-Keeling Islands in 1862, without completing his course at the university, to assist in repairing the damage caused by the cyclone. He would seem to have been an energetic and enterprising administrator, and during his ownership of the islands they reached their greatest prosperity. His early years on the

atoll left him with an intimate understanding of the Malays which he never lost, and this, combined with his fine physique, earned him a respect and personal ascendancy far beyond that achieved by any of the other members of his house.

In 1876 the island was struck by a second cyclone, which in some respects seems to have been more destructive than its predecessor. The recovery under George Clunies-Ross was, however, fairly rapid, and when Dr. H. O. Forbes visited the atoll early in 1879 he found conditions almost normal. From his account (1885, pp. 11-47), the first of a succession by different authors during the next twenty-five years, the islands would seem to have been well administered, and the inhabitants fairly contented. The kampong was divided into two portions, one for the native Cocos-Keeling Malays and the other for the imported Bantamese labourers. The Clunies-Ross family occupied "a commodious and comfortable house midway between the two villages, surrounded by a high wall, enclosing a large garden in which fruit-trees and shrubs", including roses in grand profusion, flourished well in spite of the scanty soil. Each of the local-born families had "a neat plank house, comfortably furnished, enclosed in a little garden," with a trim shed containing one or more boats on the shore of the lagoon. The labourers' village is also described as neatly kept, with comfortable houses. When the head of one of these families died his widow was allowed to decide whether the children should be sent back to Java, or remain on and be absorbed in the local community.

George Clunies-Ross had stopped the practice of importing convicts in 1875, and begun instead to recruit free Batamese labour. Nevertheless some of the convict element still remained, and at the time of Dr. Forbes's visit they were the principal problem on the atoll. As a result of their unruliness a strict curfew was being imposed. Everyone had to report at the guard-house at a fixed hour in the evening, and all fires had to be extinguished at dusk. No one was allowed to be absent from Pulo Selma at night without the permission of the captain of the guard, and every boat had to be in its registered place by an hour before sunset. If one was missing a muster was called, the absentee noted, and a search made for him. At intervals individuals did escape to one of the other islands, and hide in the dense vegetation for days or even weeks. While they were there the community appears to have remained in a state of considerable tension. The whole picture that this evokes makes a strange contrast with the natural beauty of the atoll, and the neat, well-ordered kampongs that Dr. Forbes describes.

Dr. Forbes carried with him to the islands a copy of the *Ceylon Gazette* for November, 1878, which contained an official proclamation transferring their ultimate control from the British crown to the Government of Ceylon, "to prevent any foreign power stepping in and taking possession of them, for the purpose of settlement, or for a coaling station". This is the second of the nominal changes in the government of the island. The proclamation of 1878 granted George Clunies-Ross administration of the group, answerable to the Government of Ceylon. Eight years later, in August 1886, the islands were visited by H.M.S. *Zephyr* bearing a new proclamation transferring them to the Government of the Straits Settlements, and giving George Clunies-Ross a grant-in-fee. On September 25, 1903, the Government of the Straits Settlements gazetted an ordinance (No. 84) "to provide for the better administration of the Cocos Islands" incorporating them in the Settlement of Singapore, and giving the supreme court of the Straits Settlements jurisdiction in all legal matters. This ordinance decrees that the law of the Straits Settlements, and no other, shall be enforced on the Cocos-Keeling Islands, except for three acts,

Ordinance No. 57 (Native Passenger Lodging-houses).
Ordinance No. 61 (Pawnbrokers).
Ordinance No. 64 (Defence Contribution).

It also states that any ordinance coming into force in the Settlement of Singapore after September 1903 shall automatically apply to the islands, unless a clause in it specifically exempts them. This ordinance was reaffirmed in 1920, still without making any appreciable change in local administration.

In 1885 the atoll was visited by E. W. Birch, who stayed there for eight days and submitted a report to the Government of the Straits Settlements. He gives an interesting account of its economy. At that time Clunies-Ross was exporting about 700 tons of copra annually to Batavia, at an average price of £19 per ton, and using just over five million nuts to do so. In 1883 and 1884, together, he sent nearly half a million coconuts to Batavia and elsewhere, at a price of 38/- per thousand. He was also exporting about 140 tons of coconut oil annually at £29-£31.10s a ton and sixty tons of Mengkudu wood at about £38 a ton. At a conservative estimate the average income of the islands must have been over £20,000 a year, at a time when the pound sterling was good currency.

Most of the trade and contacts at this period were with Batavia. The greater part of the cargo was carried in Clunies-Ross's own schooners, some of which were built on the Cocos-Keeling Islands.

The returning vessels brought with them rice, which could not be grown on the atoll, curry stuffs, cloth and turtles. On certain occasions they also brought back wives for those of the Buntamese coolies who could afford them. It would seem, however, that wives were not easy to get, and as late as 1896 Keyser (1922, p. 199) found that the chief complaints of the men were a shortage of women and new clothes.

Occasionally ships from Europe and America put in at the atoll. Some of these arrived to take cargoes of copra, and others merely to obtain shelter, or water or coal, of which a stock was kept on Pulo Selma. Their visits did not always have happy consequences, and in general it would seem that the Cocos-Keeling Islands managed better without contact with the distant world. One of these boats, an American schooner the *Robert Portner*, which arrived in 1878, became a wreck in the atoll through mishandling by her crew. The men and the ship's rats got ashore. Clunies-Ross was able in time to get rid of the men, but the rats remained and now infest every island clockwise from Pulo Bĕras to Pulo Panjang. Another visiting boat, claiming to be the Italian barque *Luigi Raffo*, which put in February 1892, also became a total wreck. Her crew of mixed nationalities caused considerable disturbances on Pulo Selma, and have left some obvious descendents. In an attempt to get rid of them Clunies-Ross put the men on his own schooner, the *J. G. Clunies-Ross*, a vessel of 178 tons which had been built on the Cocos-Keeling Islands and launched there in 1884. She had a Norwegian captain and a crew of eight Cocos Malays. They set out for Batavia on February 29, 1892 and were never heard of again. Later the genuine *Luigi Raffo* was found intact in Genoa harbour.

In October, 1887, Captain Pelham Aldrich of *H.M.S. Egeria* put in at Christmas Island, with instructions to make a brief survey. He remained there for about ten days. This was the third investigation of the island, and in it results the most significant. The British Admiralty appears to have been interested in it as a possible coaling base, but it was of no value for such purposes as it lacks a sheltered anchorage. Eight months after Captain Aldrich's visit it was, however, formally annexed by the British Government and placed under the Straits Settlements. At this time it was uninhabited, and no attempt had ever been made to establish a permanent settlement there, though the Clunies-Rosses' schooners had sometimes lain off the reef, while men went ashore to collect pigeons for food and timber for boat building.

The geological specimens collected by Captain Aldrich's party were examined by Sir John Murray and others. Certain of the rock fragments were found to consist of almost pure phosphate of lime, and in view of the islands scientific interest and commercial

possibilities it was decided to send Dr. H. B. Guppy to make a prolonged survey. His only chance of reaching the island was to be put ashore there by one of Clunies-Ross's boats returning from Batavia. He was granted the required passage, but warned that if the weather was bad when they passed he would have to be taken on to the Cocos-Keeling Islands, and attempt to get back from there later. The weather was bad. Dr. Guppy spent five months on the Cocos-Keeling Islands, during which he was several times informed that conditions were not suitable for getting ashore on Christmas Island. While at Cocos he made a thorough survey of the atoll, the results of which were published in the Scottish Geographical Magazine in three papers in 1889. Finally he was forced to leave, as he was due back in England, and he accordingly returned to Java without ever having visited Christmas Island. During this period, however, one of George Clunies-Ross's younger brothers was somehow able to make a landing, and he established a small colony of Cocos-Keeling Malays in Flying Fish Cove. This settlements remained active until about 1898. There is a photograph of a portion of it taken in 1896 in Arthur Keyser's *People and Places* (1922, p. 200). It was then in the charge of Andrew Clunies-Ross, and consisted of twenty-two persons, mostly Bantamese.

The occupation of Christmas Island had two consequences for the people of the Cocos-Keeling Islands. It gave them a good source of timber, at a time when their own supplies were running a little short, and of fresh meat in the form of the Christmas Island Imperial Pigeon. They even tried to introduce this bird, among others, on the Cocos-Keeling Islands, but the habitat was not suitable and the stock died out in about twenty years. They also attempted to grow certain crops, including coffee, on Christmas Island, for which the soil was quite unsuitable on the Cocos-Keeling Islands. Of much more lasting importance was the fact that the Clunies-Rosses' occupation of Christmas Island resulted in their family being awarded nearly half the shares in the Christmas Island Phosphate Co., when it was founded in 1895, to avoid litigation over the ownership of the island.

Birch's visit in 1885 was followed almost annually by tours of inspection of officers from the Straits Settlements Government until 1904 (see appendix B3). Two of these officers, Hugh Clifford, who was there in 1894 (1906, pp. 29-60), and Arthur Keyser, who was there in 1896 (1922, pp. 202-213), wrote popular descriptions of the islands. The atoll was also visited by Captain Joshua Slocum in July 1897, during his voyage round the world single-handed in the *Spray* (1900, pp. 210-221). These three accounts, taken together with some of the official reports, give a fairly complete picture of the islands at the end of the last century, when they were approaching the height of their prosperity.

Conditions seem to have improved with the cessation of recruitment of convict labour. As early as 1885 they were much better than they had been at the time of Forbes's visit. The guard house was still maintained, with watches throughout the night, but the evening muster had been abandoned. Kitchen fires had to be extinguished at sundown, unless there was sickness in the house, but lamps were allowed, and apparently the Bantamese never slept without them. On the other hand there was still an amount of stealing, and there were regulations laying down the penalties for theft or receiving stolen property. For the first offence the fine was $25, for the second $50, and for the third deportation to Batavia, accompanied by a letter branding the man as a disreputable character.

Economically the islands were prosperous at this time, and between 1895 and 1898 Clunies-Ross rebuilt the family house, putting up a large, two-storied structure with bricks imported from England and teak from Java. On the other hand it would seem that only a small proportion of the money reached the kampongs. Families were provided with up to half an acre of land each on Pulo Selma, and such fish and coconuts as the men cared to gather. Against this wages were not high, and they were paid in a token coinage of notes stamped on sheepskin. These could only be converted into silver money, at 5/6 of their face value, or exchanged for goods, at the Clunies-Rosses' store. Several of the reports complain of the high prices that were charged there for provisions, of the shortage of clothes and of the absence of any other shops. It would seem, from an examination of the population figures, that a number of people left the islands after the turn of the century. From 1880 to 1901 the native population rose as follows:—

	Cocos-Keeling born	Bantamese	Total
1880	310	125	435
1885	377	139	516
1890	390	146	536
1896	403	191	594
1901	570	68	638

In 1904 it was still 638, and by 1912 (the last official visit before the first World War) it had dropped to 594.

The people appear to have been healthy, though in the light of modern knowledge it would be said that they suffered to some extent from avitaminosis of the B-1 complex. The principal conditions referred to are beri-beri and dropsy, both of which can be ascribed to it. It is interesting to note that George Clunies-Ross was of the opinion that beri-beri was infectious, and that some of

the outbreaks were due to the clearing of the vegetation while extending the plantations. The house and property of a diagnosed case were burnt, and special care was taken to see that in fatal instances the body was buried deeply. The only treatment was to send the infected person to North Keeling, or failing that to give them the brackish well water from that island. There was no venereal disease in the kampongs, and no serious tropical diseases, except for occasional epidemics of dysentery. Clunies-Ross believed that the latter were carried to the islands by winds from Java, and gave Keyser a most interesting circumstantial account of an attack.

> "One day his attention was called to the banian tree in the court yard. Its leaves were dropping off, and appeared as though scalded. A few moments afterwards the pigeons, whose cots were close by, seemed also strangely affected. Their droppings were constant and of a watery nature, till finally the birds died in large numbers. Then ducks, which were kept in the same court yard, were similarly attacked and died. A few hours later it was reported to Mr. Ross that some of the people had dysentery, his own son amongst the number. For three days this illness made head, and 16 deaths were recorded, when the wind changed and the sickness disappeared as suddenly as it had arrived." (Col. Rep., 1896, para. 10).

The points that seem to have struck the visiting officers most forcibly were the conditions of family life in the kampong. The people were nominally Mohammedans, though Keyser found them drinking whisky and toddy, just as Darwin had found them keeping pigs. The women were never veiled, and normally wore only a bodice, slightly open at the neck, and a skirt, shaped like a sarong. The men wore a brightly coloured cotton shirt, a pair of white duck trousers bound round the waist with a sash, and a large straw hat. They used tables, stools, knives, forks and a white table-cloth at their meals, and decorated the walls of their houses with pictures. In the evenings the family sat round on chairs, the father and elder sons reading, while the mother and her daughters sewed.

By local law a man was allowed only one wife at a time, though the service followed the Mohammedan pattern. Divorce was by mutual consent, but advantage was seldom taken of it. Marriages were arranged largely by the young people concerned, though their parents' approval was needed. There does not appear to have been any regulations prohibiting marriage with near relations. According to George Clunies-Ross the men had made a practice of beating their wives when he first inherited the islands, but he had forced them to abandon the custom. Their independance and immunity, however, seem to have lead in some cases to their neglecting their husbands and children, while, in Clunies-Ross's opinion, the majority were the heads of their families. A woman

might refuse to cook a meal for her husband, and he would then go to a neighbouring house where custom dictated that, as a guest, he must be fed. They appear also to have taken little interest in their children, and the infant mortality was high in relation to the general health of the kampong. Several of the visiting officials seem to have formed the opinion that infanticide was practised, where the child was not wanted. Slocum is at pains to contradict this impression, but he makes his contribution so naively that one feels that it must have been inspired—"My first impression upon landing was that the crime of infanticide had not reached the islands of Keeling Cocos. 'The children have all come to welcome you', explained Mr. Ross, as they mustered at the jetty by hundreds, of all ages and sizes" (Slocum, 1900, p. 214).

In 1901 the Eastern Extension Telegraph Company established a relay station for their cable across the Indian Ocean on Pulo Tikus (Direction Island). The company obtained the lease of forty of the island's seventy-two acres, and built on them offices and bungalows for the staff. At one time the latter included over thirty Europeans, but with the introduction of automatic machinery the number dropped to eight in the years before the recent war.

The staff of the station included a European doctor who, by agreement between Clunies-Ross and the company, also acted as consultant for the kampong on Pulo Selma. One of the first medical officers was Dr. F. Wood-Jones, who later became Professor of Zoology at Melbourne University. He resided on Pulo Tikus from June 1905 until the end of September 1906. He visited the atoll again for a few months in 1907, as the guest of George Clunies-Ross, and ultimately married one of his daughters. He was particularly interested in the formation and growth of coral atolls, but he also made collections of other elements in the fauna, and extensive notes on the history and state of the settlement on Pulo Selma. His summary of the fauna was published in a series of papers in the Proceedings of the Zoological Society (1909, pp. 132-160). These were later reprinted, together with an account of the kampong in book form (1912). His papers on the fauna and flora provide the first systematic account of the biota of the islands. They contain much of value, but they suffer in parts from a considerable carelessness, and an over-optimistic acceptance of unconfirmed visual records.

The great interest of Wood-Jones's account of the kampong lies in the customs which he describes which have now disappeared, probably largely as a result of the islands' poverty. This refers particularly to the exchange of presents during courtship, and to the feasts celebrating special occasions. In Wood-Jones's time a young man called on the parents of his prospective fiancée, and offered them a token gift made of gold. If they approved of the

match they accepted it, and the young couple were then considered to be formally engaged. The girl would receive a succession of presents of increasing value, which it was incumbent on her to return if she should change her mind. The exception would seem to have been the initial gift, which traditionally consisted of a tortoiseshell comb, made by the man, for her hair. This she kept whatever happened; one of the Colonial Reports quotes an instance of a young unmarried girl with eight. The feasts described by Wood-Jones which have largely disappeared are a Harvest Festival (*S'Kada Bumi*), a name-day festival (*Slamatan*) and an annual feast for children (*Branchahan*). At the harvest festival little wicker baskets were prepared, containing food, and hung up in the branches of trees so that the spirits might come and share the feast. At the children's festival aromatic substances were burnt in small smouldering fires placed under the beds of all the children in the house. The ashes of these were preserved carefully. If one of the children in the family of the man giving the feast was away, his portion was put into a bowl and placed on his bed, so that though absent he could still partake in the proceedings.

George Clunies-Ross married twice. Both his wives were taken from the Cocos-born Malays on Pulo Selma. He died in the Isle of Wight in 1910, and was succeeded as owner of the islands by his second son, John Sidney, who was still alive at the time of my stay there in 1941. The year before his death the islands were struck by one of the worst cyclones in their recorded history. Over ninety per cent of the coconut palm are said to have been blown down or decapitated, and the output of copra was reduced to a negligible amount for several years. In addition the destruction was so extensive that it was not possible to clear away the debris. Many of the nuts on the fallen trees sprouted under the cover of the decaying fronds, and as a result too many palms came into being. This was never rectified, and within ten years most of the islands were so thick with them that none were bearing fully. Eighty-one mature trees cut down in 1941, to clear ground for the defence of the islands, had only 125 nuts between them.

The islands suffered a second blow, which ultimately deterred their economic recovery, four years later. In August 1914 the German cruiser *Emden*, commanded by Captain von Müller, was in eastern waters. Shortly after the outbreak of war she sailed from Tsingtao, in China, with a roving commission to attack allied shipping in the Indian Ocean. By the beginning of November over seventy armed vessels were searching for her. On the ninth of the month she arrived off the Cocos-Keeling Islands, and Captain von Müller sent a party ashore to destroy the cable station. While she was waiting for their return the Australian cruiser H.M.A.S. *Sidney*, which had been summoned by wireless as soon as she was sighted, came up with her. In the running fight which ensued the

Emden was out-manoeuvred and out-gunned by the younger ship. Finally she was set on fire, and in an attempt to save as many lives as possible von Müller drove her on to the reef fringing the south coast of North Keeling.

The landing party behaved with considerable courtesy, in spite of the fact that the employees of the cable station had been provided with Boer War pith helmets and rifles, and might therefore have been considered to be armed. They cut down the wireless mast, situated between two hard tennis courts, but lowered it so that it damaged neither. They smashed the machinery in the relay station, but spared the generating plant as it also provided electricity for the staff's ice-plant. Then they sat with the Englishmen on the roof of one of the bungalows to watch the fight. When it became apparent that the *Emden* was defeated the landing party took possession of a three-masted schooner, the *Ayesha*, belonging to J. S. Clunies-Ross, which was lying at anchor in the lagoon. They sailed under cover of nightfall, and reached Batavia successfully. The Dutch authorities allowed them to take on stores and water, and from Java they crossed the Indian Ocean westward to Lourenco Marques in Portuguese East Africa. There they abandoned the *Ayesha*, and some at least succeeded in making their way back to Germany to rejoin the Imperial Navy. Clunies-Ross was never able to recover his ship, and the compensation which he received long afterwards was quite inadequate to buy another at current prices. Shortly after the loss of the *Ayesha* he sold his other sea-going vessel, a motor yacht, formerly the property of the Kaiser, as he was unable to run her during the war, and was afraid of losing her.

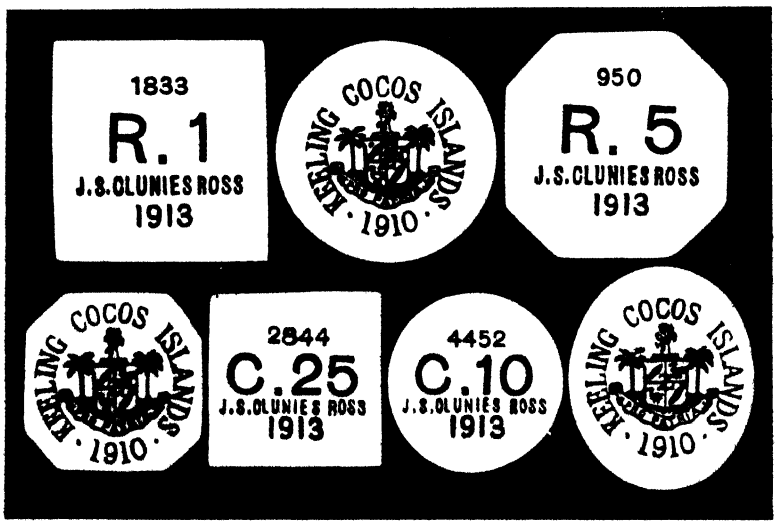
In 1920 J. S. Clunies-Ross, still believing that the islands might recover their economic prosperity, rebuilt the kampong, in its present form, as a single unit. The work took the greater part of the good timber still on the atoll, and, coupled with the high price of sound wood in Java, made it impossible for a large boat to be built locally. As the post-war boom faded the price of copra dropped. This might have been off-set by an increased output, but the congested plantations seldom produced more than a small proportion of their pre-war yield. The annual export of copra never exceeded five hundred tons, and was usually far below this figure. At the same time the population increased steadily. Clunies-Ross, though he would not permit the return of a Malay who had once left the islands, refused to force any of his men to leave. The result was that the excess of income over expenditure diminished until finally it disappeared completely. By the early nineteen-thirties it had become necessary for him to draw on his dividends from the shares in the Christmas Island Phosphate Company, and later even borrow money against an insurance policy on his life, to buy the rice and other foodstuffs that could not be

grown on the atoll. In 1941 the Cocos-Keeling Islands had a native population of over 1,450. In that year they produced just over six hundred tons of copra, their highest output since the cyclone of 1909. After deducting selling commission and freight charges to Singapore, Clunies-Ross received less than $10 a ton for it, where his father had been making £20.

The Cocos-Keeling settlement in 1941.

The sub-sections which follow this introduction contain summaries of certain aspects of the settlement on the Cocos-Keeling Islands as it was in 1941. The material and organisation were roughly the same as in the period covered by the published colonial reports, but the whole had been damped down by isolation and the islands' economic condition.

The settlement still had many of the characteristics of a large private estate in the eighteenth century. The laws were nominally those of the Straits Settlements, but in actual practice the regulations enforced were mostly from the local legal code. Every family was provided with a house, which was maintained, and re-roofed



TOKEN COINS IN USE ON THE COCOS-KEELING ISLANDS IN 1941. SOME ARE SHOWN OBVERSE AND SOME REVERSE. THEY ALL HAD THE CREST OF THE ISLANDS AND THE DATE 1910 ON ONE SIDE, AND THE NAME J. S. CLUNIES-ROSS, WITH THE DATE 1913 AND THEIR VALUE, ON THE OTHER. THE VALUES IN THE UPPER ROW ARE RUPEES 1, 2 AND 5, IN THE LOWER CENTS 50, 25, 10 AND 5, IN EACH CASE READING FROM LEFT TO RIGHT. THEY ARE DEPICTED APPROXIMATELY 4/5 OF THEIR NATURAL SIZE.

when necessary, by labour paid by Clunies-Ross. The people were at liberty to gather what coconuts they wanted from parts of the plantations, and to fish whenever they were not nominally working. All males between the ages of fourteen and sixty, the unmarried girls, and those married women and widows who wished to work, were employed, even if there was nothing productive for them to do. On the other hand the wages were low, and they were paid in a token coinage which could only be realized through Clunies-Ross's store or office. They were calculated in Cocos-Keeling rupees, worth 5/7 of a Singapore dollar. Owing to the general economic conditions the goods for sale in the store were limited almost entirely to rationed quantities of rice, a little tea, sugar and tobacco, and occasionally small amounts of cloth or fishing lines. Men were allowed to buy in proportion to the size of their families. The remainder of their income accumulated in a paper balance which they could touch only if they wished to leave the islands permanently, or to transfer it to friends who were leaving.

Many of the households were very poor in worldly goods. The older ones had lost them to more enterprising families during the transition period. The younger ones had never had a chance to acquire them. The widespread shortage had, in some respects, produced certain admirable qualities. There was practically no stealing, except for occasional raids on Clunies-Ross's orchard. Prosecutions for theft were very rare. The last murder had occurred nearly thirty years earlier. There was no prostitution: there was so little to receive that those so inclined gave themselves solely from natural affection or desire. Any man who had a good catch of fish, or a present of cigarettes from a member of the cable station, distributed most of his surplus to his neighbours and friends. Not to have done so would have laid him open to the charge of being mean (*sĕkikir*), the worst epithet that could be applied to anyone. If a family did decide to leave, their friends would often give them high proportions of their own credit balances, in exchange for promises of small quantities of goods to be sent down by the next supply boat. This was done repeatedly, even though experience showed that the emigrants usually forgot their promises as soon as they reached Singapore. In this way some households carried credits for several thousand dollars with them, though their own savings might have been only as many hundreds.

Income, residence, fuel, and in practice food, were assured to the people. It might be thought, as casual visitors often assumed, that their state must have been one of complete content. If it was the word needs qualification. The absence of all minor luxuries and all incentive to extra effort made it a colourless, listless content, from which the best would have escaped if they had dared. The factors that kept them back were the regulations forbidding

their return, strong family ties, and an almost complete ignorance of the outside world.

Recruitment of Javanese labour had virtually ceased by the end of the last century. The edict forbidding the return of those who had once gone away had been in force for nearly as long. Less than a dozen of the fourteen hundred residents on Pulo Selma had ever seen more of the world than the little group of islands, and the wall of sea that surrounds it. The majority had not even been as far as North Keeling. The last occasion on which men had been out into the great unknown and come back was when, shortly before 1914, the *Ayesha* had sailed to England to fetch the body of George Clunies-Ross from the Isle of Wight. My boatman had gone on the voyage as a young lad. All that he could remember of it was that Southampton had been wet and cold, and he had paid a pound to sleep with a woman.

The absence of a real, cognate outside world seemed to have strengthened their natural indolence. There was no source of stimulus for most of the islanders. Times had been better, men had probably worked harder, there had been more rice and more clothes, but all that was in the past. In 1941 the mood of the people in the kampong was to take what was given to them, and do without what was not. The whole place had an aura of decay. The workshops in which George Clunies-Ross had built his boats, even the last of the boats themselves, mouldered gently. The stores and even the owner's house seemed to be decaying quietly and unobtrusively. There was an almost complete lack of energy and initiative. A man who knew the islands well was asked in London what the people were like: he patted the questioner on the shoulder and said merely, "They lounge, dear boy, they lounge." The settlement was an aged person, slowly slipping out of life, and nearly content to see it go.

Physical Appearance The greater part of the stock from which the islanders were descended came from Java. As might be expected the physical appearance of the majority fell within the category loosely known as Malay, with the wide range of modifications common to a sea port. They were mostly of medium height, slightly built, with light brown skins and straight black hair. To this it must be added that some were definitely thick-set, a few were tall, and the head-shape and features varied considerably. Two young girls clearly had the full, round face and the honey brown skin of the Balinese.

The most obvious departures from the mean, each represented by very few families, were in the direction of the Zulu, Papuan, Chinese and European stocks. The majority of these have been recorded by previous visitors. Darwin noticed the presence of the

Chinese strain in some of the women in 1836 (1842, p. 547). Wood-Jones comments on the traces of Chinese, Papuan and Negro stocks discernible in 1905 (1912, p. 21). Forbes writes lyrically of a Papuan girl whom he saw in 1879,

> "She was a tall Papuan ..in whom all the grace of body and limb that she inherited from her race had developed, under the happy circumstances under which she had come, into the perfection of the human female figure .. With all the respect of a servant, she mingled a kind solicitude in looking after my comfort and attending to my wants, which as a daughter of the island to its guest, she might without presumption use. A fresh rose was daily laid on my pillow and on the folded-down counterpane, while, that the water in my basin might seem fresher than its sparkling self, she sprinkled it with fragrant rose leaves." (1885, p. 18).

It is interesting to note, as one saw in 1941, that the extraneous elements seem in most cases to have appeared most obviously in the young women. This was unfortunate for the individuals concerned in the case of the Zulu and Papuan stocks, as the general feeling in the kampong was that a light skin was more attractive than a good figure. Some of these girls were still unmarried, though past the age at which the majority had one or more children. The Chinese element was clearly apparent in about six families. Nearly all of them had a poor physique, well below the average for the kampong, and four out of the six cases of tuberculosis were among them. In spite of this the girls appeared to have no difficulty in getting married.

The traces of European admixture were not as conspicuous as might have been expected. It seemed to appear in the small children, several of whom had fair, and one red, hair, and to disappear later as the hair grew darker and the skin tanned from the sun. One old lady, who always wore a singlet, was dark brown on the exposed parts of her body; but when I had occasion to examine her chest and back I found that they were a very light café-au-lait, seeming almost white in contrast to the arms and face. All the members of one family, said to have been descended from the "Italians" on the *Luigi Raffo*, resembled Europeans from the Mediterranean coast. Normally this would obviously not have been a bar to marriage, but in the case of the girls of the family a concomitant factor seemed to be. They were unduly amorous, and it was the feeling among the young men that while they could not be sure that their wives would be faithful after marriage, they did at least expect them to be during courtship. It was also, I gathered, thought that it would be a great labour to keep them satisfied, and more than the seductive value of their large, doe-like eyes and pale skins were worth.

The staff of the cable station at this time consisted of twelve Europeans, six Malays from Singapore and about twenty Chinese, all men. The Malays and Chinese were allowed to spend occasional week-ends in houses on Pulo Selma, and the latter may have helped to keep up the Chinese strain in the population. Unfortunately a similar concession was granted to the Ceylonese troops. This privilege was not, and had never been, extended to the Europeans on Pulo Tikus, and except for the medical officer they were not, in practice, allowed to move freely through the kampong even in daylight. The greater part of the slight European element in in the population must therefore date from the time when the Clunies-Ross family employed Danish or Norwegian masters on its trading schooner, or even earlier.

Health The islanders were sturdy and the general level of health was high, though at the beginning of 1941, when over-milled rice was being imported, it seemed that some of the families at least were close to vitamin deficiency. Chronic ulcers on the legs and feet, which might take several months to heal, were not uncommon, but they represented the greater part of the conditions requiring medical treatment. The only other troubles that were at all wide-spread were round worms and amoebic dysentery, which appeared to be endemic. There were no cases of patent beri-beri, and the only dropsy that I saw was clearly due to cardiac failure. Inevitably the visits of boats from the outside world were invariably followed by epidemics of feverish colds, leading to several deaths.

Koch's bacillus was present in the kampong, but very few families were infected. During 1941 I saw only six cases of tuberculosis. On the credit side it can be said that there was no venereal disease of any form on Pulo Selma, and no tropical diseases other than dysentery. The happy state of affairs in regard to the former may not, of course, have survived the military occupations.

The mosquitoes present were *Culex pipiens*, and two species of *Stegomyia* (*Aëdes*). The first was abundant in the kampong. The *Stegomyia* were breeding mostly in the coconut plantations, either in the rain water held in abandoned husks or in pockets below the surface among the coral clinker. They were most active from the middle of the afternoon to sundown, and were distressingly plentiful in certain areas. They invaded the bungalow in which I lived on Pulo Tikus in such numbers that it was necessary to wear boots, trousers, a long-sleeved shirt and a shawl over one's head during this period. Nevertheless, apart from the irritation that they occasioned, they caused no harm.

The women were delivered by women of their own families or by two aged, unofficial midwives. Childbirth did not seem to worry

either party, and in general was accomplished remarkably successfully. There were no death of mother or child during 1941. I was only consulted once, and that was when I was called to a girl of about twenty who had been in labour for three days with an obstructed breech presentation. Four days later she went to a dance, giving as her only comment on her actions that it was in honour of the birth of her brother's first son. On the other hand one must recorded that she did not feel equally strongly about her own child, and it died suddenly when it was some six months old, without, one was told, ever being sufficiently ill for anyone to be informed about it: it was a healthy infant, but it had a hare-lip and cried a great deal.

Relatively little use was made of local substances in cases of sickness. The castor oil plant, *Ricinus communis* Linn., was grown fairly widely, and a laxative prepared from the crushed seeds. The sap from cut branches of the Waru Bĕtul, *Hibiscus tiliaceus* Linn., was applied to sore eyes, and the white exudate from several trees, particularly Nangka-Nangka, *Sideroxylon* sp., and Poko Sĕmbojah, *Plumeria acutifolia* Poir, put into the cavities of carious teeth to stop them aching. Turtle fat was believed to be a good embrocation for use in rheumatism. The islanders' principal remedies, however, were fasting, perhaps prayers, and removal to another place, either to a different house or even, for a short time, to one of the other islands.

The atoll was relatively free from obnoxious animals. A small, flat scorpion, *Isometrus maculatus* De Geer, and the poisonous centipede, *Scolopendra subspinipes* Leach, were fairly plentiful in the roofs of the houses and among piles of fallen nuts, but rarely caused trouble. There were also two ants, one known as Sĕmut Api, *Solenopsis* sp., which had a painful bite, and the other, known as Sĕmut Aman, *Odontomachus* sp., which bit and stung. There were no snakes, and the latter was considered to be the most objectionable of the land animals, followed by the centipede.

The reef and adjacent waters also contained several poisonous animals, but there were no records of fatalities from them. The Portugese Man-of-War, *Physalia* sp., was seen fairly frequently in the lagoon, but the islanders avoided the shoals carefully. There were also Scorpion Fish, *Pterois russeli* V.H., and Ikan Lĕpu, *Synanceia verrucosa* Bloch and Schn., in the reef pools. Several of the sea-urchins left painful wounds, and the mucous from one of the corals, *Alcyonaria* sp., and a sea anemone produced a painful, irritating rash, sometimes lasting for several days, if it came in contact with the skin. The most troublesome of the reef animals was probably a marine worm, *Chloeia flava*, pinkish in colour and growing to a length of about four inches, which was plentiful in shallow, rock-stream water. It was covered with long, fragile spines, re-

sembling spun glass. These pierced the skin easily, and gave rise to sloughing ulcers which healed slowly. Cases occurred mostly among women gathering clams and shrimps on the reef for food, and those going into shallow water at night to defaecate.

Language As early as 1836 Darwin had noticed that, in spite of the diversity of their origins, the islanders were all speaking a common language (1842, p. 547). This was completely so in 1941. They were using, as far as one could analyse it, a slightly distorted form of the dialect of Malay current in Batavia. It could be regarded as impoverished, in that they had no knowledge of a number of words, such as religious terms and those employed in connection with important personages, for which they had no use. On the other hand they had formed new words, particularly in relation to sailing and introduced customs, from distortions of English or Dutch ones.

When speaking to strangers they talked moderately slowly, and with breaks between the words. Among themselves they conversed with a strong rising and falling rhythm, almost like a singsong, and frequently with the words run into each other. It was sometimes impossible to distinguish even the simplest statements when made by one to another, though the meaning became clear when the same words were repeated for the benefit of an outsider. In some degree also difficulties were caused by changes that had grown up in the initial consonants. These applied to some words, but not to others beginning with the same letter. Thus *kĕr* had become *gĕr* in such words as *kĕrapu* (kind of fish) and *kĕrita* (an octopus), but not in *kĕrani, kĕras* or *kĕring*. *Jĕndela* (a window) was called *Dĕndela*, and *Dĕlima* (a pomegranate) *Gĕlima*, but *jĕmur* and *dĕleng* remained unchanged. There were also occasional modifications of the final vowels, and the sound represented in Johore Malay by *au* was, as pronounced on the Cocos-Keeling Islands, best written *o* (e.g. *pulo* and *ija* not *pulau* and *hijau*).

Some words appeared to have altered their meaning slightly. Thus *bĕchara* was employed for all forms of talk, including to tell or instruct, while *chakap* was scarcely used. One of the most deadly modifications had occurred with the word *chantek*, which was not used for all meanings of pretty, where it was usually replaced by *bagus*, but had come to signify only the condition best described as "all dressed up to meet the boy friend." Shortly after my arrival I was in a crowded house waiting for the head of the family to take me fishing. A small girl walked across the room, naked except for a string of bright red beads. It was an attractive picture, and, making conversation, I turned to the young woman next to me and said innocently *Banyak chantek*. This was taken for a daring sally that I was never allowed to forget, and I was promptly assumed to be *bĕrahi*, a term used there for any person or animal that was

considered to be unduly amorous. The boobies, which occasionally flew over to the main atoll from North Keeling, were usually seem in short skeins. These were taken to signify males chasing a female, and the bird was thought to be always *bĕrahi*, like the cocks in the kampong. *Bisa*, from *biasa* (accustomed to), was frequently used in place of *boleh*, in the sense of being able to do a thing. There were other of these minor changes of meaning or implication, and no doubt many that I did not notice. They would make an interesting study, but it would have to be done, like that of determining the proportion of genuinely new words, by someone well acquainted with the Malay spoken in Batavia. There can be no doubt that many apparent modifications were merely the common usage of the Javanese ports as oppposed to Johore.

Names and Forms of Address The system of personal names was in on some respects peculiar. The majority of the women, and almost all the men, had different names. The number available in Malay is limited, and many parents had found it necessary to go outside their own language when they came to register their children. There were therefore men or women bearing the English terms for most of the common colours, of several of the men who had served for a term on the cable station, and of a strange assortment of public figures from Slocum to Jellicoe and Haig. The pronunciation of some of these presented difficulties to a Malay tongue, and in these cases it might be found that person would have one name in Clunies-Ross's register, and a rather different one in conversation. A man recorded as Balwhinny was always referred to as *Borl*, a girl named Darling as *Dahlan* and a Diana as *Daini*.

A further complication was caused by the custom, occurring fairly widely in this part of the world, of parents changing their name when their first child was born. The father would then become known as *Pak* followed by his child's name, and his wife as *Mak* followed by the child's name. These would be retained even if the child died shortly afterwards. At about the appearance of the first grandchild the old couple would both become known as *Nek-nek* followed still by the name of their own firstborn, who, if a man and still alive, would by then usually have changed his name. The practice of using *bin* and *binte* was followed only on the registration and other forms in Clunies-Ross's office.

In cases of serious illness a young person was usually moved to another house. If they recovered their name was changed, but the parents would not changed their's again. When older people were seriously ill they seldom troubled to move, but they might change their name on getting better. Childless couples were generally referred to after a number of years as *Wak*, followed by their

own names, and later as *Nek-nek*. If they were popular, however, they might by courtesy be credited with a fictitious child, assumed to have died young, and so be known as *Pak* and *Mak*.

A man usually addressed his wife by her registered name, or an affectionate corruption of it. He would continue to use this after the birth of their first child, or address her as *Mak* without anything following it. *Ungku* was never used. *Lu* was used only to children, or to imply that the person addressed was inferior. The correct forms of address varied with the sex of the person addressed, and their age in relation to the speaker. They can be listed as follows,

	To a female	*To a male*
Younger than the speaker	Adek	Adek
The same age	Kaka	Abang
A little older	Bibi	Pakman
Appreciably older, or old	Wak	Wak
Very much older, or very old	Nek	Nek

It will be noted that *Wak* and *Nek* were used in addressing a person, as well as in referring to them. To address a man as *Nek* or *Nek-nek* certainly did not imply that one was trying to claim him as a grandparent. *Dato* was never used.

Beliefs and Customs The islanders were nominally Mohammedans, though their practices had in many respects been affected by the Clunies-Rosses' regulations. In a few small points they seemed to be following the minor observances of their faith more closely than during the last century. There were no pigs on Pulo Selma, and they would not take gifts of tinned pork or sausages. Spirit drinking had ceased, and very few families were indulging in toddy. The men who did asserted, as they had done to N.P. Trevenen in 1888, that the Prophet had never forbidden people to drink, but only admonished them not to get drunk.

Work stopped at mid-day on Saturday, and Sunday, not Friday, was the non-working day. A small proportion of the men went to their mosque on Sunday, but the majority attended only on special occasions. There were no daily services or prayers. Bulan Puasa was observed, but rather laxly and not by all the members of the kampong. The only festivals to which importance was attached were Hari Raya Puasa and New Year's Day. The latter was celebrated by a holiday, and a lunch given by Clunies-Ross to the headmen of the kampong at which the principal dish was two of the venerable sheep curried.

The people were certainly superstitious, but only a few of the superstitions could be said to be of Mohammedan origin. The father of the medical orderly resolutely refused operation when he had a strangulated inguinal hernia, even though he accepted the warning that he would die if nothing was done. He insisted that he preferred to go to paradise then with an intact body rather than a few years later with an eternal scar. The mother of a small boy to whom it was necessary to give an anaesthetic was convinced that he died when he became unconscious, and that a soul was put back into the body as he came round. She regarded the performance as showing great cleverness. Her only complaint during my remaining six months on the island was that the soul that I had put back into the body was not the one that gone out. Her own child, she always said, had behaved much better. The north end of Pulo Selma was regarded as inhabited by spirits, *Banyak Shaitan*, and no one would go there after dark. It was thought that a girl, too young to marry, who became pregnant and did not confess her transgression would cause bad fishing weather until she did so. On the other hand, an unfavourable wind could sometimes be turned by burning the leaves of the Kayu Sireh.

The men were allowed only one wife, and marriages were arranged largely by the individuals concerned. The restriction on wife-beating was believed to limit the man to a stick of the thickness of his little finger. The women were not similarly confined in their activities, and there was one women who was popularly thought to attack here husband reguarly with a quanting pole. In general the children were well cared for, but there was no doubt that in some of the larger families the youngest were neglected, and one felt that in a few cases deaths of breast fed infants were due to a deliberate withholding of nourishment. It certainly cannot be said that children were invariably regarded as blessings from heaven, and a number of women asked for advice on birth control. It was a popular belief on the island that there had formerly been Javanese midwives who had been able to prevent conception, for a suitable sum, by retroverting the uterus. Unfortunately the secret had been lost, and the population increased by over sixty in 1941.

Young men were not allowed to marry before the age of eighteen, and girls before sixteen. The penalty, if it became inevitable that a couple should marry before the requisite age was reached, was a beating for both parties or a fine of twenty-five rupees each. In either case the man was allowed to pay for both. In view of the balance in token money which most families possessed the offence was always met by paying the fine. Pre-marital intercourse was probably not invariable, and there was a family of very attractive girls who had failed to get husbands in consquence of

their liberality. Nevertheless about a third of the brides were already pregnant. Marital fidelity varied considerably with individual temperaments. In some households it was virtually non-existent, and the head man of the kampong had a mistress with whom he used to discuss decisions of importance, after he had debated them with his wife and legitimate children. In some cases it seemed that the woman's only complaint was if she thought the second woman was inferior to her in physical attraction. Divorce was by mutual consent, but permission had to be obtained from Clunies-Ross. It was rarely invoked, but then in some respects little was to be gained by it.

The public portions of the marriage ceremony were much reduced from the traditional Malay form, and occupied only an hour or two in the middle of the afternoon. Weddings were always solemnized on Saturdays. Both participants wore a modified version of the full costume, with their head-dresses decorated with artificial flowers. The bridegroom had his face rubbed with turmeric, and painted with thick black eyebrows and a false moustache. If possible he wore shoes or sandals. Thus equipped he went, under an old umbrella, to the bride's house, accompanied by several of his male friends beating on tambourines and a drum at intervals. At the door there was always a slight delay, while he conducted a token argument with his future mother-in-law. After a short time one of his followers would discharge a single shot into the air, and the party then entered the house. Once he was inside the bride came forward and washed his feet with scented water. Then the pair sat on the floor together at one end of the room. On a pillow between them would be a dish of *Rogat*, from which both eat. The invited guests filled the remainder of the room, and were given cakes and sweetmeats. During this part of the proceedings the bride's mother and her near relatives took portions of the food to friends and neighbours who had been invited, but had not been able to come. After a time the young pair would rise, and return demurely together to the house of the bridegroom's parents, walking under umbrellas held by small children. A second shot was usually fired as they left the bride's house. At the entrance to the bridegroom's house they were met by his mother, who tied a long scarf round the pair as soon as they had passed through the door. Then she fed them several mouthfuls of saffroned rice with a spoon, and afterwards left them to sit side by side on the floor, each looking shyly straight to the front. Those who had followed them in received a second token meal. The whole proceedings had a perfunctory air, and the central figures seemed as uneasy and bored as at an English wedding. Owing to the shortage of houses the married couples generally took up residence with the bridegroom's father until death gave them a vacancy.

The afternoon ceremony was generally followed by an evening entertainment. This was normally at the house of the bridegroom. It took the form of one of the usual kampong entertainments—a *Dansa* or a *Selon*. These might also be staged at any time, to celebrate a personal event, when a family thought that they could afford it. The house was stripped of its internal fittings, and one wall removed. A tarpaulin was usually extended outwards from the roof on the open side, and under it would be placed chairs, benches and tables for the spectators. If possible several members of the cable station were persuaded to attend, in the knowledge that they would take with them sufficient aerated waters to supply at least a fair proportion of the other guests. Inside the house three of the older men of the kampong, lead by the head man, played on antique fiddles. The *Dansa* was the more popular of the two entertainments. The music consisted largely of distorted versions of old highland tunes, to which couples, men and women, danced a form of Sir Roger de Coverley, with a number of interpolated movements. A single dance lasted about ten minutes, and usually exhausted the majority of the participants. The spectators generally kept time to the music by clapping their hands. Sometimes the sequence of dances would be broken by a scarf dance (*Mĕlenggok*) performed by two of the men.

The *Selon* was usually danced only by men, and was not unlike the Malay *Ronggeng*. During the course of it one of the performers would quote or compose pantuns, which had to be answered by the other (though responses sometimes came from the audience). The pantuns were generally introduced by the lines,

Raksaksa yang sayang he!
Raksaksa yang sayang he!
Liah nona yang jau,
Raksaksa yang sayang he!

A considerable number of these verses were written down for me, but unfortunately the texts are now lost. A great many of them were very similar to, or identical with, pantuns that have been published from the Malay Peninsula. A few had definite local allusions, and would seem to have been produced on the island. Some certainly were, as they contained references to events on Pulo Tikus, of which details had reached the kampong. Two, which were explained to me with great delight by my boatman, brought in my peculiar habit of collecting bird skins, and putting dead fish in glass jars.

In addition to the *Dansa* and *Selon* the islanders sometimes staged a *Bangsawan*. This lasted over three hours, and was much less popular as more preparation was needed, and the audience could

not take part in it. I only saw it performed twice, and then could stay for only a section of it. As elsewhere the greater part appeared to consist of gagging and by-play by the actors, and it seemed unlikely that any of them had more than a vague idea of the general run of the plot. The principal performer was a Malay from Singapore, one of the only two men who had joined the colony during the nineteen-thirties. He was the comedian. To us his greatest asset was his habit of summing up ten minutes declaiming, in as many words of terse, if vulgar and limited, English.

Clothes The normal daily dress for the men was a pair of shorts or a brief sarong, with or without a singlet. A few had European shirts which were worn at work. The islanders were very adverse to going on the lagoon in full sunlight, unless they were adequately covered, and the majority also had sun-helmets for use when sailing. These had been begged from members of of the cable station, and were treated with considerable respect. About twenty were the Boer War army helmets which had been issued for the defence of the islands in 1914.

The women normally wore only a sarong, but a few had singlets as well. When only a sarong was worn it was always folded above the breasts in public, until the woman had had several children. Then it was often fastened round the waist. The change was probably occasioned by the frequency with which the mothers allowed babies carried on the hip to feed publicly. Young women in company generally drew attention to themselves by adjusting their sarongs. Children were usually left naked until they were four or five years old. The boys then wore shorts or sarongs, and the girls sarongs or, more often, dresses, which they called *Gowan*.

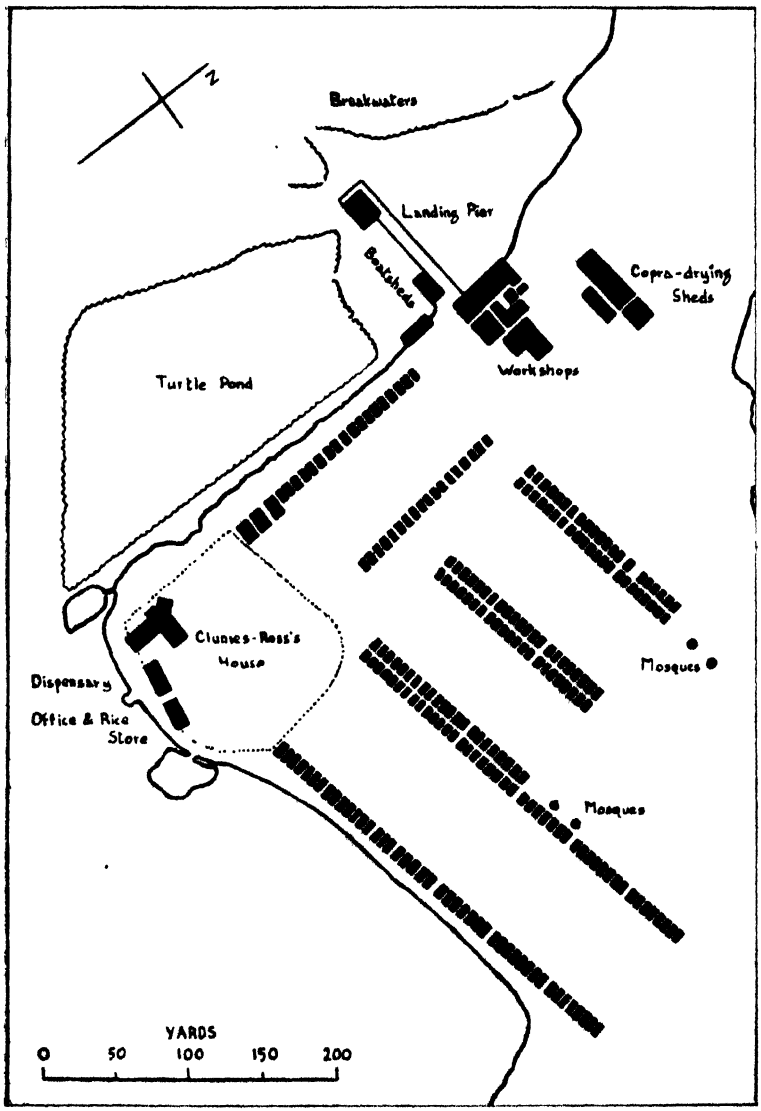
On ceremonial occasions the men had a much more elaborate costume. Those who were fortunate enough to possess them wore long white trousers underneath an ornamental sarong. The older men generally preferred check patterns, either green and white or black and white; red and white was unpopular. The younger men frequently wore a sarong like the young women, with a broad flowered panel down the back. Above they wore a singlet, and over it a jacket of organdie or muslin, known as a *Bĕskal*. This had long sleeves, with several rows of tucks and frills round them, terminating in a frilled cuff. The body of the jacket, which was short and extended only to the waist, was similarly frilled and had a broad jabot. The colour of the *bĕskal* varied with individual tastes, but the most popular shade was a puce pink known locally as *Merah Jambu*. There were several pairs of shoes on the island which were much prized for dancing, a man's prowess being rated in proportion to the noise that he made on the wooden floor. A few of the men had black songkoks which were worn for circumcisions, weddings and funerals: the remainder had small, flat hats,

with coloured bands round them. They had words for socks and stockings, but there did not appear to be any extant. A few had European style coats, which they called a *Jĕkit*, and these were occasionally seen at dances.

The women's dress for ceremonial occasions consisted of a sarong, and above it a muslin or organdie *kĕbayak* worn over an undergarment. The form of the latter varied with the means of the family. In the majority of the households it was only a singlet, which they referred to as a *Baju Tidor*. The older fashion, which survived in a few households was a white, frilled, short-sleeved poplin jacket. The *kĕbayak* differed from the men's *bĕskat* in having short sleeves, a longer jabot and extending down to cover the hips. Two patterns existed, the more popular, though more expensive, had a broad frill on the sleeve, and a second at the cuff. The plainer version had only a single broad frill at the cuff. The *kĕbayak* was always fastened across the bust with a brooch, unlike the *bĕskat* which was usually worn open in front. The brooch was usually made of turtle shell mounted on a metal base; it was known as *Pĕnit* and was often in the form of a sail-fish or a flying bird. They also used brooches made of the operculum of the sea snail *Turbo wajonkarii* Desk. The older women, and the younger if they had inherited them, wore gold or silver ear-rings. There was little jewellery in circulation in the kampong, but a few also had necklaces of red seeds (*Adenanthina pavonina* Linn.) or brown beads. The younger women, especially if they were unmarried or courting, often put several fresh flowers in the bun of their hair, and sometimes over their ears: they generally chose Kĕmbang Mĕlati Hutan (*Guettarda speciosa* Linn.), Poko Patok Gĕlatel (*Bougainvillea* sp.) or Gĕronggang (*Cordia subcordata* Linn.). The women much preferred, and on ceremonial occasions nearly always wore, sarongs with a flowered panel. The most popular patterns were those in which the panel contained a high proportion of pale areas. Green was the favourite colour among the younger women: the older ones usually wore appreciably darker sarongs with brown or black mixed in with the green.

The Kampong In 1941 the main settlement consisted of 243 houses, all identical in size and outward appearance, arranged regularly in straight, parallel rows. An aerial photograph of the kampong is shown on Plate 2, and a sketch plan of it as it was in 1941 on page 176. The roads were all named (one was called Piccadilly), and each house had a board over its front door, giving the name of the head of the family inhabiting it. There were four round mosques, rather like Kafir huts in appearance, place neatly in pairs at the ends of two of the roads. Each had its own imam. Every family was attached to a particular mosque. The parishes were formed by inheritance, and not by sections of the kampong. Each household attend the same mosque as the

head of the family, who himself was supposed to go to the one that his father had frequented. As a number of families had left the islands at different times, the congregations had, by 1941, be-



A SKETCH PLAN OF THE SETTLEMENT ON PULO SELMA IN 1941, SHOWING THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE HOUSES IN THE KAMPONG AND THE GARDEN AND HOUSE BELONGING TO THE CLUNIES-ROSS FAMILY.

come unequal. One was much larger than the others, and one much smaller.

Clunies-Ross's house was a big, two-storeyed structure, built on an L-shaped ground plan. At the junction of the arms was a square tower rising a further two storeys, and giving a magnificent view over the lagoon. The ground floor of one of the wings consisted of a single room, well over sixty feet long, panelled with teak brought from Java at the end of the last century. In contrast the walls of the entrance hall were covered with glazed white tiles, reminiscent of a public lavatory on the London Underground. The house was surrounded by a large garden, growing a wide range of fruit trees, and enclosed by a brick wall, ten feet high.

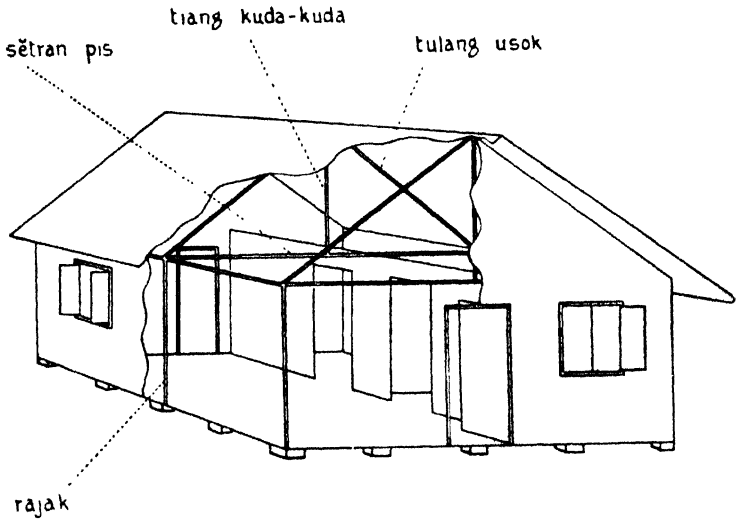
The cemetry was on the neighbouring island of Pulo Gangsa, which could be reached at low tide by walking across a sand bar through water a few inches deep. Formerly the dead had been buried on Pulo Selma itself, and the graves of the early settlers were still there. George Clunies-Ross had discontinued this practice when he became convinced that beri-beri was infectious, and he himself lies on Pulo Gangsa. Each grave was marked by a single piece of wood, about two feet high, pointed at the top if it was for a man and square-cut if for a woman. A clam shell containing water for the departed spirit was placed above it at the funeral, and in many cases cut flowers, which were sometimes renewed at intervals for several years.

There was also a small settlement on Pulo Luar. This was an old institution, dating back to the time of the third Clunies-Ross, who for a time had a herd of imported deer, both *Rusa* and *Kidang*, there. In 1941 there was only a vegetable farm, growing mostly pumpkins. It was presided over by a Malay from Pulo Selma, who lived with his wife and family in a house on the south shore of the island. No other men were allowed to land without special permission from Clunies-Ross. A number of the young girls were sent over to Pulo Luar for a year about their fifteen birthday. They went nominally to learn house-keeping from the farmer's wife, but largely so that they should not become pregnant before they reached the official marrying age. In actual fact they merely worked in the vegetable gardens, and once every one or two years one was found to be pregnant when it was time for her to leave. The farmer then paid a fine. I asked Clunies-Ross why, since the man was obviously at fault, actively or passively, he was not sacked, and was assured that that would be impossible: he was the only islander who knew how to grow pumpkins.

Houses The houses were all identical in structure and plan. They were plain, rectangular buildings, about eighteen feet wide and twenty-six feet long. In most cases the interior was

divided by partitions to form two small rooms, which were used for sleeping, and a large room which was used for the reception of visitors. There was a door in the centre of each end, and usually one half way along one of the sides. These were flanked by window spaces, protected by shutters. The floor, which was about a foot above the ground, was of wood boarding and known locally as *Děk*. The houses were surrounded by gardens, approximately thirty feet wide and eighty feet long enclosed by a pagar. These invariably contained a small kitchen, about eighteen feet by ten, which was the normal living room for the family.

The houses were constructed on a wooden frame, with six vertical posts, as shown in the accompanying sketch. In most cases the outer wall, which was known as *Dinding*, was made of thin



A DIAGRAMATIC REPRESENTATION OF A HOUSE IN THE KAMPONG ON HOME ISLAND, WITH PART OF THE WALL AND ROOF REMOVED TO SHOW THE INTERNAL STRUCTURE. THE SUPPORTING BEAMS HAVE BEEN LABELLED WITH THEIR LOCAL MALAY NAMES.

wood panelling (*Dinding Papan*) or atap (*Dinding Kĕlapa*). In a few cases it had unfortunately been repaired with corrugated iron or asbestos boarding obtained from the cable station. The roofs were covered with ataps, made of the trimmed, fallen fronds of the coconut palm. These were dried for one to three weeks before they were used. A thatch was normally laid by about ten men in one and a half days, and generally had to be renewed every three years. It was believed locally that the roofs would have lasted longer if the slope had been steeper, but three years is a fairly reasonable period for the material employed.

The principal woods employed are given below, catalogued under the portions of the house for which they were used.

Frame-work. Made of Kĕlapa (*Cocos nucifera*, Linn.), Mĕngkudu (*Morinda citrifolia* Linn.), Nyamplong (*Calophyllum inophyllum* Linn.) or Kĕmbang Mĕlati Hutan (*Guettarda speciosa* Linn.), as available. In many cases Kĕlapa had been used as, though soft, it is light, easy to work and can be obtained without difficulty in long, straight pieces. The centre uprights, supporting the crown of the roof, were nearly always made of it.

Doors and shutters. Usually made of Nyamplong, Jambu Hutan (*Hernandia peltata* Meissn.) or Sĕraya Merah (? *Shorea* sp.).

Floor. Made of Kĕmbang Mĕlati Hutan, Jambu Hutan, Kayu Sireh (*Tournefortia argentea* Linn.), Kayu Laki (*Ochrosia ? oppositifolia* K. Schum.), or Kĕtapang (*Terminalia catappa* Linn.).

Walls. Made of Kayu Laki, Kayu Sireh or Kĕtapang, when wood was used.

Fences. Usually made of Mĕngkudu, Nyamplong, Kĕmbang Mĕlati Hutan, Kayu Kankong (*Scaevola frutescens* Krause), Kĕlenchi (*Guielandina bundoc* Ait.), Waru Bĕtul (*Hibiscus tiliaceus* Linn.) or Waru Hutan (*Thespesia populnea* Soland.), as available, when wood was used.

The condition of the house varied very much with the character of the owners. Some were clean, tidy and in good repair, while others were dirty and messy. A small minority made no attempt to keep their fences intact, and a few had even abandoned them completely. The same contrasts could be seen in the furnishings. Some of the houses were almost bare, with only a little, broken furniture. Others had chairs, tables and sideboards, shelves on the walls covered with clean cloths and glass ornaments, mirrors, and extensive galleries of pictures cut from illustrated magazines. In a few cases these rivalled the collections of star-struck soldiers, and concentrated on the same subject. The semi-nude is undoubtedly of almost universal appeal. The better equipped houses had mosquito-nets, as *Culex pipiens* was troublesome at night, but the poorer families appeared to manage without them. Mosquito-nets were, nevertheless, among the many things for which those who begged freely asked frequently.

Boats In general the Cocos-Keeling Malays are excellent boat builders. The craft has a long tradition on the islands, and in 1941 it seemed to be limited only by shortage of suitable

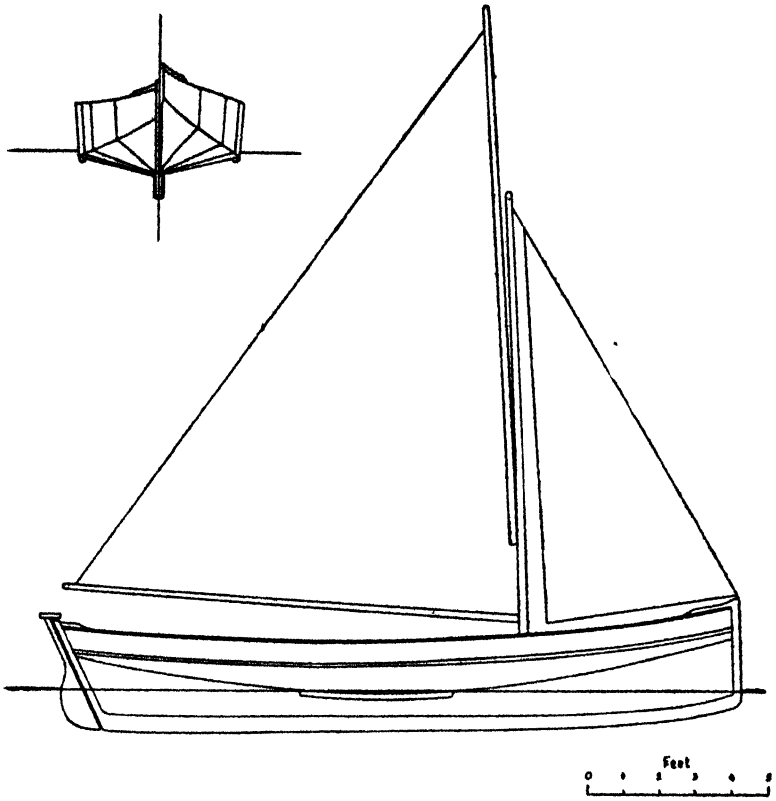
timber. In the last century they were able to import Teak, *Tectonia grandis* Linn., from Java, and to obtain Bastard Teak, *Berrya ammonilla* Roxb., from Christmas Island. With these, in the eighteen-seventies, they built a schooner of 178 tons, which was sailed to England, where she was granted a certificate of A1 for sixteen years by Lloyds. They also had good local supplies of Gĕronggang, *Cordia subcordata* Lam., Mĕngkudu, *Morinda citrifolia* Linn., Kĕmbang Mĕlati Hutan, *Guiettarda speciosa* Linn., Waru, *Hibiscus tiliaceus* Linn. and Waru Hutan, *Thespesia populnea* Soland. The small boats used on the lagoon in 1897 were described by Slocum (1900, p. 218) as exquisitely modelled, and by far the best workmanship in boat building that he saw on the whole of his voyage round the world.

The present boat, known locally as a *Dukong,* dates from the beginning of this century. The sides are vertical, or nearly vertical, and at the mind point the bottom is almost flat, being inclined to the horizontal at an angle of approximately six degrees. This angle increases towards the bow and stern, so that by the time the stems are reached the planking is vertical. These boats, which were made in three lengths, have a draught of about a foot and a keel of about six inches. Their measurements, taken from the average of three representative specimens of each group, run as follows:—

Length	Breadth	Depth of Side	Keel	Total Depth	Draught.
15′	49″	14″	5.75″	24.5″	11″
17′	51″	16″	6.0″	27″	11.5″
19′	55″	18″	6.5″	29.5″	12

The boats are steered with a rudder and lines, like an English skiff. They carry one mast, with two sails, a jib and mainsail. In a nineteen-footer, as shown in the accompanying diagram, the mast is set about six feet back from the bows and is twelve feet tall. In 1941 the kampong was very short of canvas, and as a result a number of the boats were laid up. Those that were still being used were carrying about fourteen square yards of canvas. This represents a good, minimum working sail for the hull. In earlier days, when the men could afford it, they generally carried slightly more sail, and most of them also had a much larger suit for racing.

These boats, even the larger models, could be sailed single-handed with safety in reasonably calm water, and they were light and pleasant to handle under all normal conditions. The defects were that they went about slowly, as a result of their long keel, and they crabbed if sailed too close to the wind. Inside the lagoon the men usually sailed alone, or with one or two of their



PROFILE AND (TOP LEFT) STERN AND BOW PLAN OF A COCOS-KEELING ISLAND DUKONG. THE DIAGRAMS WERE DRAWN FROM A NINETEEN-FOOT BOAT BUILT ABOUT 1928. THE SAIL PLAN SHOWS THE WORKING SAILS IN USE IN 1941, THE JIB CARRYING APPROXIMATELY 28 SQUARE FEET OF CANVAS AND THE MAINSAIL 96 SQUARE FEET.

children to act as ballast. When sailing single-handed the men sat on the floor or gunwale on the windward side, with the main sheet in one hand and one tiller rope in the other. When sailing outside the lagoon they were compelled by local law to carry at least one additional man. In very shallow water, especially when working with the seine net, they normally shipped the rudder, and punted the boat. At such times, with a man at each end, it could be propelled backwards or forwards with equal ease, and at a fair speed.

The majority of the boats were made in the Clunies-Rosses' workshop. They were sold to those who wanted them at half the

price of the timber and labour used, the family nominally retaining a half share. The construction of a boat would normally occupy six men for about a month, the time varying slightly with their energy and skill. The cost of the finished product worked out at about $250 for a fifteen-footer, $280 for a seventeen, and $320 for a nineteen-footer. The boats built in the workshop usually had the keel, stern and bow of Chenghai, the side of Teak, the ribs of Gĕronggang and the mast of Mĕngkudu or Kĕmbang Mĕlati Hutan. Of these only the last three could be obtained locally. A number of the boats had been built by the islanders in their own homes, in their spare time, one man taking about nine months to complete the work. These boats were built of any material available. As far as possible they used Gĕronggang for the hull and Mĕngkudu or Kĕbang Mĕlati Hutan for the mast and spars. Occasionally Waru, or better Waru Hutan, both of which are fairly resistant to water, were used for the sides. It was not easy for them to obtain timber as there were few suitable trees left, and officially they were not supposed to cut these without permission.

Natural Products

The only tree of economic importance was the coconut palm. It was the basis of a number of essential articles in the kampong, and provided the islands' only export. Its uses for food are discussed under the appropriate heading, and for timber towards the end of this section. In addition to its employment in cooking, oil made locally was also used for lamps and, boiled with wood ash, in making soap. The latter product was caustic, and such families as had contact with the staff of the cable station always endeavoured to obtain European toilet soap for personal use. The residue of the flesh from which the oil had been extracted was fed to the chickens and ducks.

In 1941 thirty to thirty-two men were employed as nutters. Only fallen nuts were used, and they were dehusked where they were found. The men gathered between 2,500 and 4,000 nuts a week each, with an average of about 3,000, making a total of approximately 90,000 nuts from the whole unit. The shells were split on Pulo Selma, and the flesh extracted by girls and the younger married women. About sixty were employed, and on an average each opened 250 nuts a day. The men were paid at the rate of 2 Cocos-Keeling rupees per 1,000 nuts collected, and the women at the rate of 1.50 rupees per 1,000 opened. The flesh was arranged on long flat trolleys running on tram lines. These were pushed out into the open in clear weather, and returned to shelter at night or when it rained. Under average conditions the copra was dried for three to four weeks. The product was sent to Singapore in this form, and no oil was made locally for export.

The great majority of the palms were of the form known on the atoll as Kĕlapa Bĕtul. There was also a larger nut, known

as Kĕlapa Bĕsar, occurring on parts of Pulo Luar, Pulo Panjang, Pulo Selma and North Keeling which was used occasionally. In addition there were small numbers of each of the following forms, growing on the islands given in brackets after their names, but they were not as a general rule gathered for copra.

Kĕlapa Bali (parts of Pulo Luar and Pulo Selma).

Kĕlapa Gading (parts of Pulo Luar, Pulo Panjang and Pulo Selma).

Kĕlapa Ijo (parts of Pulo Selma only).

Kĕlapa Merah (parts of Pulo Luar, Pulo Panjang and Pulo Selma).

Kĕlapa Kandi (parts of Pulo Luar and Pulo Selma only).

Kĕlapa Pĕrana'an (parts of Pulo Luar, Pulo Panjang and Pulo Selma).

Kĕlapa Poyu (parts of Pulo Luar, Pulo Panjang and Pulo Selma).

Kĕlapa Poyu Puteh (parts of Pulo Panjang and Pulo Selma only).

Kĕlapa Rambai (parts of Pulo Selma and North Keeling only).

Kĕlapa Puteh (parts of Pulo Panjang and Pulo Selma only).

The copra produced was of a very good quality. Fallen nuts are generally ripe, and if gathered early have a high oil content. The principal difficulty seemed to be in obtaining and dealing with a sufficient quantity. There was no doubt that more could have been collected if a greater proportion of the islands' 250 men had been employed, instead of being used for non-productive work. On the other hand many of the nuts could not be reached owing to thickness of the undergrowth, and, as was mentioned earlier, the yield of nuts per tree in many sections of the plantation was extremely low. The part that the rats played in this is interesting. The rats on Pulo Tikus, which would seem to have been there since before the establishment of the settlement, lived in the crowns of of the coconut palms, but had retained their normal food habits. On the other hand the rats which came ashore from the *Robert Portner*, in 1871, and rapidly spread over all the other islands except Pulo Luar, was feeding to a large extent on the stalks of the growing nuts. As a result a high proportion fell when they were about the size of an apple. This diet habit must have been acquired fairly quickly as George Clunines-Ross was complaining of it as early as 1896 (Keyser, *Col. Rep.* para. 17). He appears to have considered using mongooses or poison to deal with them, but the former method was certainly never tried and the latter, if attempted, was soon abandoned. In 1941 J. S. Clunies-Ross was employing two men and a pack of eight dogs, to hunt

them whenever they came down to the ground. In this way he was accounting for about 100 rats a week, which must have worried them considerably.

No other vegetable products were exported, but the following plants and trees, growing wild, were used to a varying extent in the kampong. All of these except Kapas, and possibly Turi, were indigenous. Birch in his report of 1885 lists only ten species apart from the coconut palm, but it is probable that in his short stay he had overlooked the others.

Gĕronggang. *Cordia subcordata* Lamm. The wood of this tree, which turns a dark slate grey with age, is hard and resists water well. It was used for boat building and in the construction of the houses. For the boats it was employed particularly for the ribs, but in some cases the complete hull was made of it. Its use for houses was not encouraged in view of the small number of mature trees.

Kĕlapa. *Cocos nucifera* Linn. The wood of the coconut palm was not judged to be suitable for boats, but it was employed in building the houses for the posts, uprights and cross-beams, particularly the Tiang Kuda Kuda. The fronds were used for the thatch, and occasionally for fencing and walls. They were also plaited to make baskets for carrying fish.

Kapas. *Gossypium brasiliense* Macfad. The cotton tufts were used for lamp wicks.

Kayu Burong. *Pemphis acidula* Forster. Also known as Kayu Kĕriting. The wood was utilised for making knife handles and pestles.

Kayu Dĕdap. *Erythrina variegata* Linn. The wood was used for making small trays. The tree was not employed for any other purpose.

Kayu Jambu Hutan. *Hernandia peltata* Meissn. The timber is soft, but it was used for the floors of the houses, and occasionally for window shutters and doors.

Kayu Kankong. *Scaevola frutescens* Krause. The wood was used for making fences.

Kayu Laki. *Ochrosia ?oppositifolia* K. Schum. This was considered to be a good, hard wood, very suitable for furniture, but the tree was scarce. It was also used for walls, floors and doors posts, but it was said to rot when exposed frequently to water.

Kayu Sireh. *Tournefortia argentea* Linn. The timber is soft, but it was used in some cases for the walls and floors of houses. The inner layer of the bark was cooked and eaten by a few families.

Kĕlenchi. *Guielandina bundoc* Ait. Firm stalks were used for making fences.

Kĕmbang Mĕlati Hutan. *Guettarda speciosa* Linn. The timber, though a little soft, was employed for house posts, beams, floors and fences. Suitable lengths were used for masts and spars in the boats.

Kĕtapang. *Terminalia catappa* Linn. The wood was not considered to be fit for boats, but it was used when obtainable for floors, walls and doors in the houses.

Mĕngkudu. *Morinda citrifolia* Linn. The timber was employed for railings and house posts, and the masts and spars of boats. Formerly the bark of the roots was used for making dyes, and it was even exported to Java for this purpose.

Nyamplong. *Calophyllum inophyllum* Linn. The timber was said to warp and twist on drying, and it was considered useless for boat-building. It was employed in the houses for beams, windows and doors, and for fences.

Pandan. *Pandannus* sp. The leaves were occasionally used to make baskets and plaited trays, but it seemed that few people in the kampong had the skill for the work. It was easier to make an impromptu basket of coconut fronds, and that sufficed.

Turi. *Sesbania grandiflora* Pers. The inner bark was formerly rubbed on fishing lines to lengthen their life, but the practice seemed to have stopped by 1941.

Waru Bĕtul. *Hibiscus tiliaceus* Linn. The timber was used for fences, the sides of boats, and the floats for seine nets. The fibre from the bark could be employed for cordage.

Waru Hutan. *Thespesia populnea* Soland. The timber was employed for the sides of home-built boats, like that of *H. tiliaceus*, and was considered to be of slightly better quality. The bark was also used for cordage, but it was inferior to that of the other tree.

Food The islanders live largely on rice, augmented by fruits and meats obtained locally. The rice has to be imported, and in view of the economic conditions in 1941 each family was permitted to buy only a limited amount, calculated on the number of persons in it. They were also provided with tea and a small amount of curry stuffs and sugar bought from outside. The remainder of their food was obtained locally.

The tree of greatest importance to their diet was the coconut palm. The islanders were allowed to gather as many fallen nuts as they required. These provided them with oil for cooking, and in this connection was their principal source of fats. Either the grated flesh or santan were used in many of their dishes, and the

former in making cakes with rice. A few of the more enterprising men occasionally tapped the growing spathes. The fluid obtained could be evaporated to give sugar, or allowed to ferment to produce vinegar. An intermediate stage in the latter process is toddy, which was drunk by some families. Nuts were often allowed to germinate until the centre cavity was filled with a sweet pith. They were then broken open and the contents, known locally as *Appĕl*, eaten. The growing points of felled palms were also used, though they were seldom obtainable.

Apart from the coconut palm the fruits eaten most frequently were the papaya and banana, and sugar-cane. Most houses had one or more flourishing banana and papaya plants in its compound. About one house in three also had a lime tree. About ten different kinds of banana were grown, but none of them were of exceptional quality. Clunies-Ross had a number of other fruit trees in his garden, the produce of which was stolen at fairly regular intervals and distributed through the kampong. The full range of cultivated plants, with edible fruits or leaves, which were obtainable on the islands is given below, in alphabetical order, under their local Malay names. It does not seem likely that any of these were indigenous.

Bĕlimbing. *Averrhoa bilimbi* Linn. Used only for making sambals and *Rogat*. Grows only in Clunies-Ross's garden.

Buah Chĕri. *Muntingia calabura* Linn. Eaten raw. Very plentiful in the kampong, a number of the families growing it in their front gardens, so that it gave shade to the road.

Buah Kĕngkit. *Triphasia trifolia* P. Wils. Used to make *Kolak*. Grown by a few families.

Bunonah. *Annona reticulata* Linn. Eaten raw. Grown by a few families.

Chĕremai. *Cicca acida* Merr. The unripe fruits were used as a flavouring in cooking, particularly to make *Rogat*. Grown by a few families.

Dĕndah. *Manihot utilissima* Pohl. Used to make *Kolak*, or cooked to serve as a vegetable in curried dishes. Grown widely.

Gĕdendong. *Spondias cytherae* Sonn. Eaten raw. Grown by a few families.

Gĕlima. *Punica granatum* Linn. Eaten raw. Grown by a few families.

Jambu. *Eugenia ?jambos* Linn. Eaten raw or as *Kolak*. Grown widely. This may have been more than one species, as the islanders recognised four kinds—Jambu Ayer, Jambu Kĕlampok, Jambu Monyet, and Jambu Puteh.

Jambu Biji. *Psidium guajava* Linn. Eaten raw. Grown by a few families.

Jĕrok. *Citrus aurantifolia* Swingle. Used in cooking. Grown by about a third of the families.

Lombok. *Capsicum annuum* Linn. Used for flavouring sambals and curries, but not as extensively as in the Malay Peninsula. Grown widely.

Katis. *Carica papaya* Linn. Eaten raw or cooked. The male fruits were sometimes preserved in syrup, to make a sweetmeat. The flowers were also eaten in some cases. Grown by about half the families.

Kĕladi. *Colocasia esculentum* Schott. Used to make *Kolak*. Grown by only a few families.

Labu. *Cucurbita pepo* DC. Eaten cooked. Grown by a few families. This and the next were also grown in some quantity on Pulo Luar, by the "farmer" and his labourers.

Labu ayer. *Cucurbita ?pepo* DC. Eaten cooked, as a vegetable. Grown by a few families.

Pigu. *Ficus ?carica* Linn. Used to make *Kolak*, or eaten raw. Grown widely.

Pisang. *Musa paradisiaca* Linn. Eaten raw or cooked. Grown by most families. The following forms were recognised: Pisang Gaji, P. Jarum, P. Kĕpar, P. Lampong, P. Pulo Pinang, P. Mas, P. Raja, P. Rotan, P. Sĕribu, P. Udang. There was said to have been another, P. Tandok, formerly, but it had died out a number of years before my visit. Of the above, P. Raja, P. Rotan and the young P. Kĕpar were thought to be the best flavoured when eaten raw. Pisang Raja, which was large, and slightly reddish in colour, could be eaten straight from the tree. Pieces of the sensitive plant, *Mĕniran*, were placed among stacks of cut bananas to hasten their ripening.

Pukat. *Persea gratissima* Gaertn. Eaten raw. Grown by about fifty families.

Sau. *Achras zapota* Linn. Eaten raw. Grown widely.

Sekaya. *Annona squamosa* Linn. Eaten raw. Grown widely.

Sĕmangka. *Citrullus vulgaris* Linn. Eaten raw. Grown by only a few families.

Sĕntek. *Alocasia macrorrhiza* Schott. Used to make *Kolak*. Grown by only a few families.

Tebu. *Saccharum officinarum* Linn. Eaten raw, mostly by the children. Grown by most families.

Tĕrong (Ijo). *Solanum melongena* Linn. Eaten raw (with *Rogat*), cooked in curries, or fried. Grown by only a few families.

Rogat was a paste made of a mixture of Bĕlimbing, sugar, salt, chilli and dried Tĕrasi, which was eaten, uncooked, with raw egg-plant or papaya. *Kolak* was a dish in which the fruit was cooked with sugar, and then santan added: it could be eaten hot or cold.

Little use was made of wild plants, except that the Jambu and Buah Chĕri had spread to several other islands, including Pulo Luar, and they were, of course, taken where they were found. There was an edible fungus, known as *Jĕmor*, which grew on rotten, fallen trunks in parts of the plantations, but the islanders did not bother to gather it. Its flavour, when lightly fried, was rather pleasant, tasting, by itself, like a mushroom omelette.

The majority of the families kept chickens or ducks, and a few pigeons. The condition of the birds was usually poor, and their flesh singularly tough. For the most part they were killed only for ceremonial occasions, though if one was exchanged with the cable station for tinned goods the latter meat was eaten immediately. Many of the hens had a peculiar appearance in that their feathers curled outwards, instead of towards the body. Cattle and pigs were formerly kept on Pulo Selma, and goats had been tried unsuccessfully, but in 1941 the only supposedly edible mammals were the sheep, to which reference has already been made.

The principal source of flesh, and almost the only one for most of the members of the kampong, was fish. The lagoon and the waters adjacent to the atoll are well stocked, and though there was not enough to serve a profitable industry, there was more than sufficient for the population of the islands. The most popular method of fishing was with a hand line from a boat, which under suitable conditions was very successful. The boats were seldom taken out at night, but the men would try in all weathers during the day, except when the water was very rough. Trolling was sometimes tried inside the lagoon, but the yield was usually poor in return for the time spent, and this method was seldom employed except by men sailing home from one of the further islands. Hooks were usually made locally from nails, but in most cases the lines were imported. The usual bait for hand line fishing was one of the small land hermit crabs, which are abundant, or the Kĕpiting Mata Pendek, *Ocypoda* sp. The best bait for trolling was a young mullet; spinners of white cock's feathers were occasionally fitted as a substitute, but small fish appeared to be more successful and were easier to obtain.

Two kinds of nets were used, a *Jaring* or seine net, and a *Jala*, or casting net. The casting net was generally employed on

the barrier or fringing reef, where small shoals could be found in shallow clear water. A standard net had a radius of eighty inches and a circumference of about thirty-one feet. The minimum mesh that was allowed by local law was three-quarters of an inch. The nets were made by the islanders in their own homes, but in 1941, owing to their inability to buy freely in Singapore, they had great difficulty in obtaining material. At that time a net required about four dollars worth of thread and five dollars worth of lead chain.

The seine nets were about six feet high and 144 feet long, with a mesh of one and a quarter inches. They were made in Clunies-Ross's workshop and sold to those who wanted them on the cost of the material and labour. It took two men about twenty-four days to make a net, using twenty pounds of twine. The purchase price of a net in 1941 was thus about $55. Owing to the amount of coral in the lagoon a net used three times a week would, even with patching, last only about eight months.

The seine net was used round the edge of the southern part of the lagoon, in water of a depth of three to four feet. The nets were generally worked in pairs, each being carried in its own *Dukong*. The two boats, with the rudders shipped, were punted close together over suitable shallow areas, while others worked out forward as wings, searching for the fish. When a large enough shoal was sighted it was driven in towards the centre boats, which were turned to meet it. As soon as it was in front of them a man from each jumped into the water, holding one end of a net, and joined up with his opposite number. The two boats in the meantime were punted rapidly round the shoal, paying out the net as they went, until the circle was complete. During this process the other boats came in from the wings, ready to head the fish off if they should attempt to escape. Once the shoal was surrounded one net was worked slowly inside the other, until the area enclosed was only about fifteen feet across. Then the fish were caught by hand as they attempted to force their way through the net, or lifted up tangled in sections of it. A good day's casting with two nets and six boats was said to bring in about four to five hundred fish, with an average weight of a pound. The majority of the catches in 1941 appeared to be only in the neighbourhood of 150 pounds. From this total each of the men helping expected to receive about fifteen fish for his labour. This applied to the men searching for the shoals on the wings as well as to those actually carrying the nets. It was thus fairly profitable to assist, but the margin for the owners of the nets was slight.

The Malays also used a *Tombak* or casting spear on the barrier and fringing reef, often with considerable skill. They normally worked with it singly, but they sometimes gathered together in a line of about twenty men and drove the fish into the corner of a

pool. This massed attack was most successful on a rising tide, about two hours after low water. An alternative use of the casting spear was at night, with the aid of a torch. The latter was generally made of about three feet of broad guttering, stuffed with gunny rag or coconut fibre soaked in kerosene. When first disturbed by its light the fish were dazed, and if the man were quick enough, could be speared before they started to move. Palisade traps (*Empang*), set between two islands, and basket-traps (*Bubu*) were formerly used, but they were not being operated in 1941. The palisade traps had been forbidden a number of years earlier on the grounds that they required too many coconut fronds and killed too many young fish.

There would appear to be over 150 different species of fish in the lagoon and the waters immediately adjacent to the atoll. About one third of these were regarded as edible. The most popular and plentiful are given below, listed alphabetically under their local Malay names.

(Ikan) Bambangan. A snapper, *Lutjanus bohar* (Forsk.), usually taken on a hand line outside the lagoon.

Bandang. A white mullet or milk fish. *Chanos chanos* (Forsk.), taken in sandy water inside the lagoon, with a hand line, casting net or seine net.

Bĕlanak. Two species, *Mugil borneensis* (Flkr.) and a second *Mugil* sp. at present unidentified, taken in shallow, sandy water with a seine net or casting net.

Gĕrapu. Several kinds of snapper, *Plectroploma* sp. and *Epinephelus* spp., differentiated by the islanders by epithets based on their markings. They were usually taken by trolling, or on a line from a stationary boat.

Ikan Kongkol. *Scarus* sp., taken by trolling outside the lagoon.

Ikan Ijo. *Pseudoscarus* sp., a large fish taken on a hand line from a boat working over coral patches inside the lagoon.

Ikan Janggut. Several different kinds of red mullet, *Mulloidichthys* spp., differentiated by the islanders by epithets based on their colouring. They were usually taken on the reef or barrier, with a casting net or spear.

Ikan Kakatua. The parrot wrasses, *Scarus* spp. and *Callyodon* spp., of which a number of species were taken, mostly with a casting net or spear.

Ikan Kuning. *Lutjanus vaigensis* (Q.G.), usually taken with a seine net or casting net in shallow, coral-strewn water.

Ikan Kuror. *Polynemus indicus* (Shaw), usually taken with a seine net in the shallow, sandy water north of Pulo Panjang.

Ikan Mata Bĕsar. *Scolopsis* sp., usually taken with a casting net on the barrier or fringing reef.

Ikan Puteh. *Hepatus triostegris* (Linn.), taken with a hand line, seine net or casting net in shallow, sandy water.

Ikan Tĕrbang. A flying fish, *Cypsilurus bahiensis* (Ranz), taken by trolling outside the lagoon, or inside in the vicinity of the entrance.

Ikan Wak Malam. Squirrel fish, *Holocentrus* spp., of which several species were taken with a hand line or casting spear.

Jolong-jolong. A small garfish, *Belone* sp., usually taken with a spear on the fringing reef at night.

Kakap and Kakap Kuning. Sea perch, *Lates calcarifer* (Bloch) and *Lethrinus reticulatus* C.V., usually taken on a hand-line in coral strewn water inside the lagoon, or, Kakap Kuning Lautan, *Lates* sp., in open water outside.

Karangduit. The albacore, *Thynnus* sp., usually taken by trolling outside the lagoon.

Menaret. Two species, *Teuthis* sp., usually taken with a seine net or casting net in shallow, coral-strewn water inside the lagoon.

Sayap Hitam. *Mugil waigensis* C.V., usually taken with a seine net in shallow, sandy water.

Sĕmbak. Several species, *Euthynnus* spp., usually taken on a hand line, working inside or outside the lagoon. The largest species caught, probably *E. alleratus*, was taken by trolling outside the lagoon.

Tenggiri. *Cybium* sp., probably *C. guttatum* (Val.), taken by trolling outside the lagoon.

Todak. Barracuta, *Sphyraena* spp., probably two or more species, taken by trolling inside or outside the lagoon.

Any of the edible fish, when fresh, were eaten fried with rice. This, as the easiest method, was the usual way of consuming them. It was customary for men after a successful day's fishing to give the greater part of the surplus catch to their friends and neighbours. Only six kinds were considered really fit for boiling: they were Bawal, Bĕlanak, Ikan Janggut, Ikan Puteh, Sayap Hitam and Sĕmbak. A number of species were curried, but the best curry was said to be made from Bandang, Ikan Dongkol or Kakap.

There were several dishes, to be eaten with fresh fish or as a condiment to curry, based on *Tĕrasi*. This, as prepared on the Cocos-Keeling Islands, was a kind of fish paste. Usually it was made from Gĕrapu, Ikan Puteh, Kakap, Kakap Kuning, Kakatua Buntal Panjang, Sĕmbak or Todak. The fish, after gutting, finning and cleaning, was placed in a tub or basket, protected from

flies, and left for two or three days to become slightly putrid. Then it was scraped, mixed with salt and put out in the sun to dry for one or two weeks. The finished product was eaten fried, with rice, or incorporated in one of the following,

Bĕrĕngkas. The basis of this dish was usually Ikan Janggut, Ikan Ijo, Ikan Kuning, Ikan Puteh, Kakap Kuning, Menaret or Sayap Hitam. The fish (fried or fresh according to taste) was cleaned and then surrounded with a coating of a paste made from a mixture of corriander, tumeric, chilli, onions, tĕrasi and santan. This was kept in position with a wrapping of banana leaf, and the whole cooked gently for about an hour. It was eaten with boiled rice.

Sambal Merah. This dish, which was a light brownish red in colour, was made from a large number of fish, of which the most usual were Gĕrapu, Gubal, Ikan Dongkol, Ikan Kĕlapu, Ikan Kuror, Ikan Peteh, Kakap, Kakap Kuning, Kakatua Bĕsar, Katatua Kuning, Kakatua Merah and Sĕmbak. The fish, after cleaning and gutting, was fried. Then it was broken up and mixed with tĕrasi, onions (preferably the larger variety), tamarind, chilli and a little coconut oil, and cooked gently. Sambal Merah was eaten with boiled rice, or as the condiment to a curry.

Sambal Santan. This dish was made with any of the soft-fleshed fish, of which Bandang, Bawal, Bĕlanak, Ikan Dongkol, Ikan Kuror, Ikan Puteh, Kakap, Sayap Hitam and Sĕmbak were thought to be the most suitable. The fish, after cleaning and gutting, was broken up and mixed with tĕrasi, onions, tamarind, chilli and a little coconut oil. Then it was placed in a pot with santan, and heated gently for about an hour. It was eaten alone with boiled rice, or as a condiment to fish and rice.

Sambal Cholet. This was a mixture of tĕrasi, chilli and lime. It was eaten as a flavouring with fried fish. Unlike Sambal Merah and Sambal Santan it was never taken with boiled rice alone.

Sambal Tĕlor. This dish, a mixture of tĕrasi, onions, tamarind, chilli and eggs, was eaten with boiled rice.

Sambal Tumis. This was a mixture of tĕrasi, onions, tamarind and chilli, cooked gently with a little coconut oil. It was eaten as a condiment with fried fish or curry.

Any excess of fish retained was, if suitable, dried, partly to provide a change of flavour and partly as a precaution against a run of bad luck. Three different methods were employed, the choice depending on the kind of fish. They were,

Ikan Kĕring. For this the fish was headed, gutted and slit open. Then it was placed in strong brine for two to three days, and

sun-dried for two to three weeks, the period varying with the state of the weather. The finished product, which was eaten toasted or fried, was always stored in the open. This was the usual way of treating Bĕlanak, Ikan Pĕteh, Ikan Puteh, Menaret and Sayap Hitam.

Dendeng. This was the manner of dealing with the larger fish, such as Bambangan, Ikan Ijau, Karanduit, Sĕmbak, Sĕmbak Hitam, Tenggiri and Todak. The flesh was cut from the fish in vertical strips, washed and placed in pure dry salt for one night. After this it was dried in the sun for two to three weeks.

Pĕda. Only six species of fish, Ikan Bordu, Ikan Janggut, Ikan Mata Bĕsar, Ikan Kuning, Ikan Puteh and Ikan Serip Merah, were considered suitable for the making of Pĕda. The fish was finned and cleaned. Then its throat was slit, without cutting off the head, and the guts and gills removed. Next it was stuffed with salt, and placed in a tub of salt for a night. Finally it was dried in the sun for a week or more, depending on the weather. The finished product was eaten fried.

In addition to the fish several molluscs and crabs were also eaten. One of these was a large swimming crab, *Scylla serrata* (Forsk.), found in shallow water at the south end of the lagoon. The only reef crab taken regularly was the swift-running *Grapsus tenuicrustatus*, known locally as *Tĕretek*. They also ate a large rock-lobster, *Udang Galah*, which made an excellent curry, and the largest of the islands' mantis-shrimps, *Udang Pĕlatok*, *Gonodactylus chaeragra*, which was usually boiled. Only three kinds of shell-fish were taken regularly. They were an octopus, *Gĕrita*, reaching to a length of about three feet down the arms, which was boiled, a gastropod known as *Siput Kĕpala Viola* from its shape, *Turbo iajonkairii* Desk., which was plentiful on the barrier and was used for making soup, and a clam, *Tridacna squamosa* Lam., known as *Kima*, which was generally eaten boiled or fried. We found that it also made a quite passible clam chowder soup. We also discovered another bivalve which made a good substitute for oysters, but though the Malays would gather them for us, they did not consider them worth collecting to eat themselves.

A great delicacy during the early years of the settlement was the robber crab, *Birgus latro* Linn., but in 1941 it had become scarce and I saw only five small examples during the whole of my stay. In the days when it could be obtained easily the crab was caught alive and fed on the flesh of the coconut for several weeks. It was then boiled, and after death the flesh removed from the claws and thorax. A large specimen would yield nearly a pound of meat. This was curried. Dampier describes the flesh as a very good, sweet meat. It is not unlike chicken, but with a rather fuller, almost Teal-like flavour.

The Malays also formerly ate turtles, *Chelone mydas* Linn., and turtle eggs. The majority of the turtles were taken to the islands from Java, and kept alive in the large enclosure on the east side of Pulo Selma. This practice had ceased long before my visit, and the resultant drain on the local stock had made the animals scarce. Only three of appreciable size were caught during the time that I was there.

The principal surviving alternative to fish was the sea birds from North Keeling. Their flesh, in the case of certain species, was regarded as a delicacy, and it was no doubt this which drove them away from the main atoll. A number of the islanders possessed shot guns, but they were without ammunition. The birds were therefore usually killed by means of a *Chambu* or flail. This consisted of an eighteen foot bamboo pole with about twenty-five feet of pliable wire, terminating in a small lead weight, fastened to one end of it. It was used from a boat, to which the birds were attracted by ground baiting, or from the top of a coconut palm over which they were gliding repeatedly. The man held the stick slanting back over his shoulder with the wire dropping down behind him. As the bird passed overhead the stick was raised sharply, and the weight thrown over its outstretched wing. Frequently this broke the bones, or at least entangled the bird in the wire so completely that it could be captured easily. The birds usually taken were the frigate-birds, tropic-birds and boobies. The best meat is provided by the frigate-birds, whose breast muscles when well cooked are definitely pleasant eating. The flesh is thick, rather like liver, and the flavour well marked and characteristic. It is reminiscent of both game and the smaller geese, and neither fishy nor salty. The adult boobies are rather indifferent eating, the flesh being stringy and somewhat tasteless. Juvenile birds on the other hand, when salted and fried in coconut oil, are well flavoured, and almost suggest smoked salmon. Tropic birds have the flavour and quality of a sheep that has been kept in cold storage for several years.

Acknowledgements.

The collection of much of the data in the latter part of this paper was only made possible by the zeal and co-operation of Sakmat, one of the Cocos-Keeling islanders, who acted as my boatman throughout my stay on the atoll. I was also assisted considerably on many points by Mr Raymond Acton and the late Elton Young, who served successively as secretaries to J. S. Clunies-Ross during this period. The sections on boats, fishing and fish are based on another paper carefully preserved throughout the Japanese occupation of Singapore by Mr T. D. Rée, clerk to the M.B.R.A.S.; and certain of the earlier sections on notes that I had made in the margin of a book which was found in the Raffles College Library, and kindly returned to me, by Prof. N. R.

Alexander. Finally I am much indebted to Mrs R. Hough, who typed the first draft, and to Mr Chew Choo Seng, who retyped the expanded version.

APPENDIX.

(A) De facto owners of the Cocos-Keeling Islands, to 1944.

1825 *Captain Le Cour.*
Master of the brig *Mauritius.*

1827—?1829 *Alexander Hare and John Clunies-Ross.*

?1829—1854 *John Clunies-Ross.*
Born on Yell, in the Shetlands, August, 1785.
Married Elizabeth Dymoke.
Died on the Cocos-Keeling Islands, in 1854.

1854—1871 *John George Clunies-Ross.*
Eldest son of the above.
Born in London, ?1809.
Married S'pia Dupong, in 1841.
Died on the Cocos-Keeling Islands, in 1871.

1871—1910 *George Clunies-Ross.*
Eldest son of the above.
Born on Pulo Selma, Cocos-Keeling Islands, in 1812.
Married (a) Lini, in 1868, (b) Ayesha, in 1895.
Died in the Isle of Wight, July 7, 1910.

1910—1944 *John Sydney Clunies-Ross.*
Second son of the above.
Born on Pulo Selma, Cocos-Keeling Islands, on November 13, 1868.
Married Rose Alexander Nash.
Died on Pulo Selma on August 4, 1944.
Succeeded by his eldest son, John Cecil Clunies-Ross, born November 29, 1928.

(B) Selected Bibliography (Printed Sources).

(1) William Keeling.

The only biography of William Keeling is the note by Professor J. K. Laughton, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 30, 1892, pp. 300-301.

Original references occur in,

Purchas his Pilgrimes, compiled by Samuel Purchas, 5 vols., 1625 (reprinted MacLehose, 20 vols., 1905).

A Complete Collection of Voyages and Travels, compiled by John Harris, 2 vols., 1705.

The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster, 1591-1603 (reprinted Hakluyt Society, 1940, series 2, Vol. 85).

The Voyage of Sir Henry Middleton to the Moluccas, 1604-1606 (reprinted Hakluyt Society, 1943, series 2, Vol. 88).

Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, East Indies, ed. W. N. Sainsbury, Vol. 1, 1862.

Keeling himself wrote an account of his second voyage to the east, of which an abridged version was printed by Samuel Purchas. This is in Vol. 2, pp. 502-549 of the MacLehose edition (1905).

(2) Cocos-Keeling Islands, 1609-1941.

The following authors provide accounts of the Clunies-Ross family, or original descriptions of the Cocos-Keeling Islands, of varying length and accuracy. Clifford's essay in particular includes several misstatements, but it would seem in general that the atoll has prompted loose or over-credulous writing.

Andrews, C. W. — *A Monograph of Christmas Island (Indian Ocean)*, 1900, pp. 1-3 and 19-21.

Clifford, Hugh. — "The Romance of a Scots Family", in *Heroes in Exile*, 1906, pp. 29-59.

Darwin, Charles. — *Journal of the Voyage of H.M.S. Beagle*, 1842, Chap. 20, pp. 541-557.
The Structure and Distribution of Coral Reefs, 1842, pp. 7-26.

Forbes, Dr. H. O. — *A Naturalist's Wanderings in the Eastern Archipelago*, 1885, pp. 11-47.

Gibson-Hill, C. A. — "Boats and Fishing on the Cocos-Keeling Islands", *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* (in preparation).

Guppy, Dr. H. B. — "The Cocos-Keeling Islands", three papers in *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, Vol. 5, 1889, pts 6, 9 and 11.

Keating, A. S. — quoted in *A Voyage Round the World*, James Holman, Vol. 4, 1846.

Keyser, Arthur. — *People and Places*, 1922, pp. 195-213.

Slocum, Joshua. — *Sailing Alone Around the World*, 1900, pp. 210-221.

Wood-Jones, F. — "The Fauna of the Cocos-Keeling Islands", *Proc. Zool. Soc.*, 1909, pp. 132-160.
Coral and Atolls, 2nd. edition, 1912.

John Clunies-Ross (1785-1854) wrote a journal of his life up to the year 1836, after settling on the Cocos-Keeling Islands. It has never been printed in full, but a number of extracts from it are quoted in Wood-Jones (1912, pp. 1-23).

(3) Official Reports, 1885-1912.

The following official reports were published on the tours of inspection by government officers and naval commanders between 1885 and 1912, inclusive. The lists below give only the name of the recording officer, and the date of his visit.

(i). Published in *Papers relating to the Cocos-Keeling and Christmas Islands*, March 1897.

E. W. Birch	1885 (August)
Lt. H. R. Adams (H.M.S. *Espoir*)	1885 (August)
A. P. Talbot	1886 (August)
R. S. O'Connor	1887 (September)
N. P. Trevenen	1888 (June/July)
Lt. W. Maitland Dougall (H.M.S. *Rattler*)	1889 (August)
Henry N. Ridley	1890 (July)
Walter Egerton	1891 (August)
Com. L. M. Bell (H.M.S. *Plover*)	1892 (June)
A. R. Venning	1893 (June)
Hugh Clifford	1894 (June)
Arthur Keysle	1896 (June)

(ii) *Colonial Reports* subsequent to 1896, issued separately.

A. J. Leach	1897 (July)
R. J. Farrer	1898 (September)
A. S. Baxendale	1899 (August/September)
W. Langham-Carter	1901 (September)
L. H. Clayton	1902 (July)
A. S. Baxendale	1903 (July)
Com. D. St. A. Wake (H.M.S. *Rinaldo*)	1904 (June)
Herbert C. Robinson	1912 (October)

(C) Cyclones.

The Cocos-Keeling Islands are subject to severe cyclones at fairly wide intervals. The following have been recorded during the last hundred years.

c. 1862. Wood-Jones (1912, pp. 29 & 205) refers to a cyclone which wrecked the settlement in 1862. The Eastern Archipelago Pilot (1934, p. 19) gives two about this period, one in March 1861, and the second in 1863.

1876. There was a cyclone on January 28, 1876, whose effects are described by Forbes (1885, pp. 18-20). The barometer is said to have dropped to 26.5 inches. It was accompanied by a tidal wave which destroyed the storehouses, oil mills and most of the houses in the kampong. Corrugated iron from some of the roofs was carried for several miles by the wind. At the same time there was also a slight earthquake, as a result of which a black sulphurous fluid came up in the southern part of the lagoon, and killed nearly all the fish and coral in this area.

1893. On February 4, 1893, there was another cyclone, with the wind mostly from the north and north-west. The storm lasted for two days. Over 30,000 coconut palms are said to have been uprooted, in addition to other damage, during this period (Wood-Jones, 1912, p. 205).

1902. On March 4, 1902, there was a fourth cyclone, with the wind veering from south-west to north-north-west. The storm appears to have lasted for only a few hours, and to have been less violent that its predecessors. Nevertheless, according to Wood-Jones, over 300,000 palms were destroyed.

1909. The last serious storm was on November 27, 1909. The peak lasted about six hours, during which the wind blew first from the south, and then, after half an hour's calm, equally hard from the north. The barometer dropped to 27.92 inches. It again was accompanied by a tidal wave, which left only five buildings standing. According to George Clunies-Ross about 800,000 coconut palms were uprooted or decapitated: the Eastern Archipelago Pilot (1934, p. 19) puts the figure lower, at 200,000.

(D) Word Lists.

No attempt was made to compile a complete vocabulary, in view of the high proportion of ordinary Malay words in use. A number of lists, relating to specific subjects, were made, however, to provide some indication of the range of terms, and the local modifications.

Five of these survived the war, of which two are printed below. Comments are given in brackets after the English translations where it seems advisable. Words or usages apparently peculiar to the Cocos-Keeling Islands are marked with an asterisk. Words employed widely in the Malay-speaking world are printed without comment.

(i) *Terms relating to Dress*

Anting-anting.	Ear-rings.
Baju Kawas.*	Singlet, worn by a man.
Baju Tidor.*	Singlet, worn by a woman.
Bĕskat.*	Coatee worn by men on ceremonial occasions (= waistcoat, which it usually signifies).
Bĕrpinggang.*	Bare above the waist. (An unusual connotation, but *pinggang* is the normal word for the waist or loins).
Buntong.*	Cut off short, used of trousers or sleeves (= Malay *guntong* or *kotong*).
Chĕlana Buntong.*	Shorts (= Malay *chĕlana kotong*).
Chĕlana Panjang.*	Long trousers, European style (*Sĕluar* was never used).
Dasi.	Necktie (= Dutch dasje).
Gowen.	Dress with sleeves for a very young girl (= English *gown*).
Isap Konde.*	Hairpin (= Javanese-Malay *tusok konde*).
Jĕkit.*	Coat, European style (= English *jacket*).
Kain.	Sarong.
Kaus.	Socks (= Dutch *kous*). *Kaus Panjang* was used for stockings.
Kĕbayak.	Woman's jacket with plain sleeves. Sometimes also called *Kĕbayak Pakai Fĕril* (frill) or *Kĕbayak Pakai Renda*. (Javanese Malay).
Kĕbayak Tangan Serong.	Woman's jacket with frilled sleeves.
Kĕmeja.	Shirt, European style. Several kinds were recognised, *K. buntong* (with short sleeves), *K. butang* (the same, but opening all down the front) and *K. tangan panjang* (with long sleeves).

Kondi.	Bun of hair. The hair was usually worn brushed straight back and curled in a bun at the nape (from *kundai*).
Kutang.	Under jacket with short sleeves, worn by women under the *Kĕbayak* (cf. *Baju Kutang*).
Manek-Manek.	Necklace. (cf. Malay *manek*, a bead).
Pĕniti.*	Brooch. Brooches were nearly always made of turtle shell (tortoise-shell), and the word is derived from *Kulit Penyu*, turtle skin.
Sayak.*	Dress without sleeves for a very young girl (= Javanese Malay for a stiff, pleated sarong).
Sĕpatu.	Shoe.
Songkok.	Songkok.
Topi.	Sun Helmet.

(11) *Parts of a House*

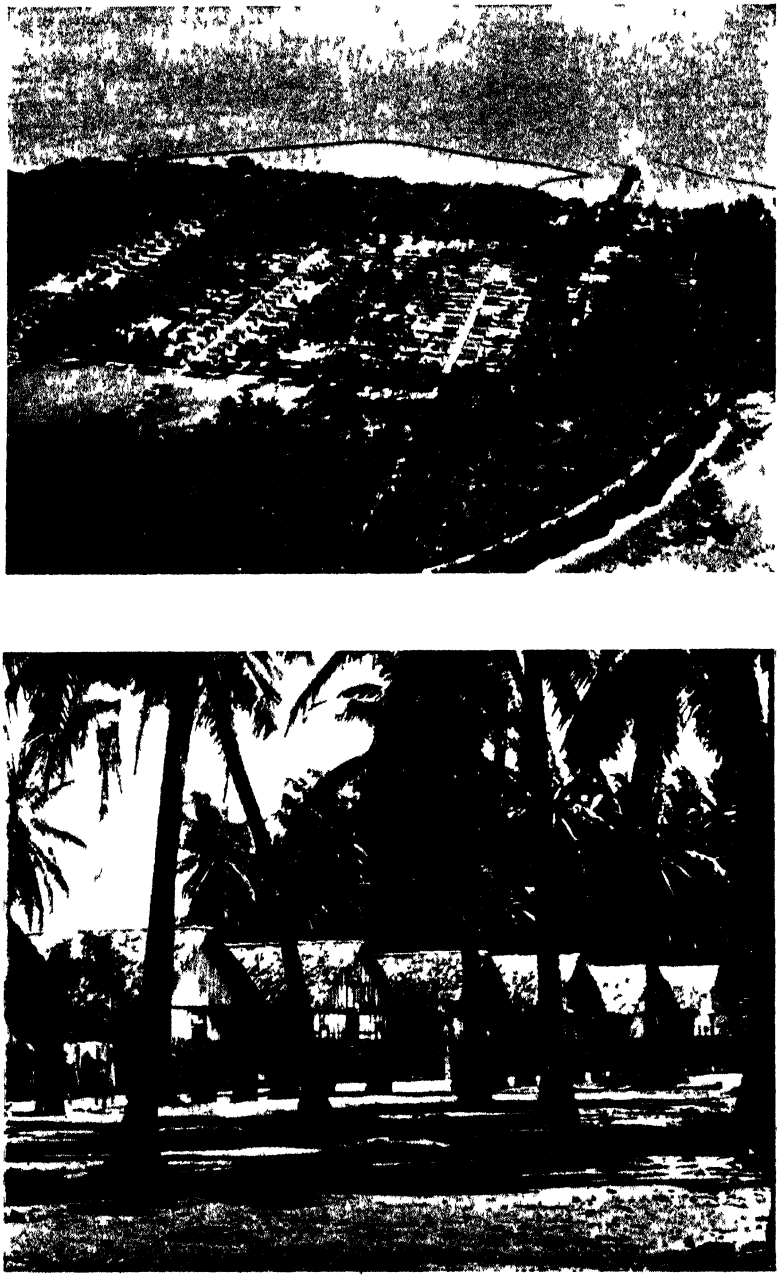
Atap.	Roof. To put on a thatch was *Pasang atap.*
Chagak.*	Supports raising the house off the ground (cf Malay *Kayu chagak*, the mount on which a gun or telescope is placed).
Dĕk.*	Wooden floor (from English *deck*, but normally only used of a boat).
Dĕndela.	Window (= Malay *jĕndela*).
Dinding.	Outer wall of a house. internal partitions were *Dinding Kamar*.
Lobang.	The passage way through a fence.
Pagar.	Fence or palissade.
Pintu.	Doorway. The posts were called *Tiang pintu*, and the door itself *Daun pintu.*
Rajak.	Uprights supporting the roof truss.
Sĕtran Pis.*	Tie beam of roof (presumably = *strain piece*).
Tiang Kuda-kuda.	Upright supporting the crown of the roof from the tie beam.
Tulang Usok.*	Rafter (Javanese Malay).

(E) A Note on the Plates.

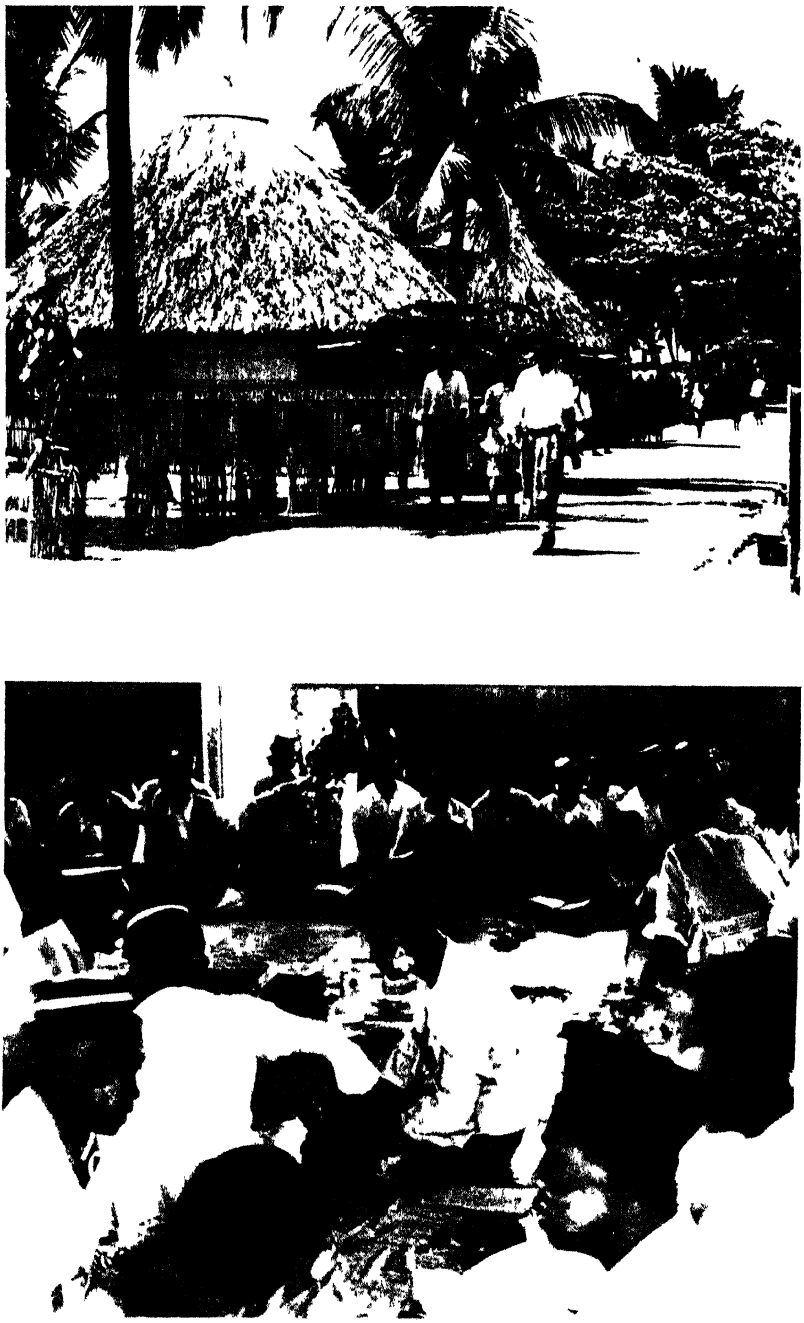
The picture used for Plate 2 and Plate 3 upper are Royal Air Force Official Photographs (Crown Copyright Reserved), taken



An aerial view of the village on Pulo Selma (Home Island) in the Cocos-Keeling group. (*Royal Air Force Official Photograph*: *Crown Copyright reserved*)



Views of the village on Pulo Selma, in the Cocos Keeling Islands. The upper picture is a Royal Air Force Official Photograph (Crown Copyright reserved).



Exterior and interior views of one of the mosques on Pulo Selma, in the Cocos-Keeling Islands



Young women on the Cocos-Keeling Islands, showing the range in facial types.





Ceremonial dress on the Cocos-Keeling Islands above, the male guests at a wedding: below, young boys attired for circumcision.



A wedding group on the Cocos-Keeling Islands, showing the bridegroom and bride and their mothers.

after I left the islands, and kindly supplied by Mr. E. Lloyd-Jones. The remainder are prints from my own negatives.

Plate 2. An aerial view of the settlement on Pulo Selma, with the lagoon on the left, and the sea just visible on the right. Some of the items in this picture can be identified by the reference to the sketch on page 176. The irregular clear area dropping down the plate from the landward end of the pier is damage caused by a Japanese bombing raid. In 1941 there were no breaks in the regular lines of the houses.

Plate 3 (upper). An oblique aerial view of the kampong, taken from above the seaward shore of Pulo Selma. The irregular lines in the water beyond the island are the walls of the turtle pond (on the left), and the breakwaters protecting the pier and anchorages (on the right). This picture also would seem to have been taken after the Japanese bombing raid.

Plate 3 (lower). A row of houses in the kampong on Pulo Selma, showing their general appearance. This is from the only line overlooking an open space. The other roads, with houses on both sides of them, were too narrow and overhung with *Buah Chĕri* trees, to allow of a satisfactory photograph.

Plate 4. The exterior and interior of one of the four mosques. The lower picture was taken during a service at *Hari Raya Bĕsar*, and shows the worshippers in appropriate costume, with a patch of white powder on their left cheeks. Some are beating tambourines, to mark the rhythm of the prayers. Women were not allowed to attend the service, but a few young girls usually stood unnoticed inside the doorway.

Plate 5. Portraits of four of the young married women in their party clothes, showing, to some extent, the range of facial types seen in the kampong. The girl at the top left is wearing a jacket with frills at the shoulders and lace at the cuffs, known as a *Kĕbayak Tangan Serong, Pakai Renda*. That at the top right is the plainer pattern, known as *Kĕbayak Pakai Fĕril*. The one at the lower left, who had a rather dark complexion, is wearing a *Kĕbayak Tangan Serong*, with the cuffs terminating in a frill instead of lace. The last, who had a unusually light complexion, is wearing a *Kĕbayak* made of patterned material, in place of the routine uni-coloured muslin.

Plate 6 (upper). The bridegroom's friends accompanying him on his way to fetch the bride, showing, except for the

man in the centre, the ceremonial dress generally worn by the men. The man on the left is carrying one of the island's two drums. The bridegroom can just be seen under the parasol at the back right of the picture. The majority of the men are wearing the black caps known as *songkok*: the others have the small, round, flat hats, peculiar to the island.

Plate 6 (lower). Three small boys dressed in the correct traditional costume on their way to the mosque to be circumcised. They are about six to eight years old, which was the usual age at which this rite was performed.

Plate 7. A wedding group, showing the bride and bridegroom, accompanied by their mothers. The young couple are wearing the traditional costume. He has his eyebrows blacked, and a prominent moustache painted on his upper lip. She has her eyebrows thickened, and four black spots painted on her face: she is also, as she should be, wearing as much jewelry as she could borrow for the occasion. Around the bridegroom's waist is the long scarf which will be used to tie the couple together when they enter his parents' house.

The Old Church on the Malacca Hill[1]

by

Fr. R. Cardon, M. ap., of the Paris Foreign Missions Soc.

Addenda and Corrigenda

p. 189 Paragraph 2, nineth line: instead of "from 1521 to 1547." read " to 1555—date of the *Assentamento* (treaty) concluded with Leonel de Sousa."

p. 193 Last Paragraph, last line: instead of "On Sunday, the 27th November.. " read "On the 3rd December, about 2 o'clock in the morning, on the beach of Sancian, Father Master Francis Xavier surrendered his soul to God . ". The first date is that given by Antonio the Chinee, in his letter to Father Manoel Texeira. It is now known to be erroneos. The Rev. Father Henry Bernard, S.J., of the Ecole des Haustes Etudes de Tientsin, tells me that all recent authorities agree on the 3rd December as being the correct date of the death of the saint.

p. 198 Paragraph 4, thirteenth line: instead of "*Nossa Senhora do Monte*, though commenced in 1556 or 1567 was not.. " read "1566 or 1567".

p. 206 Paragraph 3, last line: instead of "only the foundations had been laid in 1535." read " had been laid in 1635."

p. 208 After the last paragraph, add—According to Father Manoel Xavier, S.J., Don Martim Alfonso de Castro, Viceroy of Portuguese India, whose coming forced Matelief de Jonghe to raise the siege he had laid before Malacca, in 1606, died the following year (June 3rd) of dysentery; "He rests in the major chapel of the Company's Church" (i.e., in the sanctuary of the Church of the Company of Jesus).—Compendio de todos os Viso Reys e Governadores do Estado da India.—In O Oriente Portuguez, 1917).

1 Published in the J M B R A S , Vol. 20, pt. I, June 1947.